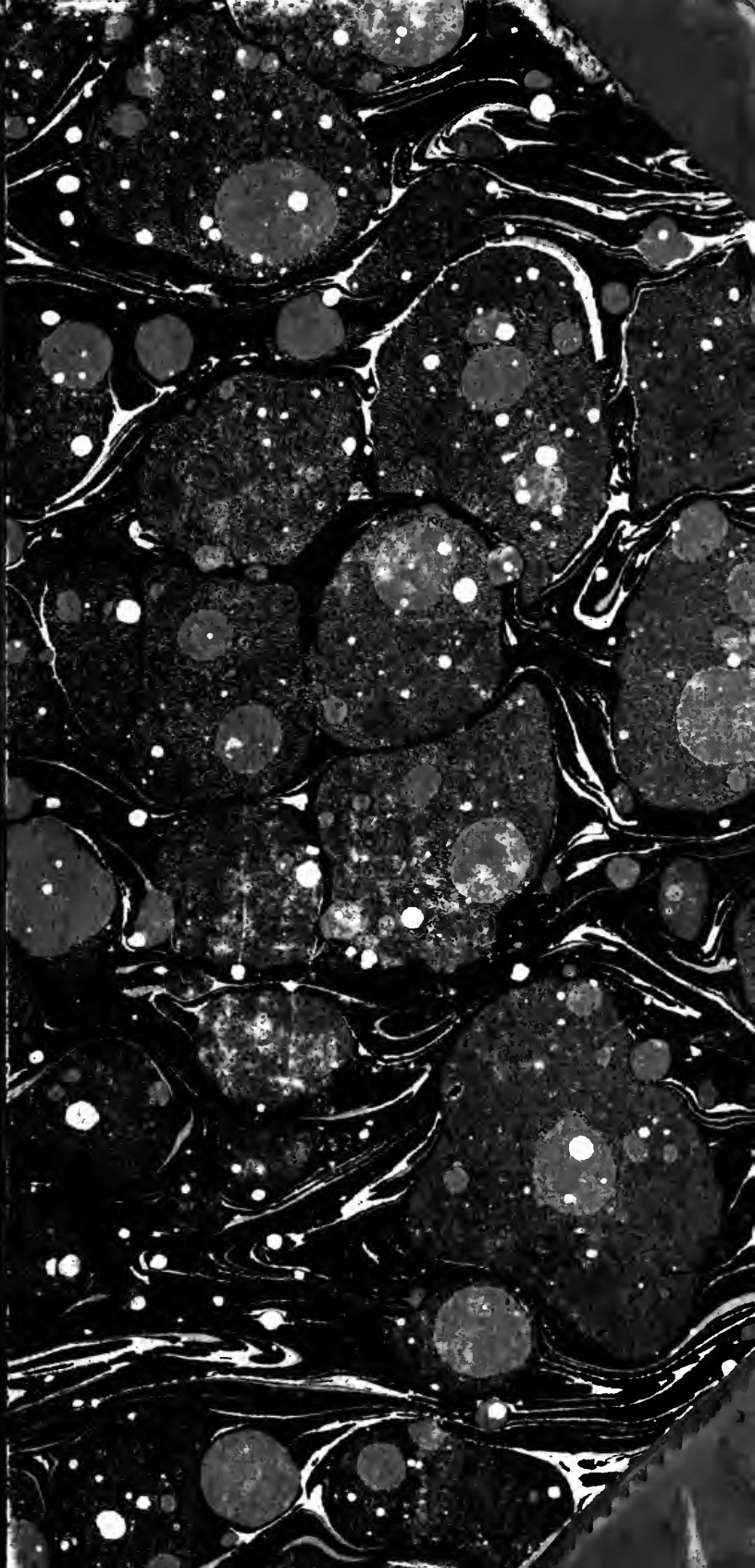


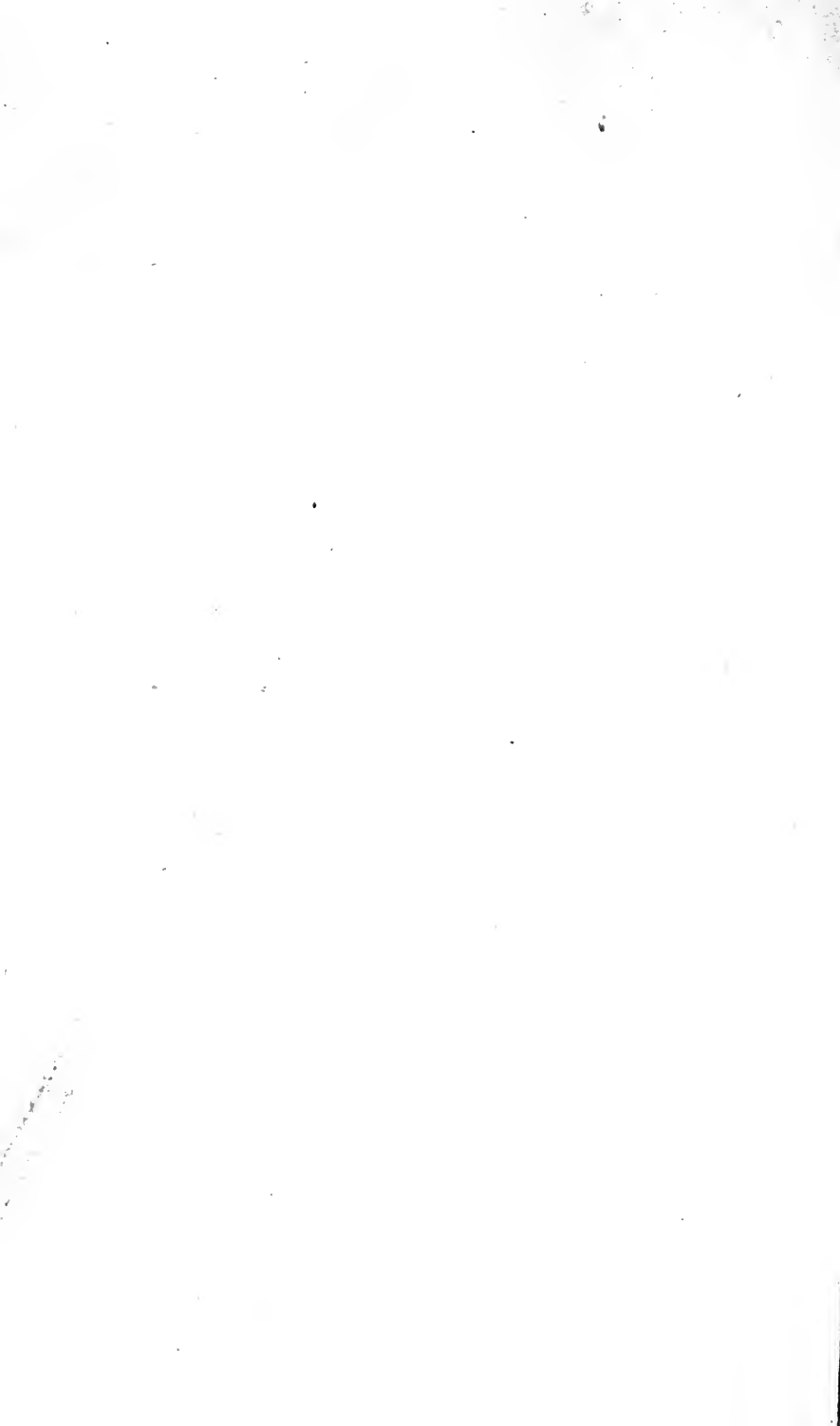
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BALLADS FROM MANUSCRIPTS.

Now A Dayes.

INTRODUCTION.

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§ 1. THIS is another of those laments over the evils of the writer's time,—of those appeals to his countrymen to rise to a purer and higher life, and to God to grant them grace to do so,—on the succession of which in Early English Literature I commented in the introduction to 'Conscience' in the Percy Folio ('Ballads,' ii. 174), and on account of which I followed Prof. Morley in claiming honour for that Literature,—a Literature worthy of the noble band of Reformers in Church and State who have brought England to what she is, who are striving to lift her to what she should be. Cædmon, Bede, Ælfric, the Anglo-Saxon Homilists, the early writers of political poems, Robert of Brunne,

Dan Michel, Longlande, William of Nassyngton, Wyclif, Gower, Chaucer, Lydgate, Oeceleve, Skelton, More, Dunbar,—these are the leaders of the movement which the philanthropists and liberals of our day, wherever English is spoken, carry on. We reap the benefit of their work; let us duly honour them for it.

§ 2. But the credit to be attached by us, at the distance of ten, or three, hundred years, to the earlier complaints as to the social and political grievances under which the several writers and their countrymen were suffering when they wrote, is a matter for consideration. It has been brought very closely home to me by the notorious ‘Saturday Review’ article on “The Girl of the Period.” I read that article with an intensity of disgust which I find has been felt by every man but one¹ to whom I have had an opportunity of speaking on the subject; and I said to myself, Suppose a quiet student of the Victorian time some three hundred years hence, desiring only to find out the truth about us, were to come across this article, and take *it*,—which I believe and know, as far as the experience of myself and my friends goes, to be an utterly false and lying libel,—as a true description of the English girl of 1868, the girl of the Victorian time, what a catastrophe it would be! how completely the student would be misled! When one called up in one’s mind the pictures of the girls one knew, fair (more or less), sweet (more or less), the lights of so many eyes, the suns of so many homes, their class the first of the glories of our land, one’s indignation at the falseness of the article to the real representative girl of our period, almost gave way to a smile at the ludicrous absurdity of it.² Still, one could not avoid the question, Did our old writers pen flagrant falsities of this kind,—write the sensation articles of their respective periods for the then reviewers’ pay? But as one thought of the words they have left us, and the spirit in which these tell us they were spoken, one was almost ashamed to have harboured for a moment the suspicion that the words and the spirit were not true, the evils which they denounced real. Granted that our old men spoke only of the dark side of the life around them, granted that they used somewhat of the “legitimate exaggeration,” that prophet, Christ, and Apostle, had used before them, one could not doubt that, as a rule, they spoke from their hearts, of wrongs and evils deeply felt, in the way that a Clarkson, a Wilberforce, a Garrison, a Brown, spoke of the curse of slavery; a Cobden, a Bright of the

¹ He, a somewhat ill-mannered stranger, thought the article was true for this reason (if so it may be called), that he had seen at the Crystal Palace a girl dressed like a lady, call a dog, in order, as he assumed, that the dog’s supposed owner might look at her.

² It was almost as if a writer had attributed to all men the extraordinary swearing power of the late Editor of the ‘Review,’ and, exaggerating it *ad libitum*, had written an article against the habit of “The Gentleman of the Period” never opening his mouth without an oath.

Corn Laws and need of Reform; a Gladstone of the prisons at Naples; and as many a lesser man speaks of the crying evils about and within us now.

§ 3. If this be so,—and I appeal to every student of our early literature to bear witness that it is,—then we must insist that the bright picture drawn by Mr. Froude in the Introduction to his History of Henry VIII.'s reign must be darkened with many a shadow. Only to-day did I put to the man who in England has (as I believe) most studied Henry's reign, the question, "Do you believe Froude's account of the well-offness of the people—the working people specially—in Henry VIII.'s time to be true, to represent the real state of the case?" and he answered, "No, certainly not." This is also my own strong impression; and, though thankful to Mr. Froude for his animated sketch, and grateful to him for his sympathy with working-men; though anxious to insist strongly on the rise in the condition of the middle and labouring classes since Edward III.'s time, I submit that there is evidence to show that Mr. Froude's statements must be taken with large qualifications. Only a small portion of that evidence, hastily got together, can be produced here. Let it be enough that the subject is opened.

§ 4. The MS. of the following Ballad belongs to the middle of Henry VIII.'s reign, and its themes are judged by Prof. Brewer to suit that time. Its lines 33-40, 114-20¹, and 100-4², 157-60³, 166-8⁴, are so well illustrated by that passage in Sir Thomas More's 'Utopia,' in which he speaks of some of the evils in England in his time, evils which, though complained of before 1500, existed up to and beyond 1518, when More's work was first published, that I extract it here, common though the translation be:—

I was then much obliged to that reverend prelate, John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal, and Chancellor of England [died September

¹ Alas! Alas! yt ys gret pitee
That Rych men be so blind,
Which, for their gret pride & fulsome fare
They pluck & pull ther neyborgs bare.

² Which causeth many a goodly manne
ffor to begg his bredd.
Yff he stele ffor necessite,
ther ys none other remedye
But the law will shortlye
Hange him all save the hedd.

³ The townes go down, the land decayes;
Off cornefeylde, playne layes;
Gret men makith now a dayes
A shepecott in the churche.

⁴ Poor folk for bred cry & wepe,
Townes pulled downe to pasture shepe:
this is the new gyse!

15, 1500]; a man . . . that was not less venerable for his wisdom and virtue than for the high character he bore. . . . He was eminently skilled in the law, and had a vast understanding and a prodigious memory, and those excellent talents with which nature had furnished him were improved by study and experience. When I was in England, the King [Henry VII.] depended much on his councils, and the government seemed to be chiefly supported by him; for, from his youth up, he had been all along practised in affairs; and, having passed through many traverses of fortune, he had acquired, to his great cost, a vast stock of wisdom, which is not soon lost when it is purchased so dear. One day, when I was dining with him, there happened to be at table one of the English lawyers, who took occasion to run out in a high commendation of the severe execution of justice upon thieves, who, as he said, were then hanged so fast, that there were sometimes twenty on one gibbet; and upon that, he said, he could not wonder enough how it came to pass that, since so few escaped, there were yet so many thieves left who were still robbing in all places. Upon this, I, who took the boldness to speak freely before the Cardinal, said there was no reason to wonder at the matter, since this way of punishing thieves was neither just in itself nor good for the public; for, "the severity was too great, so the remedy was not effectual; simple theft not being so great a crime that it ought to cost a man his life; and no punishment, how severe soever, being able to restrain those from robbing who can find out no other way of livelihood; and in this, said I, not only you in England, but a great part of the world imitate some ill masters, that are readier to chastise their scholars than to teach them. There are dreadful punishments enacted against thieves; but it were much better to make such good provisions by which every man might be put in a method how to live, and so be preserved from the fatal necessity of stealing, and of dying for it. "There has been care enough taken for that," said he; "there are many handicrafts, and there is husbandry, by which they may make a shift to live, unless they have a greater mind to follow ill courses." "That will not serve our turn," said I; "for many lose their limbs in civil or foreign wars, as lately in the Cornish rebellion, and some time ago in your wars with France, who being thus mutilated in the service of their king and country, can no more follow their old trades, and are too old to learn new ones: but since wars are only accidental things, and have intervals, let us consider those things that fall out every day. There is a great number of noblemen among you that live not only idle themselves as *drones, subsisting by other men's labours, who are their tenants, and whom they pare to the quick, and thereby raise their revenues*; this being the only instance of their frugality, for in all other things they are prodigal, even to the beggaring of themselves: but besides this, they carry about with them a huge number of idle fellows, who never learned any art by which they may gain their living; and these, as soon as either their lord dies, or they themselves fall sick, are turned out of doors; for your lords are readier to feed idle people than to take care of the sick; and oftener the heir is not able to keep together so great a family as the predecessor did. Now when the stomachs of those that are thus turned out of doors grow keen, they rob no less keenly; and what else can they do? for, after that, by wandering about, they have worn out both their health and their clothes, and are tattered and look ghastly, men of quality will not entertain them, and poor men dare not do it; knowing that one who had been bred up to idleness and pleasure, and who was used to walk about with his sword and buckler, despising all the neighbourhood with an insolent scorn, as far below him, is not fit for the spade and mattock: nor will he serve a poor man for so small a hire and in so low a diet as he can afford. . . . But I do not think that this necessity of stealing arises only from hence, there is another cause of it that is more peculiar to England." "What is that?" said the Cardinal. "*The increase of pasture,*" said I, "*by which your sheep, that are naturally mild, and easily kept in order, may be said now to devour men, and unpeople not only villages, but towns*; for wherever it is found

That the sheep of any soil yield a softer and richer wool than ordinary, there the nobility and gentry, and even those holy men the abbots, not contented with the old rents which their farms yielded, nor thinking it enough that they, living at their ease, do no good to the public, resolve to do it hurt instead of good. *They stop the course of agriculture, inclose grounds, and destroy houses and towns, reserving only the churches, that they may lodge their sheep in them; and as if forests and parks had swallowed up too little soil, those worthy countrymen turn the best inhabited places into solitudes; for when any unsatiable wretch, who is a plague to his country, resolves to inclose many thousand acres of ground, the owners, as well as tenants, are turned out of their possessions by tricks, or by main force, or being wearied out with ill usage, they are forced to sell them.* So those miserable people, both men and women, married, unmarried, old and young, with their poor but numerous families (since country business requires many hands), *are all forced to change their seats, not knowing whither to go; and they must sell, for almost nothing, their household-stuff, which could not bring them much money, even though they might stay for a buyer.* When that little money is at an end, for it will be soon spent, *what is left for them to do, but either to steal and so be hanged (God knows how justly), or to go about and beg?* And if they do this, they are put in prison as idle vagabonds; whereas they would willingly work, but can find none that will hire them; for there is no more occasion for country labour, to which they have been bred, when *there is no arable ground left. One shepherd can look after a flock, which will stock an extent of ground that would require many hands, if it were to be ploughed and reaped.* This likewise raises the price of corn in many places. The price of wool is also risen, that the poor people, who were wont to make cloth, are no more able to buy it; and this likewise makes many of them idle; for, since the increase of pasture, God has punished the avarice of the owners by a rot among the sheep, which has destroyed vast numbers of them, but had been more justly laid upon the owners themselves. But suppose the sheep should increase ever so much, their price is not like to fall; since, though they cannot be called a monopoly, because they are not engrossed by one person, yet they are in so few hands, and these are so rich, that, as they are not pressed to sell them sooner than they have a mind to it, so they never do till they have raised the price as high as is possible. And on the same account it is that the other kinds of cattle are so dear, and so much the more, because that *many villages being pulled down, and all country labour being much neglected, there are none that look after the breeding of them.* The rich do not breed cattle as they do sheep, but buy them lean and at low prices, and after they have fattened them on their grounds, they sell them again at high rates. And I do not think that all the inconveniences that this will produce are yet observed; for as they sell the cattle dear, so, if they are consumed faster than the breeding countries from which they are brought can afford them, then the stock must decrease, and this must needs end in a great scarcity; and by these means this your island, that seemed, as to this particular, the happiest in the world, will suffer much by the cursed avarice of a few persons; besides that, the raising of corn makes all people lessen their families as much as they can; and what can those who are dismissed by them do but either beg or rob? And to this last, a man of a great mind is much sooner drawn than to the former. Luxury likewise breaks in apace upon you, to set forward your poverty and misery; *there is an excessive vanity in apparel, and great cost in diet; and that not only in noblemen's families, but even among tradesmen, and among the farmers themselves, and among all ranks of persons.* You have also many infamous houses, and besides those that are known, the taverns and ale-houses are no better; add to these dice, cards, tables, foot-ball, tennis, and quoits, in which money runs fast away, and those that are initiated into them must in conclusion betake themselves to robbing for a supply. Banish those plagues, and give order that these who have dispeopled so much soil may either rebuild the villages that they have pulled

down, or let out their grounds to such as will do it; restrain those engrossings of the rich that are as bad almost as monopolies; leave fewer occasions to idleness; let agriculture be set up again, and the manufacture of the wool be regulated, that so there may be work found for these companies of idle people, whom want forces to be thieves, or who now being idle vagabonds, or useless servants, will certainly grow thieves at last. If you do not find a remedy to these evils, it is a vain thing to boast of your severity of punishing theft, which, though it may have the appearance of justice, yet in itself it is neither just nor convenient; for if you suffer your people to be ill educated, and their manners to be corrupted from their infancy, and then punish them for those crimes to which their first education disposed them, what else is to be concluded from this but that you first make thieves and then punish them?"

§ 5. I hope the reader has had patience to go through the whole of this extract from More, and that he will now turn to the Petition of 1514 A.D., at the end of the "Now a dayes" ballad, p. 101, and read that, and the King's proclamation in pursuance of it, which confirm the complaints of More and the Ballad as to the conversion of tillage into pasture, the turning out of men by sheep, the hanging of men forced by want to steal, and the decay of towns.

§ 6. Having done this, let him read the following extract from the Act of 7 Henry VIII.¹ cap. 1, the year following that of the Petition and Proclamation last-named:—

PREAMBLE AND SECTION I. OF 7 HEN. VIII. CAP. 1.

Evils resulting from Decay of Towns, etc. The Kyng our Sovereigne Lord, calling to his most blessid remembrance that where greate ynconvenyentes be, and dayly encrease, by desolacion, pollyng downe, & destruccion of houses and townes wythin this realme, and leyng to pasture, londes which customably have bene manured, & occupied wyth tyllage and husbandry, wherby Idelnes doth encrease; for where in some oon towne CC persons, men and women and childern, and their auncestours oute of tyme of mynde, were dayly occupied, and lyved by sowyng of corne and greynes, bredyng of cattall, and other encrease necessarye for manys sustenaunce, and now the seid persons and their progenyes be mynysshed and decreasyd, wherby the husbandry—which is the greatyst commodite of this realme for sustenaunce of man—ys greatly decayed, Churches destrued, the servyce of God wythdrawen, Chrysten people their buried, nott prayed for, the Patrons and Curates wronged, Cities Markett Townes brought to greate ruyne and decaie, Necessaryes for mannys sustenaunce made scarce and dere, the people sore mynysshed in the realme, wherby the poure & defence therof ys febled and enpayrid, to the high dyspleasure of God, and agensst his lawes, and to the subvercyon of the common Weale of this realme, and desolacion of the same, yf substancyall and spedy remedy be nott therof provided; Wherefore the Kyng our Sovereigne Lord, by thadvyse and assent of the Lordes Spirituall & Temporall, and the Commons in this present parliament assembled, and by thautoritie of the same, ordeynyth, stablyssheth, and enacteth, that all suche townes, villages, borowes & hamlettes, tythyng houses, and other inhabitacons, in any paryshe or parysses wythin this realme, wherof the more part, the first daye of this present parliament, was or were used and occupied to tillage & husbandrye by the owner or owners therof, for their synguler profit, availe, & luere, wyfully syth the seid first daye be,

Towns, etc., decayed shall be re-edified, etc., within one year.

¹ The seventh year of Henry VIII. was from April 22, 1515, to April 21, 1516.

or hereafter shalbe, suffred or caused to fall downe and decaye,—wherby the husbandry of the seid townes, vyllages, borowghes, hamlottes, tythyng-houses, and other enhabitacions & parysshes wythin this realme bene, or hereafter shalbe, decayed, & tourned from the seid use and occupacyon of husbandry and tyllage into pasture,—shalbe by the seid owner or owners, their heires, successours or assignes, or other for theym, within oon yere next after suche wylfull decaie, re-edified, & made ageyn mete & convenyent for people to dwelle, and enhance in the same and to have, use, and therein to exerceyse, husbandry and tyllage, as att the seid fyrst day of this present parliament, or sythyn, was there used, occupied, and hadde, after the maner and usage of the cuntry where the seid lond lyeth, at the costes and charges of the same

All Tillage Lands turned to Pasture shall be restored again to Tillage.

owner or owners, their heires, successours or assignes. And yf sythyn the seid first day of this present parliament, any landes which att the same first day, or sythyn, were commonly used in tyllage, bene enclosed, or frome hensforth shalbe enclosed, and tourned only to pasture,—wherby any house of husbandry wythin this Realme ys or shalbe hereafter decayed,

—that then all suche landes shalbe by the same owner or owners, their heires, successours or assignes, or other for them, wythin oon yere nexte ensueng the same decaye, putt in tyllage, and exercysed, used, and occupied in husbandry and tyllage, as they were the said first day of this present parliament, or any any tyme sythen, after the maner and usage of the cuntry where suche land

Half the value of Lands and Houses neglected shall be forfeited to the King or Lord of the Fee, until re-edified, when the Owner may re-enter.

lyeth; And yf any person or persons do contrarye to the premysses or any of them, that then ytt be leafull to the Kyng—yf any suche landes or houses be holden of hym immediatlye,—after office or inquisicion founden therof, comprhendyng the same mater of recorde, or to the Lordes of the fees—yf any suche landes or houses byn holden of theym immediatlie,—withoute office or inquisicion therof hadde, to receyve yerey half the valewe of the yssues and profittes of any such landes, wherof the house or houses of husbandry be nott so mayntenyd and sustayned, and the same half dele of the yssues and

profittes to have, hold, and kepe, to his or their own use, wythoute any thyng therof to be payed or yevyn, to suche tyme as the same house or houses be sufficiently re-edified, bylded, or repayed ageyn, for the exersyseng and occupyeng of husbandry; and immediatly after that, aswell the entresse & tyle yevyn by this acte to our Sovereigne Lorde the Kyng, as to the Lordes of the Fee, to cease, and no longer to endure; And that ytt shalbe lefull to the owner & owners of suche landes, house or houses, holdyn immediatly of our seid Sovereigne Lord the Kyng, to have and enjoye the same, & to take thissues and profittes thereof, as yf no suche offyce or Inquisycion had never bene had ne made.

§ 7. It is clear from this Act that the King's Proclamation of 1514 did not stop the evils it was aimed to cure. Let us go on eighteen years, and see how the Act of 1515 had worked in the interval:—

PREAMBLE AND SECTION I. OF 25 HEN. VIII. CAP. 13.

Evils of the Excess of Land employed in Pasture instead of Tillage.

For asmoche as dyvers and sundry of the Kynges Subjectes of this Realme, to whome God of hys goodnes hath disposed of greate plentie & abundaunce of movable substance, nowe of late within fewe yeres have dayly studyed, practised, and invented, ways and meanes how they myght accumulate and gather together into few handes, aswell great multitude of fermes, as great plentie of cattal, and in especiall shepe, puttyng suche londes as they can gett to pasture and not to tyllage, wherby they have not only pulled downe churches and

townes, and inhansed the olde ratis of the rentis of the possessions of this Realme, or els brought it to suche excessyve fynes that no poure man is able to medell with it, but also have raysed and enhaused the prises of all maner of corne, cattall, woll, pygges, geese, hennes, chekyns, egges, and suche other, almoste doble above the prices which hath byn accustomed; by reason wherof a mervaylous multitude and nombre of the people of this Realme be not able to provyde meate, drynke, and clothes, necessary for theym-selves, their wyfes, and children, *but be so discouraged with myserye and povertie that they fall dayly to thefte, robberye, and other inconveniencce, or pitifully dye for hunger and colde;* And as it is thought by the Kynges most humble and lovyng subjectes that one of the gretest occasions that moveth and provoketh those gredy and covetous people so to accumulate and kepe in their handes suche greate portions and parties of the groundes and landis of this Realme frome the occupying of the poure husbandmen, and so to use it in pasture and not in tyllage, is only the greate profette that commyth of shepe, which now be commyn to a few persons handes of this Realme, in respecte of the holle number of the Kynges Subjectes, that somme have xxiiij thousand, somme xx thousande, some x thousand, some vj thousande, somme v thousand, and somme more, and somme lesse, by the which a good shepe for vytall, that was accustomed to be solde for ijs. iiij*d.*, or iiis. at the moste, is now solde for vjs., or vs., or iiij*s.* at the leaste, And a stone of clothyng wolle that in somme shire of this Realme was accustomed to be sold for xviiij*d.* or xx*d.* is nowe solde for iiij*s.* or iijs. iiij*d.* at the lest, & in somme countreis where it hath byn solde for iis. iiij*d.* or ijs. viii*d.* or iijs. at the most, it is now sold for vs., or iiij*s.* viij*d.* [at] the leste, And so arreynd in every parte of this Realme; whiche thynges thus used, be pryncypally to the high displeasure of Almyghtie God, to the decay of the Hospitalitie of this Realme, to the dymnysshying of the Kynges people, and to the lett of the clothmaking, wherby many poure people hath byn accustomed to be sett on worke; and in conclusion, yf remedy be not founde, it may turne to the utter distruccion and desolacion of this Realme, which God defende; It may therefore please the Kynges Highnes, of hys most gracious and godly disposicion, and the Lordes spirituall and temporall of their goodnes and charitie, with the assent of the commons in this present parliament assembled, to ordeyne and enacte by auctoritie of the same, that no person nor

No man shall
keep above
2000 sheep.
Penalty, 3*s.* 4*d.*
per sheep.

persones from the feast of Seynt Michell the archaungell which shalbe in the yere of our Lorde God M⁴D. xxxv., shall kepe, occupie, or have in hys possession in hys owne propre londys, nor in the possession, londes, or groundes, of any other which he shall have or occupie in ferme, nor other-wyse have of his owne propre cattall in use, possession, or propertie, by any maner of

meanes fraude, craft, or covyn, above the number of two thousande shepe at one tyme, within any parte of this Realme, of all sortes and kyndes, uppon payne to losse and forfeyte for every shepe that any person or persons shall have or kepe above the number lymytted by this acte, iijs. iiij*d.* The one half to the Kyng our Sovereigne Lorde, and the other half to suche person as wyl sue for the same by orygyvall wrytt of dett, byll, playnt, or informacion, in any Court of Recorde in which the defendaunt shall not wage hys lawe, nor have any essoynne or proteccion allowed.

§ 8. I tax the reader's patience with yet another extract from another Act of Parliament, two years later in date than the one last given, because it refers to earlier legislation, under Henry VII., in 1488-9, against some of the evils we are considering; because it states that, of the lands held immediately of the King, the old tilled lands had been brought back again to tillage, and the decayed houses had been rebuilt; and because it enacts that,

NOWA DAYES. § 8.—*Further Powers to Limit Pasture Lands.* 9

as these cures had not been wrought on the lands and houses held of nobles and others, the King himself shall have the power, given by Henry VII to the nobles and other landlords—see also p. 7—to take half the rents and profits of the lands, till their condition is set right. But I do not believe that this power was ever generally acted on, if it was at all, as the evils went on growing.

PREAMBLE AND SECTION I. OF 27 HEN. VIII. CAP. 22.

Recital of Statute
4 Hen. VII., c. 19,
for keeping in
Repair of Houses
on Farms.

Where as in the fourth yere of the reigne of the noble King of famous memorie, Henry the seventh, father to the Kinges Highnes our Souveraigne Lorde that nowe is, it was ordeyned, established, and enacted (amonges other thinges,) that every owner of any Mese¹, which, within three yerres nexte before the

same fourth yere, was, or after that tyme shuld be, letten to ferme with xx. acres of Land at the lest, lieng in tillage and husbondrye, shuld be bounde to kepe and susteyne the housing and building of the same Mese conveniently for the mayntenaunce of husbandry and tillage, And if any Owner of the same shuld fortune to occupie any suche mese or land in his owne handes, he shulde be bounde to uphold and susteyne the same as it is before rehersed, and if any personne happened to do the contrary. then it shuld be lefull unto the King, or unto the Lordes of whome any suche Mese or Landes is holden immediatlie, to take yerely the oon half of thissues and proffittez of all and every suche tenement, without payeng any thing for the same, untill suche tyme as the housing shuld be buylded or reedified agayn, and the Landes therof converted into tillage; and that no personne shuld have, clayme, or chalenge, any freehold in the same Londes or Tenementes by takyng of any such proffittes, but onely that it shuld be lefull unto the King and other Lordes to distrayne for the payment of the moytie of the yerely issues, revenues, and proffittes of the same,

The said Act
enforced only on
lands holden of
the King, but
neglected by
other Lords.

like as in the said acte more at lenth[t] is conteyned: By reason of which said Statute and Ordynaunce, divers and many meases, whiche be holden immediatlye of the Kinges Highnes, within late yerres have ben buylded and reedified, and the Londes therunto belonging converted ayen into thir firste nature of tillage and husbondrye, according to the tenour and purporte of the said good and gracious acte, And all other

suche Measez and Landes as be holden immediatt of any other Lordes, be and remayne unto this present daye prostrate, unbuylded, and the landes therof converted and imployed onely into pasture, and to none other purpose, to the greate decaye of all maner of Victualles within this Realme, and to the derogacion and hinderaunce of the Common Weall of the same, many waies: And forasmoeche as in the said acte was noo other remedie provided for and agaynst all those personnes that do, or shuld, hold any Manours, Meses, Landes, or Tenementes of other Lordes, for not repayng and reedifieng of the Houses, and converting the said Landes into Tillage and Husbondrye, according to the trewe and vertuous meanyng of the same good Acte, but onely every Lorde immediate mought have, and distreyne for, the moytie of the proffittez of all and every such mese and landes decayed in fourme aforesaid, as in the same Acte amonge other thinges more at lenth[t] it is declared; And also for that the Lordes immediate, and thoder meane Lordes, have nott putt the said

¹ French, *mais-on*, a house; Old French, *mas de terre*, an ox-gang, plow-land, or hide of land, containing about twenty acres (and having a house belonging to it). *Max*, m. a plow-land and tenement thereto belonging. (Cotgrave.) “*Messuage* (in common law), a dwelling-house, with some adjoining land, a garden, curtilage, orchard, and all other conveniences belonging to it.” (Kersey’s Phillips.)

good acte in due and playne execucion, according to the tenour therof, as they ought and mought have don, a greate nombre of the Houses, Meses, Tenementes, and acres of Lande, whiche at the making of the said good acte were in ruyn and decaye, and the Landes therof converted from tillage into pasture, dos yet remayne unbuylded, unreedified, and all the Landes to them belonging hitherto be kepte and used into pasture, and not converted ayene into tillage, according to the purporte, true meanyng, and intent of the said acte, And so by this meanes dyvers and sondry personnes which hold not thir Landes and Tenementes immediate of the Kinges Highnes have, and dayly do, frome tyme to tyme decaye and lett fall downe noo small nombre of Meses and houses of husbandrye, And also do converte the Landes of the same frome tillage and husbandrye into pasture, to the moost perillous example of all other beyng in like case, and to the greatist abuse and disordre of the naturall

The King shall have the moiety of the profits of Lands converted from Tillage to Pasture since 4 Hen. VII. until a proper House is built and the Land returned to Tillage.

soile of the grounde, that by any maner of invencion could be practised or imagined: Be it therefore enacted, ordeyned, and established, by the King our Sovereygne Lorde, and by the Lordes spirituall and temporall, and the Commons in this present parliament assembled, and by thautoritie of the same, that the Kyng our Sovereygne Lorde, his Heires and Successours, frome and after the feast of Seinte Michell tharchaugell which shalbe in the yere of oure Lorde God M^l.D.xxxviij, shall take and have the one moitie of all issues, revenues, rentes, and profittes, commyng and growing of all and singuler Meses, Landes, and Tenementes, nowe and then remaynyng inclosed,

decaied, or converted frome tillage into pasture, contrary to the tenour and trewe meanyng of the said acte made in the said fourthe yere of King Henry the seventh, and beyng at this present day so founde alredie by office and verdicte of xij men, or whiche hereafter at any tyme by like office and verdicte shalbe founde, of whom so ever they be holden, which have ben decayed and converted frome tillage into pasture sithe thre yeres nexte before the forsaid fourth yere of the reigne of the said noble King Henry the vij, untill suche tyme as the said owners of the said Meses, Landes, and Tenementes, shalhave builded and reedified ageyne, in and upon convenyent places of the said Meses, Landes, and Tenementes, for every fiftie acres, xl acres, or thirtie acres of Land, one suffieient Tenement mete for an honest Man to dwell in, and also untill suche tyme as the same owners have converted, or cause all the said Landes so mysused to be converted, from pasture into tillage agayn, according to the nature of the soyl and course of Husbandrye used in the Countrey where any such Landes do lie, and according to the true entent and meanyng of the said acte.

That this Statute was no more effectual than its precursors in stopping the grievances it was intended to stop, is shown by the attempts of the people to take the law on this matter into their own hands in 1549 A.D., below (*Vox Pop. Introd.*), and by the extract in the next section here. With Latimer, in his first sermon before Edward VI. in 1549, the people had to say, "We have good statutes made for the Commonwealth, as touching commoners and inclosers; many meetings and sessions; but in the end of the matter *there cometh nothing forth.*" (p. 101, ed. 1844.)

§ 9. Leaving now the Statute Book, which has so fully confirmed our Ballad on the points on which we appealed to it, let the reader turn to the second Ballad in this volume, "*Vox Populi Vox Dei,*" about 1547 A.D., which sums up the evils of Henry VIII's

reign, and hear—discounting the words to the extent he thinks proper—

“ . . . why the poore men wepe
For storyng of such shepe;”

why

“ . . . the voyce doth multiplye
Amonge your graces commonalte:
Thei are in suche greate penyry
That thei can nother sell nor bye,
Such is their extreame povertye.”

(Dyce's 'Skelton,' ii. 401, col. 2.)

Let him also recur to the passage quoted from Fitzherbert in my essay on “Bondman” in the Percy Folio ('Ballads,' vol. ii. p. lv.), of the date of 1523, or thereabouts:—

“In some places the bonde men contynue as yet / the whiche me semeth is the grettest inconuenyent that nowe is suffred by the lawe. That is, to haue any christen man bonden to another / and to haue the rule of his body / landes and goodes / that his wife, chylde, and seruantes have laboured for all their lyfe tyme / to be so taken / lyke as and it were extoreion or bribery. And many tymes by colour therof / there be many fre men taken as bonde men / and their landes and goodes taken fro them / so that they shall not be able to sue for remedy / to prove them selfe fre of blode.”

Now, as a very able and learned reviewer in the 'Spectator' of October 3, 1868, has characterized this statement of Fitzherbert's as an allusion “to an exceptional evil, which was already condemned by public opinion,” it will be well to print here a most curious and interesting document which Prof. Brewer has been kind enough to point out to me, and the like of which I have never seen in print¹, namely, the Answer and Interrogatories of the Duchess of Buckingham, in 1527 A.D., in pursuit of her claim to two of her bondmen's services, the Depositions of the witnesses, stating the Awards of the former Inquests or Juries on claims against the same men by the Duke during his lifetime;

¹ Mr. Riley, in his 'Memorials of London,' (from 1276 to 1419, A.D.), notices a claim of the kind by the Earl of Cornwall on two of his *nativi*, A.D. 1288, but without a decision on it; and also that in 1305 A.D. four freemen of the City were adjudged to lose their freedom because they held lands at Stepney in villenage of the Bishop of London. In the Year Books of Richard II. to Henry VIII. I find nothing bearing exactly on the point; but it is clear that a man had a right to a trial whether he was bond or not:—

ACTION SUR LE CAS fuit tiel. Le def[endant] veut bargainer ove le pl[aintif] a vendre a luy terres, & que il avoit enfeffe auters. Et il traverse le feoffement fait a's auters. ¶ Wood. Semble que il covient traverser la vendition & bargaine, car *ceo est* l'effect; & nemy le feffement. Car si on porte action que le def[endant] avoit dit que le pl[aintif] fuit son villein, & que il voiloit prendre & inpresoner, & que il JACUIT IN INSIDIIS a luy prendre, &c., ou il fuit franc & frée de condition; & il voiloit traverser que ne dit onques issint; *ceo n'est* suffisant, eins il covient respondre al gesir a luy prendre. ¶ Townsend dit, que il fuit bon travers: car il dit que il fuit l'effect de s'action, car autrement son acte ne poit estre maintenu; & issint le travers bon. Et BRIAN agrée a *ceo*. QUOD NOTA BENE. De Termino Hillarii Anno secundo Henrici VII.—*Year Books*, vol. x. p. 12. See also *The Rolls of Parliament*.

and lastly, recording that the bondmen gave way, and consented to perform their old services.

[Record Office, A.D. 1527, No. 1195.]

Thawnsver of the Duches of Bokyngham to the Complaynt of Richard Mors and Others.

[Th]e sayd Duches saythe that, the playntiffes beyng her villayns Regardant, and Com[o]ners, she ought nott by the lawe to aunswer to ther bille¹ / And For asmoche as towchith the kynges interest, and in the kynges right, after the Decesse of this Defend[ant] she prayith in Ayde of this honorable Court, on^o the kynges behalf, For the Defence off the same, Consideryng that she at this tyme is² Destytute of lerned Counsayle, And that suche *presidentes* and *Records* as shalle make for profe of the mater be in the kynges possession^o; howe be yt, Alle Avauntage resonable to her *Reseruyd*, For Declaracion^o of the truth by *Protestacion*^o, she sayth that the Playntiffes, And ther Auncestours by the name of Moors, tyme oute of mans Remembrans, haue ben^o boundemen^o to the late Duk of Bokynham And his Auncestours, hertofore lordes of the maner of Rompney³; In so moche [whe]n^o the seide plentiffes And others, in the late Dukes Days, were Chalengid And Callyd to Do suche *seruice* [as] to them^o belongyd, thay affyrmed then^o as thay nowe doo / And wolde denyé the sayde *seruice* / And Desyryde for there Declaracions to haue a trialle off the Contrey; wherevpon^o the most Substantialste men^o of the Contrey were Impanelled to try the same / which found them Bondmen^o / Ande the sayde Playntiffes, fyndyng them therwith grevyd, Requyred An other trialle of the same Contrey, whiche eftsones founde them^o Bondmen^o, And nott only that / But also were the thirde tyme founde Bondmen^o by there next neighbours, as shalbe provide by substancialle men^o nowe present, that were sworn^o vpon^o the saide Enquestes, And sum that were officers, And seaside the saide Playntiffes goodes, And toke Inventories therof; wherof she praith to be Dismysid, And to haue the orderyng of her seide Bondmen^o Accordyng As the lawe in suche cases, with owt that / That she otherwise vsid the seide plentiffes / but As she laufully myghth Do by the lawe: Alle which *materis* &c /

Interrogatories to examyn^o witnesses brought by the Duches of Bokyngham, Defend[ant].

fyrste, to Examyn^o them^o whether thay knowe that Edwarde, late Duke of Bokyngham, claymyd the *complaynantes* his Bondmen belongyn^o to his Mannour of Rompney: ye, or nay.

Item, whether thay, or Any of them, vpon^o the Refuselle of the plentiffes to be so bounde, were sworn^o And Chargid to enquere betwixt the seide Duke And plentiffes in that behalff: ye, or naye.

Item, whether thay, or any of them, beyng so Chargide, and other there fellows, founde the pleyntiffes bondmen^o accordyngly.

Item, to examyn^o them, and euery of them^o, howe ofte they knewe the Plentiffes to be so founde by Inquysicion^o.

Item, if thay, or any of them, were officers in the Dukis tyme, and seaside the plentiffes goodes, for knowlege of there Bondshipe, and toke an Inventory therof /

Item, whether thay knowe of any *seruice* of Bondage Don^o by the plentiffes.

Apud Bewdeley xxij^o die Septembris Anno *regni regis Henrici octaui* xix^o. Depositions of witnesses sworn^o, and examy[ne]d vpon^o the Interrogatories here vnto annexid. /

¹ 'Littleton Translated,' sect. 189, fol. 123 b, "Also, every villein is able and free to sue all manner of actions against everie person, *except against his lord, to whom he is villeine.*" ² MS. "in."

³ Near Cardiff, a very remote part of England in 1527. *Pearson.*

John ap howell kemys, of the towne of Kerdif, of the Age of lviij yeris, sworn^o, and examyned appon^o the entorrogatories herevnto annexed, Deposith, and sayth by the othe that he hathe made, as ensuyth :

i, ij, iij. He saith to the Fyrst article / the secund / and the iij^{de} / That Edward, late Duke of Bokyngham, in his liff tyme Challengid the plentiffes, And there bloode, to be bondmen^o to the maner of Rompney; And the plentiffes and others, ther bloode, Refusyng to submytt them selfes, Requyred to haue a trialle for ther Declaracion^o; And this Deponent was oon^o that passed appon the same trialle, fyndyng the sayd plentiffes, and there blode, to be bondmen^o to the seide maner of Rompney aforesayde /

iiij. He sayth thervnto, that he was at ij seueralle tymes Impanellyd to trie the seide pleyntiffes; and both tymes founde the seide plentiffes boundmen^o in maner aforesayde / And also knowe-with that they¹ were at a nother tyme founde Bondemen^o, by there neighbors Impanelled att ther Request.

v. He sayth to the vth article, that he was no officer, to sease any suche goodes, but he knowith that oon^o William Smyth was an officer, And in the late Duk's Dais seaside the goodes of Thomas Mors, and William^o Mors, and Richard Mors / And William Mors, an[d] toke an Invitory therof.

vi. He saith to the vj article, that he Doithe remembre and know, that the pleyntiffes, and others ther bloode And Auncestours, haue vside to Do sarvice att the Commaundment of the late Duke and his Auncestours, in Caryng of woode, and other Busynes aboute the sayde Dukes house; and were notyd and reputyd as Boundmen^o to his seide lorde, and nott otherwise. /

Morgan^o ap Howelle ap Iankyn^o of weullong, of thage of lx yeris, or ther aboutes, in lykewise sworn^o, and examyned in lykewise, saythe by the othe that he hath made to the iij Fyrst Articles, that he knowith that the seide Edward late Duke of Bokyngham, fyndyng certen^o of the blode of the plentiffes in his² presidentes as³ bondmen^o, chalengid the plentiffes, and others of ther bloode; whervpon^o this Deponent was oon^o of ther Inquest, that, vpon^o sight of the seyde presidentes, founde and presentid the seid plentiffes, And ther bloode commyng of the body and sequyle of William^o Mors, grauntfader vnto the plentiffes, bondmen^o.

And also knowith that thay were in lykewise founden^o and presentyd by other

Inquestes, there Impanellyd for the Declaracion^o of the seide plentiffes. Also he saith to the vth and vj Articles, that he knowith that oon^o William^o Smyth was an officer in the Dais of the late Duke of Bokyngham, and did see the goodes of the plentiffe is bloode, That is to say, William mors, Thomas Mors, John William^o Mors, And Wenllea^o Mors, for knowlge of ther bondshipe, And toke an Invitory therof; And sayth that thay were Alwais reputyd and taken^o As bondmen^o to the seide late Duke, and his Auncestours, lordes of the maner of Rompney, And nott knowen^o otherwise / How be-it, he sayth that he Did nott see the seyde plentiffes Doo Anny bonde service / How-be-it, he sayth, thay ought so to haue Don^o if thay hadd ben^o requyred therto.

John Roger of the lordship of Wentloke foresayd, in lykewise sworn^o, And examyned to Alle the seide Articles, sayth by the oth that he hath made / That he knowith that the late Duke before namyd, Chalengid sertyn^o of the Auncestours of the plentiffes for his bondmen^o, And this Deponent was oon^o of them that was of ther quest, that found William Mors, Graundfather to the plentiffes, A bondman^o to the seide Duke, as hit apperith in the seide Duke is presidentes; And knowith that other ij questes passid in lyke Case. / And also Doithe knowe that William^o Smyth did sease the goodes of Thomas Mors / William^o Mors, And therof made an Inventory, lyke as the Formest Deponent hath seide / And Also saith that he neuer herde nor knewe but that the seide plentiffes be bondmen^o to the lorde of Rompney foresaide, and so were taken^o and reputyd / At whiche Day william Mors and Richard Mors, plentiffes, And

¹ MS. "there."

² MS. "hie."

³ MS. "or."

Thomas Wotton^o, Clerke, for the Defend[ant] Apperid At Beawdley before the prencesse¹ Counsayle; where the seide plentiffes were contentyd; And promysed to go vnto the Defend[ant], submytting them vnto her to Do suche seruice As ther Auncestours Afore them Did / Or of right ought to Do / wherevnto the seide Thomas Wotton, Clerk, is agreeable. And hervppon^o the seide parties be lycenssyd to Departe for this tyme /

And furthermore, vppon^o sight of the Depositions of the wittnesses brought by the Defend[ant] herevnto Annexed / It is Orderyd that a letter be Directyd vnto the persons subscribed, which, as is affyrmyd, be of the bloode and sequele of the plentiffes And ther Auncestours, compelleable to do suche seruice lyke as the same plentiffes, Comaunding them to Conferme them self ther vnto, Accordyngly to appere the viijth day of Nouembre next commyng, to Aunswer in that partie.

John William Mors, Thomas Mors, Wenlean^o Mors,
John Burnelle / Edward Crofte / Richard Hassalle.

[*Bond to secure the performanee of the Bondmen's Seruices, and the payment of the Duchess's costs.*]

Nouerint vniuersi per presentes, nos, Iohannem Roger, Thomam Yong, & Willelmum Smyth, de Comitatu Wentlok, teneri et firmiter obligari thoma Wotton^o Clerico, in quadraginta libris sterling^o, soluendis eidem thome Wotton^o, Aut suo certo Attornato, Ad festum omnium Sanctorum proxime futurum post Datum presencium: Ad quam quidem solucionem, bene et fideliter faciendam, obligamus nos, et quemlibet nostrum per se, pro toto & in solido, heredes et executores nostros, Ac omnia bona et Catalla nostra, mobilia seu immobilia, vbicunque fuerint inventa, per presentes. In Cuius rei testimonium, huic presenti Scripto nostro, Sigilla nostra Apposuimus. Datum xxiiij^o Die mensis septembris. Anno regni regis henrici octavi post conquestum Anglie xix^o.

The Condicion^o of this obligacion^o is such: that if Johan William^o mors / Richard William Mors, Thomas mors, Wentlean Mors, personally Do appere before the noble lady, Alienor, Duches of Bokyngham, before the feast of alle Sayntes next approchyng the Date of this presente, and abide, stond, and pay, to the saide Duches, or to her assignes, alle such money as the seide Duches shalle taxe vppon^o them^o for such expensis and chargis As the seide Duchis was before the prencesse¹ counsayle, and otherwise, at such Dayes as shalbe to them^o appoynted, and to be of good aberyng from^o hensforth to the seide Duches, her counsaile and seruantes, And also to Do such seruice as ther Auncestours haue Don^o to the late Duke of Bokyngham and to his auntecessours, and the abouue namyd persons shal take no replevyn^o in the Shere of wentlok till the mater be tried in the seide duches court of Rompney or Duyles.

Had the Duchess and her bondmen been Scotch, in earlier days, she could have led them back by the nose—with their tails between their legs:—“*Potest Dominus ipsum per nasum suum redigere in pristinam servitutem.*” Quoniam Attachiamenta, cap. 56, cited in (Dalyell's) ‘Fragments of Scottish History,’ 1798, p. 27.² Kett and the Norfolk Rebels in 1549 ask ‘thatt all

¹ ? MS. “premesse.”

² As it may interest some readers to see a Licence to a Scotch bondman to work for another master for a time, in A.D. 1222, I subjoin here the document engraved in Dalyell, opposite the title-page, as extended and translated by Mr. Brock. One cannot imagine that bondmen were usually parted with on such easy terms. This one was doubtless a reward to Lord Mar's son for some service rendered to the Convent by him or his father.

[Licence.]

Anno ab incarnatione dominj . M^o . cc^o . xxij^o . facta est hec conuentio inter

bonde men may be made ffre, for god made all ffre w^t his precious blode sheddyng.' Mr. Toulmin Smith reminds me that Sir Thomas Smith, in his *Common-wealth of England* (written in Latin, 28th March, 1565), chapter X., "Of Bondage and Bondmen," says:—

"All those kind of Bondmen bee called in our Law villains in grosse, as ye would say immediately bond to the person and his heires. Another they had (as appeareth in *Justinian's* time) which they called *adscriptitij glebæ* or *agri censiti*. These were not bond to the person, but to the Manour or place, and did follow him who had the Manour, [and] in our Law are called Villaines regardants, for because they beo as members, or belonging to the Manour or place. Neither of the one sort nor of the other haue we any number in England. And of the first I never knew any in the Realme in my time. Of the second, so few there be, that it is not almost worth the speaking; but our Law doth acknowledge them in both those sorts." p. 123, ed. 1621.

dominum . S. priorem sancti Andrei & Conuentum eiusdem loci ex parte una . & Gillemor seoloo de Tarualont hominem eorum ligium & natiuum ex altera : videlicet quod idem . G. tanquam eorum natiuus & ligius homo de eorum licentia erit cum domino . I. filio bone memorie . M. quondam comitis de Mar quam diu ipsi priori & conuentuj placuerit . ita quod idem . G. & eius liberi cum tota eorum substantia sine alicuius contradictione uel aliquo impedimento cum dictis priori & conuentuj placuerit Ad ipsos tanquam natiuj homines suj reuertentur . quibus locum congruum ad habitandum bona fide assignabunt . & si idem . G. uel eius liberi per annum uel amplius cum dicto domino . I. moram fecerint . annuatim soluent idm . G. uel eius liberi in recognitionem homagij sui memoratis priori & conuentuj . unam libram cere in assumptione beate Marie . & quia idem . G. sigillum proprium non habuit . conuentionem istam sigillo dicti dominij . I. filij . M. comitis de Mar fecit signari . Ad maiorem etiam securitatem prefatus . G. tactis sacrosanctis iurauit se conuentionem istam bona fide & sine contradictione aliqua fideliter seruaturum . hijs testibus . Domino . D. filio . M. quondam comitis de M^r. Domino . I. fratre eius . Domino . P. de Maleuilla uiccomite Abirdonie . Domino . R. de scradhehin . bricldin iudice de ferne . Willelmus capellanus de Tarualont . Adam de Cussenin . Maldouenin Mac killedered . killeserf de Rotheuen .

[Translation.]

In the year from the incarnation of the Lord 1222, was made this covenant, between Sir S., prior of St. Andrews, and the convent of the same place, of the one part, and Gillemor Seoloo of Tarvalont, their liegeman and bondman, of the other part, to wit, that the same G., as their bondman and liegeman, shall, by their licence, be with Sir I., son of M. of good memory, sometime Earl of Mar, so long as it shall please the same prior and convent; likewise, that the same G. and his children, with all their substance, shall revert, without contradiction of any man or any hindrance, when it shall please the said prior and convent, to them as their bondmen, to whom they shall in good faith assign a fit place to dwell in; and if the same G. or his children shall remain with the said Sir I. for a year or more, the same G. or his children shall pay yearly, in acknowledgment of their bondship to the forementioned prior and convent, one pound of wax at the assumption of the blessed Mary: and because the same G. had no seal of his own, he caused this covenant to be signed with the seal of the said Sir I., son of M., Earl of Mar; also, for greater security, the foresaid G., having touched the holy things, swore that he would in good faith, and without any contradiction, faithfully keep this covenant. These being witnesses, Sir D., son of M., sometime Earl of Mar, Sir I., his brother, Sir P. de Malleuille, Viscount of Aberdeen, Sir R. of Scradhehin, Bricldin, Judge of Ferne, William the Chaplain [?] of Tarvalont, Adam of Cussenin, Maldouenin Mackilledered, Killeserf of Rotheuen.

Still, a London man like Sir Thomas Smith may not have known what went on in the country. See p. 112, note,¹ here. I do not look on his testimony as weakening Fitzherbert's and Kett's in any degree.¹

1527 or 1528. William Roy in his *Satire against Wolsey, or Rede me and be nott wrothe*, Part II, p. 109-11 of Pickering's reprint, thus complains of the raising of rents by the Abbots, etc., the decay of farm-houses, and the throwing of several farms into one. He also notices the shepherds' food, which certainly is not worse now:—

JEF. The abbeys then full of covetyse /
Whom possessions coulede not suffyse /
Ever more and more encroachynge.

¹ The latest entry relating to a Bondman that the Index shows in *The Rolls of Parliament*, occurs under 1467-8, and is given below, but the *Rolls* extend only to 1503:—

In 1447, 25 Hen. VI, is a Petition from 'the Constablez, Maier, Aldermen, Baillifs and Burgeyses, of the Englysh Castelles and Townes in the parties of North Wales,' that the King and his Parliament should ordein "that all Boundmen to oure Souverain Lord the Kyng within Northwales, be bounden and arted to do such labours and servises of right, as thei have used to do of olde tyme, notwithstanding eny Graunte made unto them, or eny usage used by theyme of late tyme to the contrarie; and that such officers have power to compell them to do such labours and services, as have used to compell them afore tyme lawfully.

Responsio. Le Roy le voet." (*Rolls of Parliament* V. 139, col. 1.)

In 1464 and 1467-8 (*Rolls* v. 535, col. 2, 610, col. 2) are contained provisoes in Acts of Resumptions that these Acts shall not "extend in eny wyse or be prejudicall unto Thomas Dixon, Squier, of or for a Graunte to hym by us made by oure Lettres Patentes under oure Seall of oure Duchie of Lancastre, beryng date at Westminster the xxvth day of Juyn, the III^{de} yere of oure reigne of all the Londes, Tenementez, Rentes, Reversions, Services and Possessions whatsoever, with th'appurtenauncez, that somme tyme were John Capons, bondman to oure Maner of Kyngeston Lacy in the Counte of Dorset perteynyng, in the same Kyngeston Lacy, Wymbourn Mynstre, and Holt, in the same Counte of Dorset, with Milles and all other Profittes and Commoditeez to the saide Londes and Tenementes, and eny of them, in eny wise longyng or perteynyng."

John Capon must have been as rich as John de Reeve.

I add a passage from a Petition of 1391 in illustration of the quotations in *The Babees Book*, p. xlv, from *Piers Plowman's Crede* of 1392, about 'ich a beggeres brot' being set to school to learn on the book, and becoming a writer or a bishop:—

In 1391 Richard II's Commons pray him, not only that no Neif or Vileyn of any Archbishop, Bishop, Abbot, Prior, or other Religious whatsoever, be allowed to buy lands or tenements in fee, because such purchases pass out of the hands of the Temporality into the hands of the Spirituality, but "auxi de ordeiner & comander, que null Neif ou Vileyn mette ses Enfanz de cy en avant a Escoles pur eux avancer par Clergie, & ce en maintenance & salvation de toutz Frankes du Roialme.

Responsio. Le Roi s'Avisera." (*Rolls of Parliament* III. 294, col. 1.)

To my great regret, I did not know of these "Rolls of Parliament" when writing my sketch of Early English Education in the *Babees Book*, and 'Bondman' Essay in the Percy Folio. Mr. Duffus Hardy told me of them only a week ago—old as they are. They are cram full of materials for the student of the life of former times.

- After they had spoyled gentill men /
 They vndermynded husbände men /
 In this manner theym robberyng.
 Wheare a farme for xx. li. was sett /
 Under .xxx. they wolde not it lett /
 Raysynge it vp on so hyc a some.
 That many a good husholder /
 Constrayned to geve his farme over /
 To extreme beggary did come.
- WAT. ¶ I have hearde saye of myne elders /
 That in Englonde many fermers /
 Kept gaye houtholdes in tymes passed.
- JEF. Ye, that they did with liberalite /
 Sheawyng to povre people charite /
 But nowe all together is dassed.
 Of ryche farme places and halles /
 Thou seist nothyng but bare walles /
 The rofes fallen to the grownde /
 To tourne fayre houses into pasture /
 They do their diligent cure /
 The *commen* well to confownde.
- WAT. ¶ Howe have the abbeyes their payment ?
- JEF. ¶ A newe waye they do invent /
 Lettyng a dosen farmes vnder one.
 Which one or two ryche francklynges /
 Occupyinge a dosen mens lyvynges /
 Take all in their owne hondes a lone.
- WAT. The wother in paynge their rent /
 Be lyklyhod were negligent /
 And wolde not do their duty.
- JEF. They payde their duty and more /
 But their farmes are heythed so sore /
 That they are brought vnto beggery.
- WAT. Have the francklynges therby no gayne ?
- JEF. Yes / but fyrst they have moche payne /
 Yer they can gett it substancially.
 Paynge more for the entryng in /
 Then they shalbe able to wynne /
 A goode whyle after certeynly.
 For to gett the abbottes consent /
 Under the seale of the covent /
 It is a thyng very costly.
 Where-of the charges to recover /
 Lest they shulde theym selves enpover /
 And be brought into decaye
 Pover cilly shepperdes they gett /
 Whome into their farmes they sett /
 Lyvyng on mylke / whyg / and whey.

I wonder what the shepherds wore. ? Sheepskin coats and calfskin breeches, like the boy Whythead in March 1604-5, serving the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe: "in Clitheroe, for ij calfskines, to be the boyes, ether of theym, one paire of briches, ij^s viij^d; one shippe skyne to be the boyc Whythead a dublet, viij^d." (*Accounts*, i. 160, Chetham Society, 1856. There are several other like entries.)

We may take next an interesting Paper in the Record Office, which Professor Brewer kindly pointed out to me, and which contains an argument in favour of sheep and pastures, while admitting great dearth in the country in the years before its date. That date Prof. Brewer fixes at 1529 A.D., on account of the mention of the “kynges warres outwarde, with ij or iij yerres contynuaunce of the same,” the French Wars of 1523,–4,–5, and the dearth which prevailed in 1527, and part of 1528:—

“CONCYDERACIONS FFOLOWYNG, WHERFORE ALLE MANERE OF VYTTELLE HATH BEEN^o SO DERE.

“ffyrst, the kynges warres owtwarde, with ij or iij yerres contynuaunce of the same, hath been^o oon^o Occasyon^o of Derthe; for yt was neuer seen^o butt in tyme [of o]wtwarde warre, Darthe always hath ensued.

“Item, the same self yere thatt the warre ended, there ffelle as greatt a generalle Rott and Morreyn^o amongst Cattelle as euer was seen^o eny tyme xl^v yerres before norysshed & kepte; ffor in pasture there is very lyttyle Moren^o seen^o or non^o.

“Item, syth thatt tyme hath ensued iij or iiij marvelousse drye Sommers, So thatt for Scastye of Gresse, & lack of haye and watere both / greatt bestes & Shyppe coude nott ffede in Somer; butt by reason^o of the same Drowte, all maner of Cattelle to be greatt Surfettes, So thatt in the wynters ffolowyng, which werre very Soore and herde, by reason^o of the seyde Scastye of meyte & watere in the Sommers, And for lack of haye and flogge,¹ they dyed in wynterz ffolowyng, & speyally in the last wyntere, ffor many & Sundry partys of Englund werre constreynd of necessyte to dryve their Cattelle in the seyde Sommers v or vj Mylys to the watere, which hath nott been^o seen^o by no Man^o thatt nowe lyffeth / And by reason^o of theys vnseasonable yerres, there coude be noo pleyntyth of ffatt beffe & Mutton^o, for Scastye of gresse, haye, & flogge, to ffede and kepe them^o withalle.

“Item, in all seasonable yerres past, yt hath been^o seen^o thatt oons in the yere, viz ffrom^o Mychelmas to Martylmas, Men^o shuld haue hadd in dyuers Comon^o ffeldes some ffatt Cattelle, where nowe, in theys vnseasonable yerres, there hath been^o lyttyle or non^o.

“Allsso theys vnseasonable yerres haue been^o a greatt dystruccion to brede of lammes & Calvez, ffor in the open^o ffeldes the husbondes, for lack of Stufe, bredd ffewe or non^o / And those thatt werre bredd, werre hunggur-bytten^o & lyttyle worth, except suche as werre bredd in pasture.

“Item, yt hath been^o seen^o in tymes past, thatt after warrez or Morens of Cattelle, there hath been^o a Restreynt thatt no Man^o shuld kille nothere lamme nor Calfez of a certen^o tyme aftere, where nowe, synz the darthe beganne, there hath been^o non^o suche restreynt.”

“THE SCASTYE OF FFYSSHE AND FFWOLE.

“Item, the seyde vnseasonable yerres haue nott oonly been^o the Cause of Derthe of beffe & Mutton^o, butt allsso the dystruccion of ffreshe-watere ffysshe & ffwowles, in the ffennys and in othere places, by reason^o of greatt Droughtez in Sommere, & greatt frostes in wyntere, So thatt ffysshe & ffwowle is vtterly dystroyed, and be att the treble pryce thatt they werre wount to be att.

“Item, the Darthe of Porke was by reason^o thatt of Scacety of Beynes and Peys, & allsso ffor lack of Maste, ffor Men^o werre constreynd in theys herde yerres to gyffe their horsses & bestes, Peyason^o in Ryse,² for lack of haye, yett

¹ *Fog, Feg*, grass not eaten down in summer, that grows in tufts over the winter. *Fogagium*, winter pasture in the forests. (*Wedgwood*.)

² A.S. *hris*, a branch. ? The whole pea-plant.

thatt notwithstanding many horssez, Mares, & ffooles, dyed ffor lack of Meyte; wherefore there was butt lyttyle Porke bredd nor yett fiedde.

“Item, the darth and Scacety of this Cattelle afforseyd, hath been^o the Cause why alle Pultree ware, and whit meyte, hath been^o so dere.”

“REGRATOUR^z AND FFORSTALLERS OF CATTELLE HATH BEEN^o AN^o OTHERE CAUSE OF¹ DARTHE OF VYTTELLE.

“Item, the Cuntree^z, videlicet, wales, Chesshyre, lankeshyre, & the North ppartyez, where bestes be bredd att this daye,—there is neuer a Gresyere in Englondd thatt byeth eny bestes bredd in those Cuntree^z, in ffeyre and Markytt, leyne, butt he byeth them^o att the iiij^{de} & iiijth hand att the lest / And in lyke maner suche Regratyng is vsed from^o the Gresyere of ffatt Cattelle.

“yett Notwithstanding alle the p^remyssez, videlicet, the kynges warrez, vnseasonable yerez, regratyng, and fforstallyng, And greatt Morren^o of Cattelle, & the pasture^z yett standyng,—thanked be god,—alle thyng is pleyn^ttyffulle att this daye as euer yt was, and lyke to be, yf god send seasonable wedders, allso yf the pasture^z at this daye maye contynue, And then^o ean^o Darthe neuer long contynue, as by good Reason^o and [experyence maye be proved]²

which Pleyn^tty hath been^o and is by reason^o of Pasture^z; ffor always when^o a generalle Mooren^o of Shyppe and alle othere Cattelle is in common^o ffeldez, then^o very lyttyle or non^o in Pasture^z. And so in pasture^z is then^o bredd & kepte moeche Cattelle, and as often^o as the Comon^o Moren^o hath ffallen^o in the common^o ffeldez, the pasture^z haue releved the seyde Common^o ffeldez ayen^o with their brede of their Cattelle, to the increasyng of the husbondes, & to the composyng of their lond, which is the chefe Cause of the pleyn^ttyffe of Corne; ffor yt hath nott been^o seen^o thatt in the tyme of pleyn^tty of Shyppe thatt eny Darthe of Corne hath been^o & contynued, nor neuer shall be as long as ye haue pleyn^tty of Shyppe, which pleyn^tty is & hath been^o by reason^o of pasture^z, as by reason^o & experyence maye be proved, the kynges grace & his most honorable Councelle nott offended. More ouer, when^o the Seacynesse of the yere doeth comme for vyttelle, which is between^o Seynt andrewes tyde and Mydsomer, then^o alle beffe, Mutton^o, & lammys, commeth owte of Pasture^z & Mersshes, except very lyttyle, which is Reke fedd & Stalle ffedd; and yf pasture^z werre nott, thatt nowe be withyn^o xl or l Mylys of the Cytye of london^o, the botchere^z of the seyde Cytye coude neuer selle so good a penyworth as they doe, ffor they doe euer ffetche them^o as they doe occupye them^o, and putt them^o to no Charge of gresse / And by cause of their shorte dryfite, they doe lese butt lyttyle of their flesshe, And Cost them^o lyttyle money ffor their^o charge of conveyaunce to the seid Scite.”³

To check the high prices of meat, caused (no doubt) by the bad seasons, etc., spoken of in this Paper, the statute of 24 Hen. VIII, cap. 3, was passed, fixing the prices at which meat should be sold by the pound,— $\frac{1}{2}d.$ for beef, $\frac{5}{8}d.$ for mutton. The Act was, however, not duly observed; and, by the 25 Hen. VIII, cap. 1, additional powers were given to enforce its provisions; but both Acts were soon suspended, in 1536, by the 27 Hen. VIII, cap. 9, on account of “the great darth of al maner of vitayles, which be nowe, and syns the makyng of the seid estatutes hath fallen and happened within this . . Realme, as well by morreyne &

¹ MS. “or.”

² Partly cut off; then about two lines appear to be cut off.

³ Substituted for “bryngyng vppe,” which is struck out. (Scite = citie.)

deathe of such cattelles, as by great waters and unseasonable wethers, whereby the breed and increse of the same is mych enpayred and mynyshid." (See p. 43-4 below.)

1530. The grievance now is the gentleman's, the accumulation of land in the hands of the Clergy (as including the Monks and Friars).

In *A Proper Dyaloge betwene a Gentillman and a Husbandman, eche complaynyge to other their miserable Calamite through the Ambicion of Clergye*, A.D. 1530¹ (reproduced in facsimile by Mr. Fry in 1863, who quotes parallelisms from Roy, as the possible author of the tract), the Gentillman says of his Ancestors:—

"Their chefe lordshippes and londes principall,
With commodytes of their possessyon,
Vnto the clergie they gaue forthe with all,
Dysheretinge their right successyon ;
Which to receiue, without excepcion,
The couetous clergie made no deny,
Sayenge that they wold for their soules pray.

By the meanes wherof / I and suche other,
Suffrynge the extremyte of indigence,
Are occasioned to theft or mourder,
Fallynge in-to moche inconuenience
Because the clergie (agaynst conscience)
Deoureth oure possessiones nighte and daye,
Sayeng *that* for oure frendes soules they praye.

I haue wife and childern vpon my hande,
Wantinge substaunce / their lifes to sustayne.
Wherfore to the clergy that haue my lande,
Sometyme I come, and pituously complayne,
Whos statelines / to helpe me hauyng disdayne,
With-out any comforte to me they saye,
That for my frendes soules they dayly praye.

Shuld I and my houshold for houngre dye,
They wold not an halfe peny with vs parte ;
So that they lyue in welthe abundantly,
Full litle they regarde oure woofull smerte.
To waste oure goodes they nothinge aduerte,
In vicious lustes and pompous araye,
Sayenge *that* for our frendes soules they praye." [back of folio 3.]

* * * * *

¶ THE HUSBANDMAN.

Syr / god geue you good morowe !
I perceiue the cause of youre sorowe ..
And most lamentable calamyte,
Is for the oppression intollerable
Of thes monstres so vncharitable,
Whom men call the spirituallte.

A copy is in the British Museum. Mr. Fry knew only Lord Arthur Hervey's.

Trouthe it is / ye poore gentillmen are
 By their craftynes made nedy and bare,
 Your landes with-holdinge by violence.
 How be it we husbandmen euery where
 Are nowe in worsse condicion ferre,
 As it may be marked by experieco.

¶ GENTILLMAN.

In worse caas ? nay / that can not be so !
 For loke ouer the hoole worlde to and fro,
 Namely here in oure owne region;
 And thou shalt fynde, that in their handes
 Remayneth the chefe lordeshippes and landes
 Of poore gentillmens possession.
 They haue oure auncters lyeelood and rentes,
 Their principall fearmes and tencamentes,
 With temporall fredomes and libertees ;
 They haue gotten vnto their kingdomes
 Many noble baronries and erldomes,
 With esquyres landes, and knightes fees." [back of folio 4.]

In the same poem the husbandman complains of the Monastic bodies raising their rents and throwing two, three, even six farms, into one. In the old times he fancies it was not so. Then :—

[folios 6, 6 bk. and 7.]

We husbandmen lyke wise prosperously,
 Occupyenge the feates of husbandry,
 Hyerd fearmes of pryce competent,
 Wherby oure lyuinge honestly we wanne,
 And had ynough to paye euery manne,
 Helpinge other that were indigent
 Tyll at the last the rauenous clergye,
 Through their craftynes and hypocrisye
 Gate to them worldly dominacion.
 Than were we ouercharged very sore,
 Oure fearmes set vp dayly more and more
 With shamefull pryce, in soehe a fasshyon
 That we paye more nowe by halfe the sune
 Than aforetymes we dyd of custome,
 Holdinge ought of their possession.
 Besyde this / other contentes of brybery,
 As payenge of tythes / open and preuy,
 And for herynge of confession ;
 Also prestes dueties, and clerkes wages,
 Byenge of perdones, and freres quarterages,
 With churches and aultares reparacion.
 All oure charges can not be nombred,¹
 Wherwith we are greatly acombred,
 Ouer whelmyd with desolacion.

¹ Compare those above with the ones enumerated in the interesting *God spede the Plough* in Mr. Skeat's edition of *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede*, E. E. Text Soc. 1867.

*We tourmoyle oure selves nyght and daye,
And are fayne to dryncke whygge and whaye,¹
For to maynteyne the clargyes facciones.*

¶ GENTILLMAN.

This were a great shame to be knowen,
Seynge halfe the realme is their owne,
That they charge you with soche exaccions.
Me thyncketh so to do is no small cryme,
For they kepte as good houses a foretyme
Whiles theyr fearme-hyers was ferre lesse.

¶ HUSBANDMAN.

Ye / more plentuous houses a great deale,
How be yt, in hyndrynge the comone weale
They vse also this practyse doutles,
Where as poore husband men afore season—
Accordinge vnto equite and reason—

[fol. 6, bk.]

House or lande to fearme dyd desyre,
Without any difficulte they might it get,
And yet no hygher price was ther vp set
Than good conscience did require.
But nowe their ambitious suttlete
Maketh one fearme of two or thre ;

Ye, some tyme they bringe .vi. to one,
Which to gentillmen they let in farmage,
Or elles to ryche marchauntes for a vantage,
To the vndoynge of husbandeman echone ;
Wherby the comones sufferinge damage,
The hole land is brought in to rerage,

As by experience ye may well see.
Thus is the wealth of village and towne,
With the fame of honorable renowne,
Fallen in to myserable pouerte.

Plentuous houtholdes hereby ar deokayde,
Relefe of poore people is awaye strayde,
Allmes exyled with hospitylte :
By soche meanes / all thinge waxeth dere,
Complaynte of subiectes cryenge ferre and nere,
Oppressed with greuous calamyte.

¶ GENTILLMAN.

Truely thou shewest the very abuse :
Neuerthelesse, concernynge oure excuse,
Why we gentillmen farmes occupye ;
The principall occasion is onely this,
That oure patrimony geuen awaye is
Vnto thes wolffes of the clergie,

¹ Mr. Fry quotes at p. 11 of his reproduction, the parallel passage from Roy's Satire given at length above, p. 17:—

Pover cilly shepperds they gett,
Whome into their farmes they sett,
Lyvyng on mylke, whygg, and whay

Whig is buttermilk (*Lincoln.*), or sour whey (*Brockett.*). (Halliwell's Gloss.)

By whos oppression we are so beggeryd,
 That necessite hath vs compellyd
 With fearmes soche shyft to make.
 For, as ye husbandmen can well vnderstande,
 Touchinge expences and charges of the lande,
 They disdayne any parte with vs to take."

[fol. 7.]

We pass next to a dateless tract in the Lambeth Library, 'Certayne causes gathered together, wherin is shewed the decaye of England, onely by the great multytude of shepe, to the vtter decay of housholde kepyng, mayntenaunce of men, dearth of corne, and other notable dyscommodities, approued by syxe olde Prouerbes.' The writer speakes for Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Northamptonshire; and his six Proverbs are:—

The more shepe, the dearer is the wol.
 The more shepe, the dearer is the motton.
 The more shepe, the dearer is the beffe.
 The more shepe, the dearer is the corne.
 The more shepe, the skanter is the whit meate (flesh of cattle).
 The more shepe, the fewer egges for a peny.

"The fyrst losse, as we do thinke, there is not so many plowes vsed, occupied, and maintained within Oxforth shyre, as was in Kyng Henry the seuenth tyme, and sens hys fyrste comming there lacketh xl. plowes, euery plough was able to kepe .vi. persons, doune lyinge and vprysynge in hys house, the whych draweth to twelfscore persons in Oxfordshyre.

"And where *that* the sayde twelfscore persons were wont to haue meste, dryneke, rayment and wages, payinge skot and lot to God, and to oure Kyng, now there is nothing kept there, but only shepe. Now these twelfscore persons had nede to haue liuing: whether shal they go? into Northamptonshyre? and there is also the luyng of twelf score persons loste: whether shal then they go? forthe from shyre to shyre, and to be scatered thus abroade, within the Kynges Maiestyes Reaulme, where it shal please almyghty God; and for lacke of maystres, by compulsyon dryuen, some of them to begge, and some to steale.

"The seconde losse, as we do thinke, that there is neuer a plough of the .xl. plowes, but he is able to tyl and plowe to certyfy six persons, and euery plough to sell .xxx. quarters of grayne by the yeare, or els he can full yll paye, six, seuen, eyght pounds by the yeare. . . . And yf it be as we do think, *that* there be iiij score plowes in euery one of these shires les then there was, then is there the luyng lost of a thousand & four score persons in euery one of these foresayde shyres. Thys is the seconde losse as we do thyncke, and call for remedy for it.

"The thirde losse, as we do thinke: we do lose in the said thre shyres kepyng of housholde, and hospitalyie, and maintaynyng of tyllage and household kepyng; we do lacke corne, and also lese oure catell; for where anye housholde is kept, there is kept kyne and calues; & of oure kyne there commeth mylke, butter and chease; and all this doeth sustayne the Kynges Mayesties subiectes; and for thys we haue nothing but shepe.

"And furthermore, where housholdes be kepte, there is hogges, pygges, and bakon, eapons, hennes, duckes, Egges, frute, and many other commodities, that is necessary and nedefull to be had for *the* maintenaunce and luyng of the Kynges maiesties poore subiectes to lyue by; and for that we haue nothyng but shepe. This is the thyrde losse."

? Before 1545 A.D., Robert Crowley, the printer of the first

edition of the *Vision of Piers Flowman*, afterwards a clergyman, and a writer of very many controversial and other tracts, put forth—

“An informacion and Peticion agaynst the oppressours of the pore Commons of this Realme, compiled and Imprinted for this onely purpose that amongst them that haue to doe in the Parliamente, from godlye mynded men, may hereat take occacion to speake more in the matter then the Authoure was able to write.”

From the copy of this in the British Museum we may take two extracts; the first on the possessionier or engrosser of farms; the second on the breaking up of families through landlords' exactions, the daughters being driven to prostitution, etc. :—

[Back of leaf 5.]

“He lyeth in wayte wyth the richemen of the villages or graynges, in secrete corners, to the intent to flea y^e innocent. Hys eyes are fyxed vpon the pore, he layeth awayete euen as a lyon in his denne. He layeth a wayte to take the pore man by force, and when he hath gotten him within hys reache, then wyll he take hym violentlye. In hys net will he ouerthrowe the pore, and through hys strength shall the multitude of the oppressed be ouer charged and fall. For in his herte he saycth, God hath forgotten, God turneth a waye hys face, and wyll neuer regarde the oppression of the pore etc. to the ende of the same psalme. * * * * * Wo be vnto you therefore, that do ioyne house vnto house, & couple one felde to an other, so longe as there is any grounde to be had. Thinke you that you shal dwel vpon the earth alone? The Lorde of hostes (sayth the prophete) hath spoken these wordes vnto me. Manye large and goodlye houses, shall be deserte, & without inhabitantes .x. acres of wynes shall yelde but one quarte of wine, and .xxx. bushelles of scede shal yelde but .x. bushelles agayne. Beholde you engrossers of fermes, and teynements beholde I saye, the terrible threatnynges of God whose wrath you can not escape. The voyce of the pore (whom you haue with money thruste out of house and whome,) is well accepted in the cares of the Lorde, and hath steared vp hys wrath agaynste you. He threateneth you most horrible plagis. Ten acres of vynes shal yelde but one quarte of wyne, and .xxx. bushelles of scede but .x. bushelles agayne. The scede of goddes worde sown in your hertes, shalbe barrayne and not bringefourth fruite.”

[Leaf 8.]

“The lande lordes for their partes, surney and make y^e vttermost peny of al their growndes, bysides the vnreasonable fynes and incomes; and he that wyll not or can not gene all that they demaunde, shall not enter, be he neuer so honest, or stande he neuer so greate neede. Yea though he haue ben an honeste, true, faythfull and quiete tenant many yeres, yet at the vacation of his Copie or Indentur, he must paye welmoste as muche as woulde purchayse so much grownde or else voide in hast, though he, his wyfe and chyldrene, should perishe for lacke of harbour. What a sea of mischifes hath flouded out of thys more then Turkysh tyranie: what honeste housholders haue ben made folowers of other not so honest mens tables: what honeste matrones haue ben brought to the needy rocke and cardes: what men-chyldrene of good hope in the liberall sciences and other honeste qualities (wherof this realme hath great lacke), haue ben compelled to fal, some to handycrafts, and some to daye labour, to sustayne their parents decrepet age and miserable peuertie: what frowarde and stoubourn children haue herby shaken of the yoke of godly chastisement, rennyng hedlonge into all kyndes of wickednes, and finally garnyshed galowe trees: what modeste, chaste and

womanly virgins, haue for lacke of dourie ben compelled either to passe ouer ye days of theyr youth in vngrate seruitude, or else to marye to perpetuall miserable pouertie: what immodeste and wanton gyrls haue hereby bene made sisters of the Banek¹ (the stumbling stock of all frayle youth), and

¹ The stews or brothels on Bankside, Southwark, which were then farmed of the City, were destroyed in A.D. 1381, by the insurgents under Wat Tyler, when they took possession of Southwark, and broke open the prisons and released the prisoners (*Penny Cyclopaedia*, art. "Southwark.") The stews were put down by Edward VI's Government in 1545 A.D., but the name lasted longer. In Randolph's *Poems with the Muses Looking Glasse*, 1638, quoted by Nares, the writer says:—

"Come, I will send for a whole coach or two
Of Bank-side ladies, and we will be jovial."

Old Plays, ix. 206.

Mr. Haweis (*Sketches of the Reformation*, p. 135) quotes from a sermon of Chedsey's, in 1545, in which he exposes the enormities of the Bank stews; and also from a sermon of Latimer's, in which he says, "You have put down the stews; but, I pray you, what is the matter amended? What availeth that? ye have but changed the place, and not taken the whoredom away . . . I hear say there is now more whoredom in London than ever there was on the *Bank* . . . There is more open whoredom, more stewed whoredom than ever was before. The *Bank*, when it stood, was never so common." (Sermons, ed. 1844, p. 133-4.) And again (*ib.* p. 196) "O Lord, what whoredom is used now-a-days . . . how God is dishonoured by whoredom in this city of London; yea, the *Bank* when it stood, was never so common . . . There is some place in London [the precinct of St. Martin-le-Grand, originally a sanctuary, and which retained its extra-civic immunity], as they say, "Immunity, impunity:" what should I call it? A privileged place for whoredom. The lord mayor hath nothing to do there, the sheriffs they cannot meddle with it; and the quest they do not inquire of it: and there men do bring their whores, yea, other men's wives, and there is no reformation of it." In the Search for suspected persons, ordered by Henry VIII. on July 10, 1517, ' & afterwards set over till the 17th of the same month,' we find that these Bankside brothels contributed more than any other place: "Persons taken at the stewhouses within the liberty of the bishop of Winchester . . . 54 men and women, including Jo. Willyams, footman to the King, at the signs of the Castle, the Bull, the Hart, the "Olyfant," the Unicorn, the Bear's Head, and other houses designated by their owners' names. (*Brewer's Calendar*, iii. 127.)

The subject is further illustrated by a Petition to Henry VI's Parliament in 1443:—

(*Rolls of Parliament*, vol. 4. p. 447, 11 & 12 Hen. VI.)

"42. Please hit to the Wysdome and high discretion of the worshipfull Communes in this present Parliament assemblid, to consider a grete myschief in late dayes begonne amonge untrewre lyvers, and poeple withoute conscience, and yet duellyng in a suspect and wyeked place called the Stewys, in the Burgh of Southewerke, in the Shire of Surrey. That ys to wete, howe that withinne fewe dayes diverse persones of right grete povertie, and right disolute governance, withinne a fewe yeres duellyng in the saide suspect place, as well by recettyng of comon women, thefes, mansleers, and avoutoures, as by murdererys, and prive robberyes, dono ther by hem self and other many, withoute petie, trowth and goode conscience, ther prevyly logid, have sodenly comyn to grett rychesse, and therwith purchasyd grett lyvelod of Londes and Tenementes, to right grete value yerly; and by cause of sufficeaunt of frehold so purchased, have been ofte retourned by the Shereve of the Shire, and othere Baillifs, and sworn in Enquestes, as well for felonies and trespasses betweene

finaly, moste miserable creatures lyeinge and dieynge in the stretes, ful of all plagis and penurie: what vniuersall destruction chaunceth to this noble realme by this outrageous and vnsaciabie desyr of the surueiers of landes: I reporte me to you (most christian counsayellours) which ar here assembled from all partes of this noble realme, to consulte for the welth of all the membres of the same. On the other syde, ther bee certayne tenauntes, not able to be lande lordes, and yet after a sorte they conterfayte landelordes, by obtaynyng¹ leases in and vpon groundes and tenementes, and so reyse fynes, incomes, and rentes: and by suche pyllage pyke out a porcion to mayntayne a proud porte, and all by pylynge and pollynge of the poore commons, that must of necessitie seke habitations at their handes. That this is true, I report me to my lorde the maire, and other the hed officers of the Citie of London, whoe (if they be not ignorant of the state of the Citie) can witnes with me that the moste parte, yea I thinke ix. of the .x. partes, of the houses in London, bee set and let by them that haue them by lease: and not by the owners. Howe thei polle the pore tenantes, would some be tryed, if theyr leases were conferred with theyr rentrolles. It is not to be thought contrary but that the greate leasmungers haue greate gains by their leases, for the littleons that hold but a piece of houseing of .xx. or .xxx. s. by yere, can fynde the meanes to holde, and dwell vpon the chiefe parte therof rent fre, by letynge out the residue for the whole yerely rent. I thinke not contrary, but these thinges do appeare in the syght of many to bee but verey trifles, and not worthy to be spok^{en} of in so noble an assemyng as this most honorable parliament. For they are no mattiers concernyng the welth of the nobilitie; yea, it is rather hyndrance to many of them, to haue these thynges redressed, then any increase of theyr welth. Yea euen you (moste christian counsaylours) whych are here assembled, to debate the weightie mattiers of thys realme;

the Kyng and partie, and partie and partie, as in assises, and other plees of lond, afore diuerses Jugges of oure Liege Lord in his Courtes, and afore the Steward and Marshall of his houshold; thorough whiche causes, many and diuerses disheretaunces and wrongfull condempnations of many trewe liege men of oure soveraigne Lord have been hadde, and many murdererys of men, and notarye theves, have been savyd, and gret murdererys and robberies coneseled and passed unponischid: and howe the said suspecte poeple, enahynte hem in comune Hostries and Tavernys in the high strete of the said Burgh, there recettyng Theves, commune women, and other mysdoers, in lyke wyse as they deden at the said suspect place of the Stewys. Lyke hit to youre high discretions, these premisses considered, and that suche poeple withoute Conscience, mowe not of Reason be undirstouden worthi of trowth, nor to bere witnesse of trowth in any cause where right is to be enquered; to praye the Kyng oure soveraigne Lord, that by the assent of the Lordes Espirituelx an Temporelx, and by auctoritie of this present Parliament, to ordeyne, that yef any suche persone be returned by any Sheref, Baillif, or other Ministres of oure soveraigne Lord the Kyng, in the said Shire of Surrey, or by any Minister afore the Steward and Marshall of the Kynges houshold, that as well for the Kyng as for any partie, he maye in all tymes here after be chalanged, and the Challenge in this partie allowed in this partie, for the cause aforesaid. And also that non suche that have so duellyd at the seid Stewys, be sufferid to hold any commune Hostrie nor Tavern, in any other place withinne the said Southwerk, sauf onely atte the said Stewys, in escheuyng of murdererys, robberiez and avoutries, that ellys been likly to ben hadde. And that the Justices of the Pees in the said Shire of Surrey, have power to enquere of all suche holders of Hostries and Tavernes, and to punysche hem that suche been, by fyn and raunson, and inprisoyng of here bodies, afre the discretion of the said Justices; for the love of God, and in wey of charitee."

¹ Orig.: "obtainydge."

are not all so free from this kynde of oppression, but that you coulde be well contented to wyneke at it. And therfor, for asmuche as the inordinate loue of men towarde them selues is such, that eyther they can not se theyr owne faults, or else if they do se them, or be tolde of them, they take them not to be so great as they are in dede: I thinke it no meruayle, though such of you (most worthy counsaylours) as haue any profite by this oppression, do wythin them selues deride and laugh to scorn my fole hardines and rashe enterpryse herein, knoweynge that it is not the vse of them that bee assembled, to the intent to establish such thynges as shall be for the welth of a whole realme, to condescende and agree to those thynges whyeh shallbe disprofitable vnto the chiefe membres of the same."

But to return to the Sheep and the Enclosures. Polydore Vergil notices the preponderance of grasiers over tillers:—

The grownde is marvelous fruitfull, and abundantlie replenished with cattayle, wherebie it commethe to passe that, of Englishe men, moe are grasiers and masters of cattayle then howsbande men or laborers in tilling of the fieldes, so that allmoste the third parte of the grownde is lefte unmanured, either for their hertes, or falowe decre, or their conies, or their gotes (for of them allso are in the northe partes no small number); for allmoste everie where a man maye se clausures and parckes paled and enclosed, fraughte with suche venerie, which, as they minister greate cause of huntinge, so the nobilitie is muche delited and exercised therein.—*Polydore Vergil's English History* (written between 1509 and 1555) *translated*. Bk. i. p. 5, Camden Soc.

In 1549 the people's irritation and discontent broke out into open disorder, which soon turned to rebellion. The immediate cause of the outbreaks, says Holinshed, was the Protector Somerset's Proclamation against the enclosure of commons. The reader will find the passage quoted in the Introduction to 'Vox Populi,' further on in this volume.

A.D. 1549. Latimer, in his First Sermon preached before King Edward VI., says:—

"If the king's honour, as some men say, standeth in the great multitude of people; then these graziers, inclosers, and rent-rearers, are hinderers of the king's honour. For where as have been a great many housholders and inhabitants, there is now but a shepherd and his dog: so they hinder the king's honour most of all. (*Sermons*, ed. 1844, p. 100.) Thou which raisest the rents so greedily, as though thou shouldst never have enough . . . learn first the use of money and riches . . . lest God, before whom thou shalt appear one day, to render a strait account for the deeds done in the flesh, burden and charge thee with the unmerciful handling of thy tenant, but yet notwithstanding thy Brother, whom with new incomes, fines, enhancing of rents, and such like unreasonable exactions, thou pillest, pollest, and miserably oppressest" ('To the Reader,' *ib.* p. 107) "to extort and take away the right of the poor, is against the honour of the king . . . for I fully certifie you, extortioners, violent oppressors, ingrossers of tenements and lands, through whose covetousness villages decay and fall down, the king's liege people for lack of sustenance are famished and decayed,—they be those which speak against the honour of the king" (*ib.* p. 94).

A.D. 1550. Robert Crowley, (the author of the *Informacion* above quoted) in "*The way to wealth, wherein is plainly taught a most present remedy for Sedicion*." Wrytten and imprinted by Robert Crowley the .viii. Of Februarye in the yere of our LORDE

A thousand five hundred & fiftie," states the poor man's grievances in his own words, thus:—

"If I shuld demaunde of the pore man of the contrey, what thinge he thinketh to be the cause of Sedition: I know his answere. He woulde tel me that the great fermares, the grasiars, the riche but[c]hars, the men of lawe, the marchautes, the gentlemen, the knightes, the lordes, and I can not tel who,—Men that haue no name because they are doares in al thinges that ani gaine hangeth vpon, Men without conscience, Men vtterly voide of goddes feare; Yea, men that liue as though there were no God at all,¹ Men *that* would haue all in their owne handes, men that would leaue nothyng for others, men that would be alone on the earth, men that bee neuer satisfied, Cormerauntes, gredeye gullies, yea men that would eate vp menne, women, & chyl dren,—are the causes of Sedition. They take our houses ouer our headdes, they bye our growndes out of our handes, they reyse our rentes, they leaue great (yea, vnreasonable) fines, they enclose oure commens. No custome, no lawe or statute, can kepe them from oppressing vs, in such sorte, that we knowe not whyche waye to turne vs to lyue. Very nede therefore constrayneth vs to stand vp agaynst them. In the countrey we can not tarye, but we must be theyr slaues, and labourer tyll our hertes brast, and then they must haue al. And to go to the cities we haue no hope, for there we heare that these vn-saciabie beastes haue all in their handes. Some haue purchased, and some taken by leases, whole allyes, whole rentes, whole rowes, yea, whole streats and lanes, so that the rentes be reysed, some double, some triple, and some four fould to that they were wythin these .xii. yeres last past. Yea, ther is not so much as a garden grownd fre from them. No remedye therefore, we must nedes fight it out, or else be brought to the lyke slauery that the french men are in. These Idle bealies wil deuour al *that* we shal get by our sore labour in our youth; and when we shal be old and impotent, then shal we be drinen to begge and craue of them that wyl not geue vs so muche as the crommes that fall from their tables: Such is the pytie we se in them. Better it were, therefore, for vs to dye lyke men, then after so great misery in youth to dye more miserably in age." (*leaves A 3 & 4.*)

Take, too, Crowley's version of the answer of the Engrossers, as showing the temper in which they dealt with the poor:—

"Nowe if I should demaund of the gredie cornerauntes what thei thinke shuld be the cause of Sedition: they would saie, 'the paisant knaues be to welthy; prouender pricketh them. They knowe not them selues, they knowe no obediance, they regard no lawes, thei would haue no gentlemen, thei wold haue al men like them selues, they would haue al thinges commune. Thei would not haue vs maisters of that which is our owne. They wil appoint vs what rent we shal take for our groundes. We must not make the beste of oure owne. These are ioly felowes. Thei wil caste doune our parckes, & laie our pastures open, thei wil haue the law in their own handes. They wil play the kinges. They wyl compel the kinge to graunt theyr requestes. But as they like their fare at the breakefaste they had this laste somer,² so let them do againe. They haue ben metely well coled, and shalbe yet better coled if they quiet not them selues. We wyl tech them to know theyr betters. And because they wold haue al commune, we wil leaue them nothing. And if they once stirre againe, or do but once cluster together, we wil hang them at

¹ "The world and the devil have so bewitched us, that we in our deeds, I fear me, too many of us, deny God to be God, whatsoever we pittle-pattle with our tongues." (1549. *Latimer's Sermons*, ed. 1844, p. 106.)

² Lord Russell's routing of the western rebels at Launceston, and Warwick's routing of the Norfolk rebels, both in August 1549. Two thousand insurgents perished in the action and pursuit by Warwick. (*Macintosh.*)

their own dores. Shal we suffer *the vilaines* to disproue our doynge? No, we wil be lordes of our own, & vso it as we shal thinke good.' Oh good maisters, what shuld I cal you? you *that* haue no name, you *that* haue so many occupacions & trads *that* ther is no on name mete for you. You vgentle gentlemen. You churles chickens, I say. Geue me leue to make answer for the pore Ideotes ouer whom ye triumphe in this sorte." (sign. B. ij. back, & B. iij.)

A.D. 1577. Harrison, in his Description of Britain (Holinshed,

¹ An interesting passage on the Reformed clergymen and their wives and daughters, occurs in this Tract on A 8 back, and B i. :—"I se you busied . .

Nota bene how prystes wyves ought [t]o behaue them selves &e &c [Written in an early hand at the side.]

with purchaisinge landes for youre heires & finde fingered ladies, whose womaⁿlike behaiour and motherlike housewifry ought to be a lighte to al womaⁿ that dwell aboute you, but is so fare otherwise, that vnlesse ye leaue them landes to Marye them wythall, no man wyll set a pinne by them when you be gone. Wel loko to this geare be tyme, leaste perhappes it brede a scabbe emonge you. I woulde not your wiues shoulde be taken from you: but I wold you shoulde

kepe them to the furtheraunce of goddes trueth, wherof ye professe to be teacheres. Let youre wiues therefore put of their fine frockes and frenche hoodes, & furnishe them selues with al pointes of honest housewifery, and so let them be an helpe to youre studie, and not a lette. S. Paul (i. Timo. iii.) teacheth you not to make them ladies or gentlewomen. Neither doeth he teache you to be so greedie vpon liueings, that for the liueinge sake ye will take vpon you the duties of twentie men, and yet do not the dutie of one; no, some of you be not able to do anye part of one dutie. If goddes worde do allow it that one of you shulde be a deano in one place, a canono in an other, a parson here, and a parson there, a maister of an house in Oxforde or Cambridge, and an officer in the kinges house, and yet to do none of the duties herof thorowly: then set your penne to the paper, and satisfie vs bi goddes word, and we wil also helpe you to oure power to satisfie the consciences of them that be offended at youre doinges herin. If you can not do so: then geue ouer youre pluralities and make your vnsaciabie desires geue place to goddes trueth. Content your selfe with one competent liueinge, and faile not to be diligente in doinge the dutie therof. But if ye wyll do neither of boeth: truste to it, ye shall heare more of it. Your checkinge of one or two in a corner can not stop euerye mannes mouth in a matter of trueth, beyng so great an infamio to *the* gospel of god which ye professe. And if ye wil nedes hold stil your pluralities for your lordlike liueinge sake, doubt ye not ye wyll be charged with that whiche ye woulde seme to be cleare of. For a great nombre of youre vnworthye curates haue bene the stirrars vp of the simple people in the late tumultes that haue bene, whereas if you had not robbed them of that which they paye yearely to haue a learned and Godly teachar, they had bene better enstructed; as appeared by the quietnes that was emonge them that had such shepherdes." Latimer, in his last Sermon before Edward VI, speaks of the French hoods: "Paul saith that 'a woman ought to haue a power on her head' . . this 'power' that some of them haue, is disguised gear and strange fashions. They must wear French hoods, and I cannot tell you, I, what to call it. And when they make them ready, and come to the covering of their head, they will say, "Give me my French hood, and give me my bonnet or my cap," and so forth, now here is a vengeance devil: we must haue our power from Turkey, of velvet, and gay it must be; far fetched, dear bought; and when it cometh, it is a false sign." He goes on to reprove them for their tufts and tussocks of hair laid out for show, etc. (*Sermons*, ed. 1844, p. 253-4.) See also Stubs on the French hoods: *Anat.* p. 62.

p. 221, col. 1), takes an easier view of the matter. He says of sheep:—

“Certes this kind of cattell is more cherished in England, than standeth well with the commoditie of the commons, or prosperitie of diuerse townes, whereof some are wholie conuerted to their feeding: yet such a profitable sweetnesse is their fleece, such necessitie in their flesh, and so great a benefit in the manuring of barren soile with their doong and pisse, that their superfluous numbers are the better borne with. And there is never an husbandman (for now I speake not of our great sheepe-masters, of whom some one man hath 20,000), but hath more or lesse of this cattell feeding on his fallowes and short grounds, which yeild the finer fleece.”

A.D. 1581. In William Stafford's ‘Compendious or briefe Examination of Certayne Ordinary Complaints,’ etc.,¹ he makes the Husbandman say:—

“These Inclosures doe vndoe vs all, for they make vs to pay dearer for our lande that we occupy, & causes that we can haue no lande in manner for our money to put to Tyllage, all is taken vp for Pasture: for Pasture eyther for Sheepe, or for Grasinge of Cattell, in so much that I haue knowne of late a dozen ploughes within lesse compasse then sixe Myles about mee, layde downe within this seuen yeares: and where three score persons or vpward had their liuings, now one man with his Cattell hath all, which thinge is not the least cause of former vprores: for by these Inclosures many doe lacke lyuings, and be ydle, & therefore for very necessity they are desirous of a change, beinge in hope to come thereby to somewhat, and well assured that, howe so euer it befall with them, it can bee no harder with them than it was before: more ouer all things are so decre, that by their day wages they are not able to lyue.” (Leaf 3, back.)

On leaf 5 we have the Knight stating his grievances, and telling us why he and his class are obliged to raise their rents as much as they can, but are still badly off. After which, the husbandman again chimes in with “those sheepe is the cause of all these mischieues.”

KNIGHT. “Syr, as I knowe it is true that yee complayne not *without* cause, so it is as true that I and my sorte, I meane all Gentlemen, haue as greate, yea and farre greater, cause to complayne then any of you haue, for (as I sayd,) nowe that the pryces of thinges are so rysen of all handes, you may better lyue after your degree then wee; for you may, and do, rayse the pryce of your wares, as the prises of vittayles, & other your necessaries doe ryse; and so cannot we so much; for though it bee true, that of such landes as come to our handes, eyther by purchase, or by determination and ending of such termes of yeares, or other Estates, that I or mine aucestors had *grawted* them in time past, I doe eyther receyue a better fine than of olde was vsed, or enhance the rent thereof, being forced thereto for the charge of my housholde that is so encreased ouer that it was, yet in all my lyfe time I looke not that the thyrde parte of my lande shall come to my disposition, that I may enhance the rent of the same, but it shalbe in mens holding, either by leases or by copy graunted before my time, and still continuing, and yet like to continue in the same state for the most part during my life, and percase my Sonnes: so as we cannot rayse all our wares, as you may yours, and as me thinketh it were reason we did; and by reason that we cannot, so many of vs (as yee know) that haue departed out of the cuntry of late, haue bene driuen

¹ Reprinted in ‘The Harleian Miscellany,’ vol. ix. p. 139.

to giue ouer our houshoulds, and to keepe either a chamber in London, or to wayte on the Court vncalled, with a man, and a Lackey after him, where he was wonte to keepe halfe a score of cleane men in his house, and xx. or xxiii. other persons besides, euery day in the weeke; and such of vs as doe abide in the countrey still, cannot with two hundred li. a yeare, keepe that house that we might haue don with CC. markes but xvi. yeares past. And therefore we are forced either to minishe the third part of our househoule, or to raise the thirde part of our rouenewes; and for that wee cannot so doe of our owne landes that is allreadye in the hands of other men, many of vs are enforced either to keepe peeces of our owne Landes when they fall in our owne possession, or to purchase some Farme of other mens landes, and to store it with shoepe, or some other cattell, to help to make vp the decay of our reuenewes, and to maintayne our oulde estate with-all; and yet all is litle ynough.”

HUSBAND. “Yea, those sheepe is the cause of all these mischieues, for they haue driuen husbandry out of the countrey, by *the* which was increased, before, all kinde of victuals, & now all together sheepe, sheepe, sheepe. It was farre better when there were not onely sheepe ynough, but also Oxen, Kine, swyn, Pig, Goose, & Capon, Egges, Butter & Cheese: yea, and breade Corne, and Malte corne ynough besides, reared alltogether vpon the same lande.”

But when we get to leaf 22, the Husbandman has become more reconciled to his sheep, and says:—

“Many of vs sawe well longe agoe, that our profite was but small by the Plough, & therefore diuerse of my Neighbours that had in time past, some two, some three, some four Ploughs of their owne, haue layde downe some of them part, and some of them all their Teemes, and turned either part or all their erable ground to Pasture, and thereby haue waxed very riche men. And euery day some of vs incloseth some part of his ground to Pasture; and were it not that our grounde lyeth in *the* common fieldes, entermingled one with another, I thinke also our fieldes had bene enclosed of common agreement of all the township longe or this time. And to say *the* very truth, I that haue enclosed litle or nothing of my grounde, coulde neuer be able to make vp my Lords rent, were it not for a litle herd that I haue of Neate, sheepe, swyne, geese, and Hennes, that I do reare vpon my grounde. Whereof, because *the* price is somewhat round, I make more cleare profit then I doe of all my corne; & yet I haue but a very bare liuing, by reason that many thinges doe belong to husbandry which bee now excedinge chargeable ouer they were in time past.”

1583 A.D. PHILLIP STUBS, in his wonderful picture of the abuses and excesses of his time, *The Anatomie of Abuses*, gives us the following sketch of the Landlords raising rents and inclosing commons, the London poor, the early marriages of the poor, the food of the workmen, and the prisoners for debt:—

Landlordes
racke their
tenantes.

“landlordes make marchaundize of their poore tenants, rack-
ing their rentes, raising their fines and incomes, and setting them
so straight vpon the tenter hookes, as no man can liue on

them. Besides
Inclosyng of
commons from
the poore.

that, as though this pillage and pollage were not rapacious
enough, they take in and inclose commons, moores, heathes,
and other common pastures, where-out the poore commonaltie
were wont to haue all their forrage and feeding for their
cattell, and (whiche is more) corne for themselues to liue

vpon; all which are now in most places taken from them, by these greedie
puttockes, to the great impouerishyng and vtter beggering of many whole
townes and parishes, whose tragicall cryes and incessant clamors haue long
since pearced the skies, and presented themselues before the maiestie of
God, crying, How long, Lord, how long wilt thou deferre to reuenge this

villanie doen to thy poore sainetes and seelie members vppon the earth? Take heede, therefore, you riche men, that poll and pill the poore; for the blond of as many as miscarie any maner of waie, through your inurious exactions, sinister oppressions, and indirecte dealynges, shall be powred vpon your heddes at the great daie of the Lorde!

“Cursed is he (saieyth our Sauour Christ) that offendeth one of these little ones: it were better that a milstone were hanged aboute his necke, and he caste into the middest of the sea. Christe so entirely louneth his poore members vppon earth, that he imputeth his members, is iniurie to Christ. the contumely whiche is doen to any one of them to bee doen to hym self, and will reuenge it as doen to hym self: wherefore God giue them grace to laye open their inclosures againe, to let fall their rentes, fines, incomes, and other impositions wherby God is offended, the poore brethren beggered, and, I feare mee, the whole realme will bee brought to vtter ruine and decay if this mischief bee not mette withall, and incountered with, verie shortly. For these inclosures bee the causes why riche men eate vpp poore men, as beastes dooe eate grasse. These, I saye are the caterpillers and deuouryng locustes that massacre the poore, and eate vp the whole realme to the destruction of the same. The Lorde amende them!” (*Third edition, 1585, reprint 1836, p. 126-7.*)

“There is a certayne citie in Ailgna [= Anglia], called Munidnol [= Londinum], where as the poore lye in the streetes, vpon pallets of strawe, and wel if they haue that too, or els in the mire and dirt, as commonly it is seene, hauing neither house to put in their heades, couering to keepe them from the colde, nor yet to hyde their shame withall, pennie to buy them sustenance, nor any thing els, but are suffered to dye in the streetes like dogges or beastes, without any mercy or compassion shewed to them at all. And if anye be sieke of the plague (as they call it), or any other mortall disease, their maisters and mistresses are so impudent (hauing made, it should seeme, a league with Sathan, a couenant with hell, and an obligation with the deuill, neuer to haue to doe with the workes of mercie) as straight way they throwe them out of their doores; and so being caried forth, either in cartes or otherwise, or laied downe eyther in the streetes, or els conueied to some olde house in the fieldes or gardens, where, for want of due sustentation, they ende their liues most miserably. Truly, brother, if I had not seene it, I would scarsly haue thought that the like Turkishe crueltie had bene vsed in all the world. But they say, *unus testis oculatus, plus valet quam mille auriti*,—one eye wisse is better to be beleued than a thousand eare witnesses besides.” (*Stubbs's Anatomie, ed. 1836, p. 50-1.*)

“And besides this, you shal haue euery sauncie boye, of tenne, fourteene, sixteene, or twentie yeares of age, catch vp a woman and marrie her, without any feare of God at all, or respecte hadde, eyther to her religion, wisdom, integritie of lyfe, or any other vertue: or, whiche is more, without any respect how they may liue together, with suffieient mayntenance for their callinges and estate. No, no! it maketh no matter for these thinges, so he haue his prettie pussie to huggle withall, for that is the onely thing he desireth. Then build they vpp a cottage, though but of elder poles, in euery lane ende almost, where they liue as beggers all their lyfe after. This filleth the lande with suche store of mendicants,¹ or,

¹ This passage should be compared with Mr. Froude's statements, in his *History*, i. 4-5, on the increase of population between 1500 and 1588, and his contrast of the freedom of marriage now, with the restraint on it, the want of opportunity for it, then. He saves himself in the latter passage by the words 'before the Reformation,' but his argument seems to apply up to 1588.

to speak plainly, of beggars, as we call them, that in short time (excepto some caution be provided to prevent the same) it is like to grow to great pouertie and scarcenesse, which God forbid." (*Stubs's Anatomie*, p. 100.)

[Food of the poor.] "Doe we not see the poore man that eateth browne bread (whereof some is made of rye, barlie, peason, beanes, oates, and suche other grosse graines), and drinketh small drinke, yea, sometimes water, feedeth vpon milke, butter, and cheese, (I say), doe wee not see suche a one healthfuller, stronger, fayrer complectioned, and longer liuing then the other [rich men], that fare daintelie euery day? And how shoulde it be otherwise? for wil not the eating of diuers and sundry kindes of meates of contrary operations and qualities (at one meale), engender distemperance in the bodie? And, the body distempered, will it not fall into sundry diseases?" (*Stubs's Anatomie*, p. 112.)

The pittifull crying of prisoners in prison for debt.

"Beleue me, it grieueth me to heare (walking in the streetes) the pittifull cryes and miserable complayntes of poore prisoners in duraunce for debte, and like so to continue all their life, destitute of libertie, meate, drink (though of the meanest sorte), and clothing to their backes, lying in filthie straw and lothsome dung, worse than anie dogge, voyde of all charitable consolation and brotherly comforte in this worlde, wishing and thirsting after death to set them at libertie, and loose them from their shackles, gies, and iron bandes. Notwithstanding, these mercilesse tygers [the usurers] are growne to such barbarous crueltie, that they blush not to say, 'tush, he shall eyther pay me the whole, or els lye there till his heeles rotte from his buttocks; and, before I wil release him, I will make dice of his bones.' But, take heed, thou deuil (for I dare not call thee a Christian), least the Lord say to thee, as hee sayd to that wicked seruaunt (who, hauing great sommes forgiven him, would not forgeue his brother his small debt, but, catching him by the throate, sayd, Paie that thou owest), Binde him handes and feete, and cast him into vtter darkenesse, where shall hee weeping and gnashing of teeth." (*Stubs's Anatomie*, p. 141-2, of reprint 1836.)

The old grievances appear again in the following extract, quoted by Mr. Haweis (*Sketches*, p. 279) from 'A godly and fruitful sermon preached at Grantham, A.D. 1592, by Francis Trigge:—

"All towns are almost decayed and undone, their common things and lands whereby the common stocks of their town hath been wont to be maintained, be by some means or other taken from them . . . now-a-days men will buy houses to pull them down that they may have a prospect, that they may have a garden, or suchlike pleasure. And so now where Christ his family hath been maintained, grow trees or nettles. It would pity one to hear how that many towns are now almost turned to granges,¹ all the livings of a great many being annexed to one new great house, whose chimneys perchance smoke not once in a twelvenouth. What aid can the prince have of so many families decayed: or what relief can the poor have, when so many hands that should be and were able to give are quite cut off? Surely now this one thing weakens the realm, and makes so many beggars in most towns, either by this pulling down of houses and farms, or else by covetous joining of two farms into one. What should I speak of the decay of our tillage, which cannot choose but breed a weakness in the whole body. Verily will the Lord one day call to account those . . . that have decayed townships, have made a wilderness where were houses like flocks of sheep."

¹ *Grange*, a Building that has Granaries, Barns, Stables, Stalls, and other Places necessary; a Farm-house. (*Kersey's Phillips*, 1706.)

Take also this epigram, from Bastard's 'Chrestoleros' A.D. 1598, lib. iv. Epigr. 20, to which Mr. W. C. Hazlitt referred me:—

Sheepe have eate vp our medows and our downes,
Our corne, our wood, whole villages and townes,
Yea, they haue eate vp many wealthy men,
Besides widowes and orphane childeren,
Besides our statutes and our iron lawes,
Which they haue swallowed down into their maws.
Till now I thought the prouerbe did but iest,
Which said 'a blacke sheepe was a biting beast.'

That the practice of enclosing went on into James II.'s time, and that the complaints of the evils arising from it were still kept up, we may judge from the following extracts from Trigge's *Petition* in 1604, entitled:—

"To the Kings most excellent Maiestie. The Hvmble Petition of two Sisters; the Chvreh and Common-wealth: For the restoring of their ancient Commons and liberties, which late Inclosure with depopulation, vncharitably hath taken away: Containing seuen reasons as euidences for the same. [By Francis Trigge¹]. Londini, Impensis Georgii Bishop. 1604."

"That saying of Queene *Hester* to the most famous King *Ahashuerosh*, (most dread Soueraigne,) doth, as it were, enforce me, to make this my humble
Hest. vii. 4. Petition to your Highnesse: *If we were sold to bee bondslaves, or handmaidens (saith shee) I would haue held my tongue, although the aduersary could neuer recompence the King this losse: But let my life be giuen me at my request, and my peoples.* There is a mightie
verse 3. Thorne sprung vp of late, in diuers places of this Realme, like to that cruell

Haman; which doeth not onely goe about to impouerish your Maiesties Subjects, but quite to roote them out: I meane Inclosure of Fields and Commons; whereas the Lords of Manours and Freeholders will haue all their landes, which haue heretofore lien open and in Common, (so that the poore might enter Common with them) now laid together in seuerall. And hereby the poore cannot enioy their ancient Commons and liberties. And this cankered
Psal. ii. 8. Thorne also deuoureth Gods people, which is his inheritance, as

the Psalme teacheth vs, *Aske of me, (saith God) & I will giue thee the people for thine inheritance, &c. and the vttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.* Inclosers to maintaine their owne inheritances, doe make no conscience to impaire this inheritance. Where God hath bene
2 Cor. i. 11. *praised with many mouthes, there now shrieking Owles, and other vncleane birds make their nestes.*" (From the Dedicatory Epistle, sign. A 3.)

"Out of that little village or poore cottage which he hath decayed (whosoever hee is) might haue come one as good as himselfe. what may I say then of great husband townes, where many rich farmers and cottages are decayed? Would any of vs willingly haue the little finger of his hand cut off? no more no doubt, will Jesus Christ suffer one poore cottager, (which is as it were his little finger) to bee cut off, vnpunished without repentance. There was a statute made of late, for the maintenance of tillage, and reedifying farmes decayed: It is to bee feared that God hath obserued how diligent some were to seee the poore whipped, by a statute made at the same time: and how slacke in the execution of that other act of reedifying & plowing. Another stumbling blocke is, that some will say they must needes maintaine their states. And this cloake couers all their pride, and couetousnes. But let all such know that reason thus; Must they impare the Lords inheritance

¹ The author's name appears at the end of the dedicatory Epistle.

to maintaine their estates, euen they whom the Lord himselfe hath ad-
 Luk. xvi. 20. uanced? they had better to be as poore as *Lazarus* in state
 and condition; nay, they had better neuer haue béene borne,
 then to exault themselves to impare his inheritance. Oh let these men
 of all others take héede of this ingratitude. Let the example of King *Saul*
 terrifie them, who being made of a poore acorne, a mightie oake, and of a
 1 Sam. xix. 26. *seeker of his fathers asses, the first King of Israel*, yet afterwards for
 his vnthankfulness and disobedience, *he and all his posteritie was*
 2 Sam. xvi. 18. *quite reiected of God for euer from the kingdome.*" (Sign. C 2. bk.)

"In *England* we haue euer had thrée States, *Lords Spirituall, Temporall, and*
the Commons. And these *Commons* are diuided againe into *Gentlemen, Yeomen,*
and Husbandmen. But in other Countreyes there is no *Yeomanrie*, but only in
England. In *France* all are *Gentlemen*, or *Pesants*: In *Denmarke* all are *Noble-*
men, or *Rustici*, as they tearme them: And in *High & Lowe Germanie* there are
 the *Nobilitie*, and the *Boores.* So that, *Gentlemen* which are *Inclosers*, ouer-
 throwing the *Yeomanrie*, and decaying the *Communnalty*, doe blotte out the
 ancient glory of *England*: for, no doubt, by the strength and hands of these
 two, haue béen heretofore euer obtained, our admirable conquests, and our
 most famous victories throughout all *Christendome.* So that now these *Inc-*
losers doe goe about to make *England* as barbarous, and as weake in this re-
 spect, as other nations. Nay let them take héed that they prouoe not them-
 selues *Egyptians*: for not the countrey, but the conditions & maners, are wont
 Esa. i. 10. to giue names. As we may learne out of the Prophet *Esay*,

whereas he calles the *Noblemen* of *Ierrie* *Princes of Sodome*;
 & the people, the people of *Gomorah*: though neither they nor their ancestors
 were borne there. So I feare we haue some *Landlords* of *Egypt* in *England*:
 for (*Mitsraim*) the name of *Egypt*, in our language is as much as to say, as
 an *Afflieter*, or one that makes another sorrowfull: and are not these *Inclosers*
Egyptians then, which pinch, and vexe their brethren? Let them take héede;
 the name agréés vnto them: let them feare the punishment; God is the same

God still. He that heard the grones, and sighes of his people
 Psal. cii. 27. in *Egypt*, and came downe to deliuer them, will no doubt doe the
 Exod. iii. 7, 8. same in *England.* I haue heard of an olde prophesie, that
Horne and thorne shall make England forlorne. *Inclosers* verifie this by their
 sheepe and hedges at this day. They kill poore mens hearts, by taking from
 them their aunient commons, to make sheepe pasture of; and by imposing
 vpon them great rents, and by decaying tillage; so that now they are forlorne,
 hauing no ioy to liue in the world." (Sign. D 4.)

Lib. i. Vtopiæ. "Sir *Thomas Moore* a great common-wealths man, and very
 expert in the lawes of *England*, writes thus of *Inclosure*.¹ 'Your
 sheepe I say which were wont to be milde and gentle, and to be fed with so
 small cost, now as it is reported haue begun to be so wild & rauenus of late,
 that they eate vp euen men, and that they make waste and depopulate townes.
 For, in what parts of your Realme growes finer wooll, and therefore of better
 price, there *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen*, yea and some *Abbots* (holy men I as-
 sure you) not being content with the yearely rents and commodities, which
 were wont to be payed out of farmes vnto their ancestors; and not content,
 themselves to liue idly and pleasantly, and to doe no good to the common
 wealth, vnlesse also that they should hinder and hurt it; that they may leaue
 nothing but reape all commodities into their owne hands: They inclose all
 their pastures, they pull downe houses, they ouerthrow townes, leauing the
 Church onely for to croowe vp their sheepe in. And as though your forrests and
 parkes had not spoyled ground enough amongst you, these holy men turne
 into a wilderness all dwelling houses, and whatsoever heretofore had béene
 tilled. And therefore one insatiable glutton and most pestilent plague to his
 Countrey, ioyneth fields together, that he may inclose within one hedge some

¹ See the full passage above, p. 3-6.

thousand acres. The husbandmen are either thrust out of their inheritances, or else being by craft beguiled, or by force oppressed, or deprived of them, or else wearied with iniuries, and compelled to sell them. Therefore howsoever these wretches doe flit, men, women, husbands, wiues, blinde men, and widowes, fathers with their young children, with a greater, than a rich family (for husbandrie stands in neede of many) they flit I say from their knowne and accustomed dwellings, and they can finde no place where to put in their heades; They sell all their stuffe when as they must needes be thrust out, (which is not worth much if that they could tarry and get a good chapman for it) they sell it, I say, almost for nothing. And when as by wandring a while they haue spent that, what must they needs doe then, but either steale, and iustly be hanged for their labours, or else wander vp and downe and begge, and then also are cast into prison as vagrant persons, seeing no man will set them a worke, when as they doe most willingly offer their seruices? For now there is nothing to be done about husbandrie, wherein they haue benee brought vp all their liues, when as there is nothing sowed. For now one Sheepeheard, and one Neat-heard is sufficient to looke to that ground with cattell, to the tillage whereof, that it might beare corne, many mens hands and labours were required. And by this meanes it commeth to passe, that in many places Corne waxeth very deare.' We may note here first, how that Sir *Thomas More*, being a Papist, yet touched this sinne, euen in Abbots, and that in the darkenes of Poperie: and shall not we condemne it in the light of the Gospell? Secondly, he affirmes that it makes beggers, and that it makes thêeues, and causeth a dearth of corne in our land; nay, it pulleth downe Townes. If in his daies it wrought these mischiefes, when as it began but to set in foote into this Common-wealth: what hath it done since, which hath growne to the very heart thereof? nay, what will it doe in the ende, if it procéde as it hath begun, if some stay and remedie be not had? It will no doubt begger and quite decay the Common-wealth of *England*. How many farmes now stand emptic since Inclosers began; or onely with some seruants in them; which dare giue nothing, not knowing their maisters pleasure? so hospitalitie is quite thereby decayed. How many poore men lacke worke, as threshers; and poore women, as spinners; and doe complaine for lacke of their accustomed workes? and how many poore mens children are infored to begge, or else liue idely, which heretofore, where tillage was maintained, were taken into seruice, to driue the plough, or to kéepe cattell, & thereby in time grew to be good members in the Common-wealth, which Inclosers néed not." (Sign. F 7, bk.)

"Wherefore if Inclosers and depopulators of townes, meane to be saued at the day of iudgement: let them willingly cast open their closes againe, and reedifie the farmes they haue decayed. It makes no matter for the charge of hedging (which they shall loose) that they haue béene at. And let them banish their shêepe out of their pastures, and let them fill the Lords townes and shêepfolds, *with his shêepe againe*, and that spéedily, least the Lord coming to Iudgement doe condemne them, *as cruell and couetous tyrants*. And let them now preferre euen one man, before a wedge of gold, least hereafter God doe teach them this lesson in hell, when it shall be too late for them to learne." (Sign. H 2, bk.)

In his edition of *Wit and Wisdom* for the Shakspeare Society, 1846, Mr. Halliwell printed the following document on the destruction of towns for sheep, pasture, the enclosure of commons, and the conversion of arable into pasture. He says, p. 140, "The following curious paper appears to have been written [that is, copied, not necessarily composed] early in the reign of

¹ "Fnd" in the book.

James I., and seems worthy of preservation in connection with a subject in which our great dramatist is supposed, with great probability, to have interested himself.¹

1 *Pet.* "Mine is, an't please your Grace, against *John Goodman*, my Lord Cardinals Man, for keeping my House, and Lands, and Wife and all from me."

Suff. "Thy Wife too? that's some Wrong indeede. What's yours? What's heere? against the Duke of Suffolke, for enclosing the Commons of Melforde. How now, Sir Knave?"

[Harl. MS. 487, leaf 9, back.]

"THE DIGGERS OF WARWICKSHIRE TO ALL OTHER DIGGERS.

"Louing Freinds & Subjects, all under one renowned Prince, for whom we pray longe to continue in his most Royall estate, to the subuerting of all those Subjects, of what degree soeuer, *that* haue or would deprivie his most true harted Communalty both from life and luyngo. Wee, as members of *the* whole, doe feele *the* smart of these ineroaching Tirants, *which* would grinde our flesh upon *the* whetstone of pouerty, & make our loyall hearts to faint with breathing, so *that* they may dwell by themselues in *the* midst of theyr Hearde of fatt weathers. It is not unknowne unto *your* selues *the* why these mercylesse men doe resist with force *against* our good intents. It is not for *the* good of our most gracious Soueraigne, whom we pray God *that* longe he may reygne amongst us; neyther for the benefit of the Communalty, but onely for theyr owne priuate gaine; for there is none of *them* but doe tast *the* sweetness of our wantes. They haue depopulated & ouerthrown whole Townes, and made thereof Sheep pastures nothing profitable for our Commonwealt. For *the* common Fields being layd open would yeeld us much commodity, besides the increase of Corne, on *which* standes our life. But if it should please God to withdrawo his blessing in not prospering *the* fruites of *the* Earth but one yeare (*which* God forbid) there would a worse & more fearfull dearth happen then did in *King Edward* the seconds tyme, when people were forced to eat Catts and Doggs flesh, & women to eate theyr owne children. Much more wee could giue you to understand, but wee are perswaded *that* you your selues feele a part of our greiuances, & therfore need not open *the* matter any plainer. But if you happen to shew your force & might *against* us, wee for our partes neither respect life nor luyinge; for better it were in such case wee manfully dye, then hereafter to be pined to death for want of *that* *which* these deuouring Enoachers doe serue theyr fatt Hogges & Sheep withall. For God hath bestowed upon us most bountifull & innumerable blessings, & *the* cheifest is our most gracious & Religious Kinge, who doth and will glory in *the* flourishing estate of his Communalty. And soe wee leauo you, commending you to *the* sure hold & safeguard of *the* mighty Ichoua, both now & euermore. From Hampton field in hast:

"Wee rest as poore Deluers & Day labourers
for *the* good of *the* Commonwelth till death.

"A. B. C. D. &c."

The Ballad of the Northern Beggar Boy, Pt. 2. *Roxburghe Collection*, vol. i. p. 543, printed for F. Grove (? ab. 1635), says:—

My fields lye open as the high way,
I wrong not the Country by greedy inclosing.

¹ Mr. Halliwell tells me that Shakspeare owned property in the common fields, and was interested in the enclosures proposed to be made in 1615 by Combe, at Welcombe near Stratford-on-Avon. See Mr. H.'s Folio ed. i. 219-24. We may compare "The second Part of Henry the Sixt, with the death of the Good Duke HVMFREY." *Actus Primus. Scena Prima. Enter three or foure Petitioners . . . Enter Suffolke, and Queene.*

§ 10. I now come to Mr. Froude's most telling quotation of 1515 A.D. (Hist. i. 19) in favour of the prosperity of the commons of England in Henry VIII.'s time. "What comyn folke in all this world," says a state paper in 1515,¹ "may compare with the comyns of England, in riches, in fredom, in lyberty, welfare, and in all prosperytie?" A triumphant pæan it sounded, making one's heart beat with it; the State-Papers' reference, too, calling up in one's mind notions of thorough investigation, deliberate judgment, etc. I said to myself, What a pity there's only this passage quoted from the Paper! I must see it! and accordingly went off from the Museum to the Record Office. The Paper was handed to me, and as it gave me an entirely different view of the value of the passage as evidence on the condition-of-England question, I produce the context of it here. The anonymous writer seems to be an Anglo-Irishman, suffering, in common with his loyal fellows, a number of bitter grievances and evils, which he sets forth with some power; and then, after stating the causes of them, and the remedies suggested by others, proposes his own remedies, the chief of which is the plantation of Ireland with Englishmen. Also, among the things to be done, is (State Papers, p. 20; MS. p. 210), that the Wardens and Constables of each district shall muster the valiant loyal people,

"And in asmuche as all the wylde Iryshe and Englyche Rebelles of all this lande, dothe dreade more, and fereyth the sodden shote of gonnes Muche more then² the Shotte of Arowes, or any other shotte of kynde of waypyn in this worlde; In consyderacion wherof, hyt be ordayned by the said Wardens and counstable, that of every c persons ther be xx gonners assygnyd and chargeyd to pouwvaye them gonnes, powdre, and pelletes according, within the sayde tyme of xv dayes."

The passage quoted by Mr. Froude occurs among the grievances, and springs—it seems to me—rather from the intense consciousness of those grievances, and a desire to heighten them, than from an intimate knowledge of the state of England. When we are in bad case ourselves, we are always ready to attribute untold prosperity to our somewhat more fortunate neighbours, though there is a skeleton in their house, and they know it. But let each reader judge for himself:—

1515. STATE OF IRELAND, AND PLAN FOR ITS REFORMATION.
'State Papers,' vol ii. p. 9-10.

[MS. p. 195.] Also ther is no folke dayly subgett to the Kynges lawes, but *half*¹ the Countye of Uryell, *half*¹ the Countye of Meath, *half*¹ the Countye of Dublyn, *half*² the Countye of Kyldare; and ther be as many Justycees of the Kinges benche, and of the Comyn place, and as many Barons of thexheker, and as many Offycers, Ministers, and Clerkes in euery of the said

¹ *State Papers* Henry VIII. vol. ii. p. 10.

² MS. "di" = dimidium.

Countye, as ever ther was, when all the land for the more parte were subgett to the Lawe.

Wherfor the saide subgettes ben^o so greuously vexyd dayly *with* the said courtes, that they be gladdes to Sell their freholdes for ever, Rather than to Suffre alwaye the vexacion of the said Courtes, lyke as the freholders of the Marches, wher the Kinges lawes be not obeyd, byn so vexyd by extorcion, that they be gladdes in lykewyse to sell ther landes and freholdes to suche persons that compellyth them, by meanes of extorcion, to make Alyencion therof, rather then allwaye to bere *and* be under the said extorcion.

And so, what with the extorcion of Coyne and lyuerye dayly, and wyth the wrongfull Exaccion of Osteing Money, and of Caryage and Cartage dayly, and what *with* the Kinges greate subsidye yerely, and *with* the said Trybute, and blak rent to the Kinges Iryshe Enymyes, and other Infynyt extorcions and dayly exaccions, all thenglyshe folke of the Countyes of Dublyn, Kyldare, Meath, and Vyrell, ben more oppressyd, then any other folke of this lande, Englyshe or Irysse: and of worsse Condycion be they a thys syde, then^o in the Marcheis.

What Comen^o folke in all this worlde maye compare *with* the Comyns of England, in Ryches, in fredom, in lyberty, welfare, and in all prosperytie? Who Richeith the Kinges Treasor, and repayreith his cofers *with* Golde Sylver, and precyous stones, save the comyns? worshipeith the prelates and the Clergye of the Churche, save the Crafty peopple and the Carlyshe rurall folke of the Realme of Englande? What comyn folke in all this worlde is so power, so feble, so Iyvll besyn^o in Town^o and ffylde, so Bestyall, so greatly oppressid and Trodde vnder fote, and farde so evyll, *with* so great Myserye, and *with* so wreeheid lyff, as the comen folke of Irelande? [p. 196.] Hit is a comyn tome of olde date: "as the Comen flolke fareith, so fareith the King;" That is to saye, Riche Comen, a Riche King; Poore Comyn, Poore King; feble Comyn, a feble King; Strong Comyns, a Strong King: Ergo it ffolowyth, a Riche King and Comyns in England, a poore King and Comyns in Ireland. What comen flolke in all this worlde is soo Mighty, and soo Strong in the ffylde, as the comyns of England?

What comyn flolke in all this worlde is so feble, and so evyll besyne in Towne & in ffylde, as the Comyns of Ireland?

The Kinges Armye in England is the Comyns; the Kinges Army in Ireland is all such that oppresse the Comyns, for all goode fortune and grace folowyth allways them that worship Godde, and honor the prelates, and supporteith the Churche. Wher is the Churche of Cryste Endowyd *with* so Riche and large possessions, as be the Kinges and Noble folke of England, wherin fortune, Grace, and prosperytie, eneresith allwaye, above all other landes?

The Noble flolke of Ireland oppressith, spoyeith the prelates of the Churche of Cryste of ther possessions and lyberties; and therfor they have no fortune, ne grace, in prosperytie of Body ne Soule. Who supporteith the Churche of Cryst in Ireland, saive the poore Comyns? By whom the Churche is moste supporteid Right well, be them most grace shalle growe.

As a comment on the Irishman's notion of the English worship of the bishops and clergy, we may well take an extract from a poem written a few years later, "The Image of Ipcrisy," Lansdown MS. 794, Dyce's "Skelton," ii. 413, and this book.

Suche [kites, not larks] be our pri-
mates,
Our bisshopps *and* prelates,
[Our parsons and curates,¹

With other lik estates
That were shaven pates,
As monkes white *and* blacke,
And Channons that cane chatte,

¹ Pasted over in the MS., inserted by Dyce from Martin's transcript.

Gluttons ffayre and fatt,
 With firiers of the sacke,
 And brothers of the bagg,
 As nymble as a nagg,
 That cane bothe prate *and* bragg,
 To make the pulpett wagge,
 With Twenty tho[usan]d lyes
 Do make the blind Eate flyes,
 And blere *our* symple eyes . .

[MS. leaf 3 b.]

. . . russett, gray, and white,
 That sett ther hole delighte
 In lust and lechery,
 In thefte und trechery,
 In lowsy lewdenes,
 In Synne and shre[w]denes,
 In crokednes acurst;
 Of all people the worste,
 Marmosettes *and* apes,
 That with *your* pild pates
 Mock vs with *your* iapes:
 Ye holy caterpillers . . [leaf 146 b.]

Ye^l say we must youe call
 Fathers Seraphicall
 And angelicall,

That be fantasticall,
 Brute and bestiall,
 Yea, Diabolicall,
 The babes of beliall,
 The Sacrifise of b[ra]ll,
 The dregges of all durte,
 Fast bounde and girte
 Vnder the devils skyrte.

[leaf 148 b.]

The wurst kind of Edders,
 And stronge sturdy beggers.

[leaf 150 b.]

. . . no man can^o matche them,
 Till the Devill fatche them,
 And so to go together
 Vnto their denne for ever,
 Wherhens as they never
 Hereafter shall dissever,
 But dy Eternally,
 That lyve so carnally;
 For that wilbe ther ende,
 But yf God them sende
 His Grace here to amend:
 And thus I make an^o Ende.

[leaf 153.]

I cannot help believing that these lines are a good deal nearer to the "crafty people's" real feeling about the prelates and clergy in Henry VIII.'s time than the "worship" attributed to them by the Irishman. I think it more than possible that the latter did not know much about the social condition of the other peoples of the world; and though he may have been right in his assertion as to the relative prosperity of the English commons then, I cannot accept him as an authority for their positive prosperity in Henry's time, or for their superior prosperity to that of our commons or our workmen now.

Mr. Froude's argument from the prices of meat as fixed by the Act 24 Henry VIII, chapter 3, still remains. I have not found any evidence as to the prices of meat in the printed and manuscript Household Books of Henry VIII that I have seen, or in the ballads and tracts,² except in 'Vox Populi.' That exhibits the

¹ MS. "We." Dyce reads rightly "Ye."

² The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe Hall vol. i. (Chetham Soc. 1856) show these different prices for an ox:—

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
February, 1583	10	6	8	Nov. 1582	3	6	8
" " (fat)	5	2	6	Oct. 1587 (? store)	2	18	7
" " (? store)	2	12	10	April 1599 (lean)	4	2	6
Novr. 1582	3	9	4				

In February 160^o the price of 'onne gray nag which shalbe fyve years old at Mydsomer nexte' was £3. 6s. 8d. [P.S. For some Henry VIII prices, see Notes.]

extraordinary discrepancies of £4 as the price of an ox,—or £5 in the time of the second version of the Ballad, that printed below,—against the 26*s.* 8*d.*, of Stowe, or the beef at $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* a pound, of the statute; and of 12*s.* or 13*s.* 4*d.*, as the price of the carcass of a sheep (less offal and fleece), against the 3*s.* 4*d.*, of Stowe, or the mutton at $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* a pound, of the statute¹; and this within five years

¹ Froude, i. 21, says $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* The statute says “One halfpeny & half farthyng.” I print these sections of the Act here:—

[24 Hen. VIII. c. 3.]

“AN ACTE FOR FLESHE TO BE SOLD BY WEIGHT.

High Price of Meat. “Complayneth to your moost excellent Highnes, your poore Subjectes of this your Realme, that where all maner of Vytailles before this tyme hathe ben sold to your said Subjectes at prices convenient, so that all your Subjectes, & in especiall the poore persones, myght withe there craft or bodilie labour bye sufficient for the necessitie & sustentacion of them, there Wyffes & Childern; But now, gracieuse Lorde, all vitaille, & in especiall, beoffe, mutton, porke & veale, whiche is the common fodyng of the meane & poore persons, arr so solde, at so excessyve price, that your said nedye Subjectes can not gayne withe ther labour & salarie sufficient to pay for there conveyent vitaille & sustynance; For reformation wherof, it may please Your Highnes, that it may be enacted by your Grace, & the Lordes Spiritual & Temporall, & the Commons in this presente Parliamente assembled; & by auctoritie of the same, that every persone, whiche shall sell by hym self, or any other, the Carcases of Beoffes, Porke, Mutton, or Veale, or any parte or parcell therof, after the first day of Auguste nowe nexte ensuyng,

shall sell the same by lafull weighte called Haberdepayes, & no otherwise; the said Flesshe to be cut out in reasonable peeces, according to the requeste of the byer, in like fascion as before this tyme hathe ben used, without fraude or covyn. And that every persone, which, by hymself or any other, shall sell any Flesshe of the said Carcases, shall have withe hym, where he shall make sale of the said flesshe, sufficient Beame Scales & Weyghtes sealed, called Haberdepayes, for true serving of the byers.

Meat shall be sold by Averdu-
pois Weight, and
the Seller shall
have Scales, &c.

Prices of Meat
per Pound, Beef
and Porke $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*
Mutton and Veal
 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$ *q.*

“Section 2. And furthermore, be it enacted by [the] aucto-
ritie aforesaid, that after that day no persone, nor persones, take
nor cause to be taken, for any pounce weight of flesshe of the
carcases of Beoffe or Porke by hym or them to be solde, above
the price of one halfpeny; nor for any pounce weight of

Flesshe of the carcasses of mutton or veale, above the price of one halfpeny & half farthyng, without deceypte or covyn, upon peyne to forfait for every pound not solde by weight, or above the said price lymyted, & for every defaute done contrary to the true meanyng of this acte, iij s. iiij d. the one moitie therof to be to the Kyng our Sovereign Lorde, & thother moytie to the partie that wyll sue for the same by byll, pleynte or informacion; in whiche Sute none Essoen, Wager of Lawe, nor protection shalbe allowed: Provided alway that the heedys, neckes, inwardes, purty-nances, legges, nor fete, shall not be counted no parte of the carcasses afore said, but suche to be solde for a lower price.

Except Heads,
Necks, &c. at a
less Price.

Provisoos,—as
to Veal;

“Section 4. Provyded alwayes, that no Calf above thage of eight wekys olde, be accepted for veale, but for beoffe, and so to be solde, as is afore rehersed. Provyded alwayes, that where the Carcases of any beoffes, muttons, veale, & porke, within any partes or countres of this Realme be uttered & solde better chepe, or after lasse prices, than in this presente Acte is lymyted, that this Acte, or any thyng therein conteyned,

for Places where
the Prices are
less than hereby
set.

of the repeal of that statute. I can therefore only say, that though I, coupling the complaints of the tracts, etc., with the £4 and 12s. of the Ballad, believe that it represents more nearly the real prices of 1547 than the Statute does those of 1532-6, yet I cannot call on other people to do so, though they must note that, at $\frac{1}{2}d.$ a pound, an ox must have weighed $79\frac{1}{2}$ stone to fetch 26s. 8d., and if the buyers made a better bargain by buying in the gross, they must have got an ox of 85 stone at least for their money; which produces the unexpected result, that, with all our improvements in breeding and feeding, we can only produce now an average ox of the weight of the average one in Henry VIII's time. For I am assured by two butchers and a farmer, that from 80 to 90 stone is a good average weight for an ox now, reckoning, according to the custom of the trade, 8 lbs. of meat to the stone, as equal to 14 lbs. to the stone of the entire animal; the 6 lbs. of offal, etc., being the butcher's profit. The same unexpected result comes out for the sheep: at the butcher's price of $\frac{5}{8}d.$ a pound, a sheep must have weighed 8 stone to fetch 3s. 4d.; and if buyers could have got a better one than that for the same money, then the average sheep of Henry VIII's time weighed more than our average one. Which, if any one can believe, I can't.

But, if it be true that the Ballad is right as to the price of oxen and sheep, then Mr. Froude's multiple 12, of what working men's wages could buy then, as compared with what they will now, must be, as regards meat, cut down to (say) 4; the workmen's comforts are, so far, thirder; and Mr. Froude's assertions that "in all points of material comfort the body of the people were better off than they have ever been in later times," and that "the working man of modern times has bought the extension of his liberty at the price of his material comfort," are entire mistakes. I cannot help thinking that even the most careless of Mr. Froude's readers must have been struck by the oddity of his basing his case mainly on a statute, which, *on his showing*, lasted only nine years, but which *in fact lasted less than four years* (having been suspended by the 27 Henry VIII. chapter 9), *including the year and a half in which it was not duly observed*; which, as Mr. Froude says, "was repealed in consequence of the complaints against it," and which was, doubtless, during its continuance, constantly evaded. Just to prove the disobedience of the Butchers to the original Act during its first year and a half, I print a bit of the second Act here:—

shall not extend to any suche Countie or Place, but that they shall & may sell at like Prices, & after suche rate, as they dyd & used before the makyng of this Acte, upon peyne as is afore rehersed, any thyng in the same conteyned notwithstanding." [24 Hen. VIII was from 22 April 1532 to 21 Apr. 1533.]

25 Hen. VIII. c. 1, taking effect from 20 Febr. 1534.

“AN ACTE CONCERNYNG GRASIERS AND BOUCHERS.

“Whereas diverse and sondry Actys and Statutes have lately byn made and established within this Realme for preservacion of the common welthe of the same, amongis whiche the Acte for sellyng of beoffe, mutton, veale and porke,

For enforcing of
St. 24 Hen. VIII.
cap. 3. for sell-
ing Flesh by
Weight;

by weyghte, ys so necessario for the preservacion of the pover-
tie of the same, that it may in nowyse be forborne, and for
asmoche as sufficient auctoritie ys not gyven by the seid acte
to the Justices of the Pease, maires, baillyffes, shyreffes, and
other officers rehersed in the same acte, for to punyshe offenders,

and suche other as wyll not sell by weyghte accordyng to the force of the seid
acte; And the Bouchers and other offenders perceyvynge the same, not dredyng
the violacion of the seid acte nor the punyshementys conteyned in the same
acte, have wyllfully and obstinatly contempned and offended the seid acte and wolle
in no wyse sell after the same, to the highe displeasure of the Kyngis Hyghnes,
in contempe of hys seid lawes, and to the detrymente of the common welthe
of this Realme: Be it therefore further enactid, by auctoritie of this present
parliament, that from the xxth day of Februarie in the yere of oure Lorde God

Mayors, Sheriffs,
&c. may commit
offenders;

M. D. xxxijth, it shalbe lawfull to all and every maires, shireffes,
constables, baylyffes, and other governours of Cities, Boroughe,
and Market townes, aswell within liberties as without, to whome

any compleynt shall be made of or uppon any boucher, hys wyf, servantes,
or other his mynystres, refusyng to sell the seid victuals by true and lawfull
weyght accordyng to the tenour of the seid acte heretofore made, not only to
commytt every suche Boucher and suche other offenders to warde, there to re-
mayne withoute bayle or maynepryse untill suche tyme as they and every of
theym shall have payde all the forfeittis and penalties comprised in the seid
former acte, but also every of the seid maires and other officers aforseid, and

and also sell the
Victuals by
Weight, paying
the Produce to
the Owners.

theire Deputies, shall ymmediatly sell and utter, or cause to
be solde and uttered, for redy money, by true weyghte, all
suche victuals so refused to be retayled and solde by true and
lawfull weyght, accordyng to the effecte of the seid former
Acte, delyvering allways the monay therof commyng unto the

owners of the same victuals; whiche owners shalbe utterly and for ever ex-
cluded to have any accion, suyte, or demaunde, ayenst any suche maire or
other officers, or theire Deputies, for sellyng or utteryng of the seid victuals
by true and lawfull weyght in forme aforseid, or for any other cause or thynge
concernyng the same, except only for the money receyved for the same victu-
als, yf it be not, uppon reasonable request therof to be made, payde or re-
storede without deleye.”

The Suspending Act took effect from 12 April 1536. It is the
27 Henry VIII. chapter 9, and is entitled “An Acte lycensyng all
Bochers for a tyme to sell vytell in grosse at theyr pleasure.”
After reciting the original Act, 24 Henry VIII. chapter 3, and
the Act giving further powers, 25 Henry VIII. chapter 1, it
says:—

On account of
Dearness, &c. of
Cattle, Butchers
may sell Meat, as
before the re-
cited Acts;
which shall be
suspended for
four years.

“THE KYNGES Highnes, wel considering the great darth
of al maner of vitayles which be nowe, and syns the makyng
of the seid estatutes hath fallen and happened within this his
Realme, as well by morreyne & deathe of such cattelles as by
great waters and unseasonable wethers, whereby the brede and
increase of the same is myche enpayred and mynysid, in such
wyse that, if the seid former estatutes were put in excucion,
the Bouchers and sellers of such vitayles were not able to lyve,

nor that his commons shuld be well servid therof, the scarsite of the same con-

siderid, by his accustomed goodnes the *premysse* considering, is contentid—by thassent of his Majestie, with the assent of his Lordes spirituall and temporall, and of his Comons in this his present parliament assemblyd, and by auctoritie of the same,—that it be ordenned, establiysshed, and enacted, that from the xij daye of Apryll in the yere of oure Lorde God a thousand fyve hundred thyrty and syx, unto the xxiiij daye of Aprell, the which shalbe in the yere of our Lorde God a thousand fyve hundred and fortie, al Bouchers, and other sellyng flesh by retayle, maye lauffully kylle and sell all maner beffes, porke, mutton, and veale, being good and holsome for mannyrs bodie, at their plesuryrs and liberties, as frely and liberally as they or any of them did, or myght have done, at any tyme before the making of the seid estatutes made in the xxiiij and xxv yere of our seid Sovereigne Lordys reigne, without any losse, peyne, imprysonement, forfayture or penaltie, to be by them or any of them, or the successors of them or any of them, had, lost, borne, or susteynid in that behalf, duryng the tyme before lymyted; The same estatutes made in the seid xxiiij and xxv. yere, or eyther of them, or any clause, sentence, forfayture, peyn, losse or any other thynge, in them or any of them, to the contrary in any wyse notwithstanding. And the same estatutes, & either of them, & every clause, sentence, and article, in them & either of them conteynid, shalbe in suspence, and not put in execucion duryng the saide tyme.”

Still, as the repealing Act, §3 Henry VIII. chap. 11, says that the Act it repeals was duly observed by the butchers during the three years and eight months it was in operation, notwithstanding the statement of 25 Hen. VIII, cap. 1, that the butchers had wilfully and obstinately contemned it, I reprint it here :—

[33 Hen. 8, cap. 11.]

AN ACTE FOR BUTCHERS TO SELL AT THEIR PLEASURES BY WEIGHT OR OTHERWISE.

In moste humble wyse, shoven unto your Highnes, the Wardens, Maisters, and Fellowship, of the Bouchers of your Cittie of London, and all other the Bowchers within this your Realme of Englande: That where, in your Parliament houlden at Westminster by *prerogacion* the xxiiijth yere of your most noble raigne, yt was enacted, ordeyned, and established, by your Majestie, the Lordes *spirituall* and temporall, and the Commons in the saide Parliament then assembled, and by auctoritie of the same Parliament, that everie person whiche sholde sell, by himselfe or any other, the carkayse of beffes, porke, mutton, or veale, or any parte or *parcell* thereof, after the firste daye of Auguste then next ensuyng, shoulde sell the same by lawfull weighte called *haber de poys*, and none otherwise, the saide fleshe to be cutt out in reasonable peeces accordinge to the request of the buyer, in like fashion as afore that tyme was used, without fraude or covyn; and that everie person whiche, by himselfe or any other, sholde sell any fleshe of the saide carkases, sholde have withe him—where he sholde make sale of the saide fleshe—sufficient beame, scales, and weightes sealed, called *haber de poys*, for true servinge of the buyers; And that after the saide firste daye of Auguste, no person nor persons sholde take, or cause to be taken, for any pounce weighte of fleshe of the carkayse of beiff, or porke, by him or them to be soulde, above the price of one halfe penny; nor for any pounce weighte of fleshe of the carkases of mutton or veale, above the price of one halfe penny¹ farthinge, without deceipte or covyn; upon payne to forfeyte for everie pounce not

¹ and half (*Other MS.*); and Stat. 24 Hen. 8, cap. 3.

soulde by weighte, or above the saide price lymitted, and for every defaulte done contrarie to the true meaninge of the saide acte, thre shillinges fower pence,—The one moytie thereof to be to your Highnes, and thother moytie to the partie that will sue for the same by bill, playnte, or informacion, in whiche suyte none essoigne, wager of lawe, nor proteccion shalbe allowed;—The heades, neckes, inwardes, portenaunces, legges, nor feete, to be accompted as parte of the carkayses aforesaide, but suche to be solde at a lower price; as by the saide Acte amonge other thinges more playnely appereth: Whiche acte was in all thinges by your saide Orators well, dulye, justlye, and truylye executed, accordinge to the tenor and purposse of the same, untill your Graces

27 H. 8, cap. 9,
suspending the
Act 24 H. 8,
cap. 3, and also
the Act 35 H. 8,
cap. 1, in confir-
mation thereof;

Parliament houlden at Westminster by prerogacion the xxvijth yere of your moste noble reigne, at whiche tyme it was then and there, for and upon diverse good causes and considera-

cions, enacted, ordeyned, and established, that from the twelveth daye of Aprill in the yere of our Lorde God 1536, until the xxiiijth daye of Aprill whiche sholde be, and was, in the Yere of our Lorde God 1540, all Bouchers and other, sellinge fleshe by retayle, may lafullye kill and sell all manner beiff, porke, mutton, and veale, being good and holsome for mans bodye, at their pleasures and libertyes, as freely and liberallye as they or any of them did, or myght have done, at any tyme before the saide estatute made the xxiiijth yere of your moste noble raigne, and also before an other Statute concerninge the same, made the twentye fyve yere of your moste noble raigne, without any losses, payne, ymprisonement, forfeyture, or penaltie, to be by them, or any of them, or the successours of them or any of them, had, loste, borne, or susteyned in that behalfe, duringe the tyme before rehersed, the same estatutes or any of them to the contrarie in anywise notwithstandinge; And that the same estatutes and either of them, and everie clause, sentence, and article, in them or either of them conteyned, sholde be in suspense and not put in execucion duringe the same terme,—as by the saide acte made the xxvijth yere

Mischief of the
recited Acts,
24 & 25 Hen. 8.

of your most noble raigne (amonge other thinges) more playnlie appereth; whiche Actes before rehersed concerninge the sellinge of fleshe by weight as ys aforesaide, yf they sholde hereafter be put in execucion, and your saide Orators compelled to selle fleshe by Weighte, accordinge to the purposse, tenor, and

effecte of the saide estatute made the xxiiijth yere of your most noble reigne, sholde be to the utter undoinge of your saide Orators for ever: It maye therefore please your Majestie, that it maye be by your Highnes, and by thassent of the Lordes spiritual and temporall, and the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by thautoritic of the same, ordeyned, established and enacted, that the saide statutes made in the xxiiijth and xxvth yere

The said recited
Acts repealed.

of your most noble raigne, may be repealed, adnihilated, made frustrate and voyde, agaynste your Orators and all other your subjectes; and that it may from henceforth be lafull unto all

your saide subjectes to sell their victualles from tyme to tyme, by them selves, their wyves, and servaentes, to all manner of persons that will buy the same, in like manner and fourme as they myght have done before the makinge of the saide estatutes or any of them, without any daunger, payne, penaltie or forfeyture, to be had for the same; Any thinge in saide estatutes, or any of theme, conteyned to the contrarie notwithstandinge."

The reader will thus see that the Act of the 24th Henry VIII., which came into operation on the 1st of August, 1532, and which Mr. Froude treats as not repealed till 1541, was in fact suspended from the 12th of April, 1536, to the 24th of April, 1540, and was then evidently treated as a dead letter, though not actually repealed till the 33rd of Henry VIII. in 1541. Moreover,

it was not duly observed during nearly half of its short life, as is shown by the 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 1. Indeed, it must have been almost impossible to get this, or any Act as to prices of meat observed all over England in the sixteenth century. The difficulty is recognized in the suspending Act before quoted, and a partial remedy found for it:—

[25 Hen. VIII. c. 1. s. 4.]

The King empowered to suspend the Acts by his Proclamation.

“And for asmoche as beoffys, muttons, veales, and porkes, by many occasions fortune in somme one yere, or in some one tyme of the yere, to be more scarce or more dere than at any other, by meane wherof the grasiers and bochers in suche a dere tyme shall not be able to aforde the same at such prices and ratis as when they be in more plentie and better shepe, Be it therfor further enactid by the auctorite aforeseid, that the Kynges Highnes, his heires and successours, kynges of this Realme, frome tyme to tyme, uppon any complayntis made of any Scarsitie or lacke of beoffes, muttons, veales or porkes, shall and may, from tyme to tyme, cause *proclamacion* to be made under the greate seale, in suche parties of this Realme as shall seme to hys Hyghnes, his heires or successours, most convenyent, that the bouchers and other whiche be compeable to sell flesshe by weight, at prices lymytted in the seide acte made for sell yng of flesshe by weight, shall and may sell, for the tyme to be lymytted in suche *proclamacion*, beoffes, muttons, veales & porkes, by retayle, without weight, as heretofore hath byn accustomed, or els by weight at suche reasonable pryces as shalbe lymyted by the seid *proclamacion*, and as shall please the Kynges Highnes, hys heyres or successours to lymyt and appoynt by the said *proclamacion*, upon suche paynes as shalbe conteyned in suche *proclamacions*, to be lost and leyved to the Kynges use accordyng to the tenour of every suche *proclamacion*: And that as well every boucher and other, for selling of beoffe, mutton, vele or porke by retayle, by vertue of suche *proclamacion* within the tymes to be lymytted in the same, as every other person & persones being bounden by auctorytie of this acte to se the seid bouchers so to doo upon the paynes above especified, shalbe discharged and acquitted, by auctoritie of every suche *proclamacion*, of all penalties, paynes, forfaytures and losses whiche they shuld have suffered and lost by vertue of the seid acte, made for sell yng of flesshe by weight, or by vertue of this present acte, in case noo suche *proclamacion* had byn made; any thyng in the seid [act] made for sell yng of flesshe by weight, or in this present acte, conteyned to the contrary hereof notwithstanding.”

But even if we may suppose from the Preamble of the 33 Hen. VIII. cap. 1, that Acts fixing prices were duly observed, and not evaded, the question next comes, Were Proclamations issued under Acts of Parliament treated in the same way? If they were, then the following Proclamations of Edward VI. in 1549 and 1550 make more for Mr. Froude's low prices than “Vox Populi's” high ones.

It will be seen that the first Proclamation not only fixes the price of oxen, steers, runts, heifers, and cows, fat and lean, small and large,—all alive, the butcher being allowed a reasonable profit on them dead,—but also empowers the Sheriffs, etc., to seize part of any grazier's or farmer's stock, if he has more than enough for his own use, and sell it at the Proclama-

tion prices, wherever and whenever the market is not properly supplied at such prices. The prices of butter and cheese are not fixed. The first Proclamation was issued on the 2nd of July, 1549, and refers to the Acts 25 Hen. VIII. chapters 1 and 2.¹

[PROCLAMATIONS OF EDWARD VI., leaves 52-5.]

“From the daie of this Proclamacion made without delaye, all and singuler persone & persones, hauyng or keypyng any of the kyndes of victualles, mencioned in thesaid Acte, within this Realme, to the intent to sell, shall sell thesame to suche of the kynges subiectes, as will buye them at the prices hereafter mencioned, that is to saie, from Midsommer to Hallowmas, euery Oxe, beyng primed and well striken, of the largest bone .xxxvij. s., of a meaner sorte .xxvij. s.; an Oxe fat, and of the largest bone. xlv. s., of the meaner sorte, beeyng fat .xxxvij. s., Steres and Runttes, beyng primed or wel stricken, and large of bone .xx. s., of a meaner sort xvi. s.; beyng fat, and of the largest bone xxv. s., beyng fat of a meaner sort .xxi. s. Heifurthes and Kine, beeyng primed or wel striken, and large of bone .xvi. s., of a meaner sort .xij. s. iiij. d.; beyng fat and large of bone. xxij. s., beyng fat and of a meaner sorte .xvij. s. And from Hallowmas to Christmas, euery Oxe, beyng fat and large of bone .xlvi. s. viij. d., beyng fat of a meaner sort .xxxix. s. viij. d. Steres and Runttes within thesame tyme, beeyng fat and large of bone .xxvi. s. viij. d., beyng fat of a meaner sorte xxij. s. viij. d.; heifurthes and kine within thesame tyme, beeyng fat and large of bone .xxij. s., of a meaner sorte .xix. s. And from Christmas to Shroftide, euery Oxe beyng fat and large of bone .xlviij. s. iiij. d., of a meaner sorte .xli. s. iiij. d. Steres and Runttes, within the same tyme, beyng fat and large of bone xxvij. s. iiij. d., of a meaner sort .xxiiij. s. iiij. d. And from euery Sheryng time to Michaelmas, euery wether, beyng a shere Shepe, beyng leane and large of bone iij. s., of a meaner sorte .ii. s. iiij. d.; beyng fat and large of bone .iiij. s., beyng fat of a meaner sorte .iii. s. Ewes within thesame tyme, beeyng leane and large of bone .ij. s., beyng leane of a meaner sorte .xx. d.; beyng fat and large of bone .ij. s. viij. d., beyng fat of a meaner sorte .ij. s. And from Michaelmas to Shroftide, euery Wether beeyng a shere Shepe, beyng leane and large of bone .iiij. s., beyng leane of a meaner sorte .ij. s. iiij. d.; beyng fat and large of bone .iiij. s. iiij. d., beyng fatt and of a meaner sorte .iij. s. iiij. d. And from Midsomer to Michaelmas the pounce of swete Butter at,² From Michaelmas to Newe yeres croppes the pounce. Suffolke Butter, and the parties of Norffolke borderyng vpon Suffolke, from Midsomer to Michaelmas the pounce. From Michaelmas to the newe yeres croppes the pounce. Essex Chese and other partes, from Midsomer to Michaelmas the pounce. From Michaelmas to the new yeres croppes the pounce. Suffolke Chese, and the partes of Norffolke borderyng vpon Suffolke, from Midsomer to Michaelmas the pound. From Michaelmas to the newe yeres croppes

¹ It is thought by his Maiestie, for the present disorders, a greate relief to put in due execucion, diuerse good lawes and statutes, prouided heretofore, by auctoritie of Parliament, in the reignes of the kynges maiesties moste noble progenitors, and especially twoo pollitique good estatutes, made at Westminster in the .xxv. yere of the reigne of his maiesties moste dere father late deceased, kyng Henry the eight, ordeined, as by the same appereth, very pollitiquely, for the redresse of these like disorders of prices, whiche at any tyme thence after might happen: the effect of whiche later estatute is, that the lorde Threasorer,⁷ &c &c &c (*Proclamations*, back of Fol. 50.) See the Statute quoted in the next note.

² The prices are left blank in the original, with the intention, no doubt, of the Sheriffs putting different prices for their different districts.

the pounce, vpon pain of forfaiture for euery Oxe, Stere Cowe, Heckfor¹ and Bullocke, that should be sold, by vertue of thesaid acte and this Proclamacion, and shall not so bee solde, fve poundes; & for euery shepe that should be sold by vertue of the same acte and this Proclamacion, and shall not so be sold .x. s. And for euery pounde of butter and chese .xij. d.; and that for all & euery some that shalbe forfaited, by vertue of thesame acte and this Proclamacion, the kyng our soueraigne lorde shall and maie haue his recouery and remedy, by informacion, bill, plaint, or accion of debt, in any of his highnes courtes of record: wherefore, we, considering the premisses to be for the welth and commoditie of this our Realme, will and commaunde you, our Shirief of our Countie of _____ within two daies next after the receipt of this said Proclamacion, that ye with all spede shall Proclaime the premisses in all Market townes within thesaid countie of _____, and that all maner our subiectes shall obey thesame, not onely vpon the paines abouesaied, but also to incurre our indignacion and displeasure. And furthermore, the kynges Maiestie, of his authoritie and power royall, straightly chargeth and commaundeth, all maner his Iustices of Peace, Sherifes, Maiors, and Bailifes of any townes corporate, or any other ministers, to be assigned & appoynted by any two Iustices of Peace of thesaid Countie, if any the Market or Markettes, within thesaid Countie shall lacke wherewithall to furnishe the markettes for the relief of his louyng subiectes, that then thei shall forsee & prouide, that the Owners, Grasiars, Drouers, Fermors, Broggers, or any other of any kynde of estate or degree whatsoeuer, nere adioyning, hauyng suche store of any kynde of the aforesaied victuall, that he maie spare part of his said store, bee it leane or fat, (ouer and besides the store necessary for the maintenance of his houshold, the allowance whereof must be made, in respect of his accustomed expences, and the tyme of another vsuall prouision,) towarde the furniture of the Market, shall by the appoyntment, and order of thesaid Iustices, and other officers aboue named, bryng to the Market and Markettes, suche number and quantitie of thesaid victualles, and at suche tyme and times, as thei shall thinke the cause and necessitie requireth, and thesame shall sell there, according to the prices by thesaid Iustices to be rated, as for an example, where the Markettes cannot be serued, with sufficient quantitie of Motton, so that in default thereof the people happe to haue ouer muche lacke, then in that and like cases, the Kynges maiesties will and commaundement is, that thesaid Iustices of euery countie, and officers aboue named, vpon the certain knowlege of that lacke, shall compell all and euery suche persone and persones, as shall haue, nigh to thesaid Market townes, the number of .v. C. shere shepe, for euery hundreth of thesame fve hundred & aboue, to send to the market so lacking at the moste ten of the best and fattest Shepe of that sorte, to bee solde from tyme to tyme, and at the prices to bee rated by thesaid Iustices and other officers; and if lesse lacke, then lesse in number, vpon like pain aforesaied for euery shepe not so brought to the Market. Furthermore, because the prices of the beiffes and muttons hereto adioynd, bee but the prices of Beues and Muttons a liue, and sold in grosse, and not by retaile, as the Butcher vseth to do, his Maiestie, notwithstanding the tenor of this Proclamacion, licenseth the Butcher in suche cases, wher he shall buy of those prices, so to sel aboue thesaid price, as it shalbe thought and ordered by thesaid Iustices and officers aboue named, accordyng to the Lawes and Estatutes of the Realme, mete for a conuenient gain toward his liuyng, and so in all cases thesame to bee obserued, vpon paines expressed in sondery estatutes for thesame."

The next Proclamation was issued on the 20th of October, 1550—to take effect from the 1st of November following,—by the Lord Chancellor and some of the officers appointed by the Act 25

¹ So in original.

Hen. VIII. chapter 2,¹ to fix scales of prices from time to time for provisions, to order at what prices each quality of Wheat (white, red, and grey), Malt, Rye, Barley, Beans, Pease, Oats, and Butter (sweet, and salt or barrelled), shall be sold :—

[PROCLAMATION OF EDWARD VI., back of leaf 92.]

“And for as muche, as diuerse and sundery greate complaints, of inhan-
syng of the prices of victualles necessary for mannes sustenaunce, and in especi-
all of Corne, Grain, Butter and Chese, bee had and made, not onely to the
kynges moste excellent Maiestie, but also to his moste honorable counsailors,
by reason that diuerse his subiectes, and others, vpon their vnsaciabie coue-
teousnes, myndyng and purposyng, of their peruerse myndes, to make greate
dearth and scarcitie, more then necessitie requireth, of Corne, Grain, Befes,
Muttons, Veales, porkes, Butter, Chese, and other victualles, necessary for
mannes sustenaunce, not onely by vnlawful ingrossyng, forstallyng and re-
grating of thesame, but also by vnlawfull transportyng, and conueighyng the-
same victualles, and other the premisses, into sundery parties beyonde the
seas, contrary to thesaid statute, and contrary to the kynges Maiestes Lawes
and Proclamacions, in that behalf had and made, and to the greate hurte and
perill of the common wealthe of this his Realme: Where vpon, the kynges
moste excellent Maiestie, hauyng a vigilant and merciful iye, and respect to-
wardes his louyng Subiectes, and willyng and straightly charyng his said
subiectes and others, from hencefurth, to enterprise no suche offences contrary

¹ 25 Hen. VIII. c. 2. s. 1.

AN ACTE OF PROCLAMACION TO BE MADE CONCERNYNG VICTUALLES.

For regulatynge
the Prices of
Cheese, Butter,
Poultry, &c.

“For asmoche as derthe, scarsitie, good chepe and plentie,
of chese, butter, capons, hennes, chekyns, and other victualles
necessarie for mennes sustenance, happeneth, ryseth, and
chaunceth, of so many and dyverse occasions, that it is very

harde and difficile to put any certayne prices to any suche thingis, And yet
never-the-lesse the prices of such victualles be many tymes inhaunsed and
raysed by the gredy covetousnes and appitites of the owners of suche victuals,
by occasion of ingrossyng and regratynge the same, more then upon any reason-
able or iuste grounde or cause, to the greate damage and impoverishing of the
Kyngis subiectis; For remedy wherof, be it enacted by the auctoritie of this
present parliament, that upon every compleynt made of any enhaunsyng of
prices of suche victuals, without grounde or cause reasonable, in any parte of
this Realme, or in any other the Kyngis Domynions, the Lorde Chauncellour

they shall on
Complaint be
assessed by the
Lords of the
Council, &c.

of Englonde, the Lorde Treasurer, the Lorde President of the
Kynges most honorable Counsell, the Lorde pryvay seale, the
Lorde Stuarde, the Lorde Chamberleyne, and all other Lordis
of the Kyngis counsaile, the Treasurer and Comptroller of
the Kyngis most honorable house, the Chauncellour of the

Duche of Lancaster, the Kyngis Justices of either Benche, the Chauncellour,
Chamberleyns, under Treasurer, and the Barons of the Kynges Eschequer,
or vii. of theym at the lest,—wherof the Lorde Chauncellour, the Lorde
Treasurer, the Lorde President of the Kyngis Counsell, or the Lorde pryvay
seale, to be one,—shall have power and auctoritie from tyme to tyme, as the
case shall requyre, to sett and tax reasonable prices of all suche kyndes of
victuals above specified, how they shalbe sold, in grosse or by retayle, for re-
liefe to the Kynges subiectis, And that after suche pryces set and taxed in
forme aforesaid, proclamation shalbe made in the Kynges name, under the
greate seale, of the seid prices, in suche parties of this Realme as shalbe con-
uenient for the same.”

to his Lawes, Statutes, or Proclamacions, vpon the paines and forfeitures contained in thesame, and vpon his high indignacion and displeasure, hath accordyng to the tenour of thesaied acte, willed & required his honorable counsailours, named in thesaied acte to set furthe reasonable prices, of all kynde of Corne, Grain, Butter and Chese, accordyng to the tenor of thesaied act. In co[n]sideracion wherof, the lorde Chauncellor of Englande, the lorde Threasorer of Englande, the lorde Prisent of the kynges most honorable counsaill, the lorde Priuie Seale, the lorde Chamberlain, and all other limited and appoynted by thesaied act, for the taxyng and setting the priuces of all kynde of victualles, mencioned in thesaied acte, haue by auctorite of thesaied acte, set and taxed reasonable prices of al kynde of Grain, mencioned in thesaied acte, to be sold in forme folowyng. That is to saie, that from the feast of al Sainctes next ensuyng without delaye, all and singuler person and persones, hauyng or keypyng any of the kyndes of Grain, Butter or Chese within this realme, to the intent to sell, shall sell thesame to suche of the Kynges Subiectes, as will buye them, at the prices hereafter mencioned, or vnder, and not aboue, that is to saie, white wheat of the best sorte, cleane and swete, and not tailed, for .xiiij. s. iij. d. the Quarter, and not aboue; and white wheate of the seconde sort, and redde wheate of the best sort, cleane, swete, and not tailed, for .xj. s. the quarter, and not aboue; and graye wheate of the best sorte, elene, swete, and not tailed, for .x. s. the quarter, and not aboue. And all other wheat, aswell white, redde, and graye, of the meaneest sort, not cleane, or tailed, for .viij. s. the quarter, and not aboue. And that malt, cleane, swete, and of the best sort, shalbe sold for .x. s. the quarter, and not aboue; and malte of the second sorte, for .viij. s. the quarter, and not aboue. And Rie of the best, cleaneest, and swetest sorte, for .viij. s. the quarter, and not aboue. And Rie of the seconde sorte, for .vj. s. the Quarter, and not aboue. And barly of the best sort, cleane and swete, for .ix. s. the Quarter, and not aboue; and Barly of the second sort, for .vij. s. the quarter, and not aboue. Beanes or Pease of the best sort, cleane & swete, for .v. s. the Quarter, and not aboue. And Beanes or Pease, of the seconde sorte, for .iiij. s. viij. d. the Quarter, and not aboue. Otes of the best sort, clene and swete, for .iiij. s. the Quarter, and not aboue, accomptyng .viij. bushelles to the Quarter. Prouided alwaies, that in what place or Countie soeuer, within this the Kynges realme of Englande, or other his graces Dominions, the Measure or Reisure, shall fortune to beo more or lesse, then is aboue expressed, that then the prices shalbee likewise taxed, limited, and appoynted, accordyng to .viij. galones to euery bushell of lande measure, and not otherwise. And that from thesaied feast of all Sainctes, the pound of swete Butter, not to bee solde aboue .j. d. ob.;¹ and barrelled butter, of Essex, the pound, not to be sold to any the kynges subiectes, aboue ob. di. qr.; and barrelled Butter of any other partes, not to bee solde to the kynges subiectes aboue .ob. qr. And Chese of Essex, to be solde to the Kynges subiectes from Hallowmas next, till the new yerres crophe, for. ob. di. qr. and not aboue. And chese of other parties, not aboue .ob. qr."

I feel that it does not become me to make any positive assertions about prices in answer to Mr. Froude's, without further evidence than I now have. In the general estimate of comfort, however, the old chimneyless cottages, their clay walls and floors, the general want of drainage, and consequent liability to breed sickness,—these, as well as the want of conveniences, now thought necessities, must be included.

§ 11. The sixteenth century is not one that I have long studied,

¹ *ob.* means *obolus*, a halfpenny; *qa.* or *qr.*, *quadranta*, a farthing.

and I therefore speak with much hesitation on the condition of the working classes during it; but I think the evidence collected above shows, that in at least Henry VIII.'s and Edward VI.'s reigns, there was a great deal of misery about. The time was one of transition from tillage to sheep-farming, from small culture to large; and though the ultimate result of that transition was to benefit the whole land, yet the immediate effect of it was a cruel gripe to the small tenants and the poor. The yeoman-class was broken up and degraded to that of labourers, its members were driven into the towns, the men to seek strange work, the women often to infamy. The poor were deprived of their common-rights, the alms (if many) of the monasteries were stopped, the coin was debased, and its purchasing-power lowered, prices were rising, dearth and sickness often prevailed, the poor-laws were savage,¹ discontent abounded, and in 1549 broke out into open insurrection,—to say nothing of minor revolts.

In the face of this, I am unable to accept Mr. Froude's comfortable view of things as the whole truth. He seems to me to have set in the heaven the sun of this masterful, brilliant, and accomplished young King, Henry VIII., and then to look on the whole land as gilded by his beams. No commons are like his commons; no workmen so well off, materially, now. But just as Mr. Froude's statement (*Hist.* i. 11²) that, in Henry's century, "duty to the State was at all times and in all things supposed to override private interest or inclination . . . the Commonweal, in a high and remarkable degree being presumed to be the first object

¹ The way in which people who had no fixed abode or occupation, were treated, may be seen in one of the Returns in the Search for Suspected Persons, 17 July, 1519. (*Brewer's Calendar*, iii. 127.) "4. Certificate made by Sir Henry Wyatt and Sir John Daunce 'of such vacabundes and mysde-meanerd persones as thy have made search for.' Sunday, 17 July 11 Hen. VIII, and attached according to the Cardinal's order.

In Holborne, in the house of Wm. Salcokke, at the sign of the George; One Christopher a Tyllesley lay there two nights passed. *Has no master, and is committed to Newgate.*

In Seynt Gylys in the Felde, in the house of Ric. Foteman: Geo. Chilyngworth lay there for a week. *Has no service. Is committed to the constables ward, not Newgate*, as Foteman is surety for him, and says he is a true man, and is trying to get into service in London.

In the house of Christopher Arundell, one Robert Bayly. *Has no master, and is committed to Newgate.* Says he is waiting to have attachment sealed out of Chancery at the suit of a kinswoman of his.

In Padyngton, in the house of Thos. Colts. John Clare, tailor, John Thomas, servant to Harrison, farmer of the abbot of Westminster, William (Harrison's son) and Wm. Rede, wheeler, played all night till 4 o'clock at tables, and are committed to the constables' ward, as Robt. Lewes, an honest man, undertakes to bring them to-morrow before the Cardinal."

Thus, a man who comes up to London for a few days to see about a Chancery suit, is treated as a vagabond and misdemeanored person, and put into Newgate for not staying at home. ² I have used this quotation elsewhere.

with every honest man," needs correcting by the direct contrary of the contemporary Polydore Vergil (ab. 1550), that "notwithstandinge the Englishe nation of all thinges *dothe least make accompte of the common wealthe*, but ar to mucche assoted on the bellie . . . yeat (thanekes bee to Godd) the Englishe imperie consistethe on sewer pillers (i. 280)," so Mr. Froude's statement on the well-being of the common people in Henry's time and the rest of his century, needs checking by the statements of the tracts, etc., collected above, and the extracts taken by Mr. Haweis from the contemporary sermons in his *Sketches of the Reformation*.

Speaking of the years 1515–18, Professor Brewer says (Calendar, vol. ii. p. cclxxviii.), "If any one wishes to see the real condition of Europe at this period—the arbitrary rule of its monarchs, bent on their own aggrandizement, and careless of the improvement of their people—the disputes among their councillors, agreed in one point only, to flatter and mislead their sovereigns—the wide separation between the luxury of the rich and the *hopeless misery of the poor*—the prevalence of crime—the severe execution of justice, earnest for punishment, but regardless of prevention—the frequency of capital punishment—the depopulation of villages—the engrossing by a few hands of corn and wool—the scarcity of meat—the numbers of idle gentlemen without employment—of idle serving-men and retainers turned adrift on a life of vagabondism:—in short, whoever wishes to see society full of the elements of confusion, requiring only a small spark to fan them into a flame—may read with advantage the Utopia of Sir Thomas More."

For myself, I cannot doubt that, for Henry VIII.'s time too, the touching words of the earlier *Praier and Complaynte of the Ploweman*, about the fourteenth-century poor, were still true:—

"For soth me thinketh that pore laborers zeueth to these rych men more then they zeuen hem azeyn-ward. For the pore man mote gone to hys laboure in colde and in hete, and in wete and drye, and spende hys flesh and hys bloude in the rych mennes workes apon Gods ground, to fynde the rych man in ese, and in lykyng, and in good fare of mete and of drinke, and of clothinge. Here ys a gret zifte of the pore man, for he zeueth his awn body. But what zeueth the rych man hym azeynward? certes, febele mete, and febele drinke, and febele clothinge. What-ever they seggen, so be her workes; and here ys litell love. And who-soever loketh well a-boute, all the worlde fareth thus as we seggen." (*Harl. Misc.* i. 176, ed. 1804.)¹

¹ Compare the following from *The Complaint of Scotland*, on the Scotch labourer of 1548:

"i may be comparit to the dul asse in sa far as i am compellit to bayr ane importabil byrdyng, for i am dung and broddit [=beaten and prodded] to gar me do & to thole the thing that is abuif my pouer. allace! i am the merk of the but, contrar the quhilk euere man schutis arrous of tribulatione. allace! quhou is iustice sa euil trettit, quhilk is occasione that euere man visis al extreme extorsions contrar me as far as ther pouer can exsecut. allace! laubyр nycht and day vitth my handis to neureis lasche and inutil idil men;

So was it with the poor of 1400. How was it with those of 1547? Let Ascham answer: *Nam vita quæ nunc vivitur a plurimis, non vita sed miseria est.* How is it with the poor of 1868? Worse than in 1530, says Mr. Froude, worse than in 1500–1600. England has herein gone back. I doubt it.

So far as I can see, the direction we are to look in for the workman and the poor being better off than they are now, is forward, not backward. When, by a wider extension of the suffrage than now prevails, the holders of wealth have put within the reach of the weak and poor the powers of the national Court of Equity for enforcing the performance of the trusts on which landed and other property is held; when, by a national system of emigration, worked by men who care for the poor, the pinches of changes of trade are relieved; when, by a system of national education, there shall be no child untaught, and all possible facilities shall be given for the carrying on of adult education,—no museums shut in the evening and on Sundays then;—when, in every parish, the clergyman, as a paid officer, shall be displaced, or at least supplemented, by an official good-doer, evil-stopper, and public prosecutor of bad landlords as well as other offenders; when, by co-operation, or the system of partnerships between masters and men, the whole wage-receiving class shall be lifted into a proprietary one; when the weak are thought of before the

and thai recompens me vihtt hungyr, and vihtt the sould. i susteen ther lyif vihtt trauel & vihtt the suet of my body, and thai parsecut my body vihtt outrage and hayrschip, quhil i am be-cum ane begger. thai lyf trocht me, and i dee trocht them. allace, o my natural mother! thou reprecifis & accusis me of the faltis that my tua brethir committis daly: my tua brethir, nobilis and clergie, quhilk suld defend me, tha ar mair cruel contrar me nor is my ald enemes of ingland. tha ar my natural brethyr, bot thai ar my mortal enemes of verry deid. Allace! quhou can i tak paciens considerand that ther can na thing be eikkyt to my parsecutione bot cruel dede. i dee daly in ane transe trocht the necessite that i hef of the gudis that i van vihtt my laubyr. my cornis and my cattel are reft fra me. i am exilit fra my takkis and fra my stedyngis. the malis and fermis of the grond that i laubyr is hychtit to sic ane price, that it is fors to me & vyf and bayrns to drynk vattir. the teyndis of my cornis ar nocht alanerly hychtit abuse the fertilite that the grond mayo bayr, bot as veil thai ar tane furtht of my handis be my tua tirran brethir. and quhen i laubyr be marchandres or be mecanik craftis, i am compellit to len and to fyrst it to my tua cruel brethir; and quhen i craif my dettis quhilk suld sustene my lyif, i am bostit, hurt, and oft tymis i am slane. ther for laubereris to burtht [= in towns] & land, and be see-burd, thai indure daly sic violence that it is nocht possibil that esperance of relief can be ymagynit. for ther is nay thing on the laubereris of the grond, to burtht and land, bot arrage, carage, taxationis, violent spulze, and al vthyr sortis of aduersite, quhilk is onmercifully exsecut daly. the veyr [= war] is cryit contrar ingland; bot the actis of the veir is exsecutit contrar the laubereris, and consumis ther miserabil lyif. O my natural mother, my complaynt is hauy to be tald, bot it is mair displeasand to susteen my piteous desolatione. i am banest fra my house. i am boistit and manniest be my frendis, and i am assailit be them that suld defend me." (p. 190-2.)

strong,—then may we hope for the right time for the poor, the time never yet seen, when justice shall be done them. When that time comes, I think the lookers-back over the dark past will see the shade on the Victorian age lighter than on any beyond it. Each of us can do something to make sure that this shall be so.

§ 12. In lines 165–8 our Ballad notices the enclosure of commons :—

Commons to close and kepe,
Poor folk for bred [to] cry and wepe,
Towns pulled down to pasture shepe,
this ys the new gyse!

It was the extent to which the enclosure was then carried, not the mere fact of enclosure, which constituted the newness of the fashion. With the evidence of Sir Thomas More (above, p. 5) and the Statutes, etc. (above, p. 6–10) before him, as well as the words of § 6 of “*Vox Populi*” (below, and Dyce’s ‘*Skelton*,’ ii. 406, col. 1.) on “comons and comon ingenders, inclosyers, and extenders,” and the fact of the undeniably great growth of sheep-farming, the reader will probably want no further testimony on this point; but he will join me in thanking the historian of the Early and Middle Ages of England, Mr. Charles H. Pearson, for the able sketch of the history of the matter, modestly called by him “a few notes to guide you in one or two cases to fuller sources of information,” which he has been so good as to draw up for us:

“The first legislation I know of on the subject was in the Parliament of Merton (see my *History*, vol. ii. 177¹), which was followed up in the second statute of Westminster (*Ib.* p. 338²). These enactments show, I think, that population was increasing, and that there was a genuine want of land to live upon.

“The assize of Merton was no dead letter. At the Hampshire assizes held before Hugh Bigod in the 43 Henry III. a number of great people, including the Bishop Elect of Winchester, were indicted for enclosing land, in which William Achard and Isabel his wife had commonage. The jurors found that sufficient waste had not been left for the Achards, and it was ordered that the

¹ Another enactment shows that the rights of the weak might sometimes be enforced to the public detriment. It was complained that the under-tenants of great lords objected to the constitution of new fees on the ground that their rights of commonage were thereby impaired. This, if maintained, would practically have kept all England in the *status quo*, the waste to remain waste to all time. It was enacted that new fees might be constituted wherever it could be done without depriving the tenant of his right of way or of sufficient commonage.

² The power of enclosing commons, which the Parliament of Merton had affirmed in favour of lords against their tenants, was now extended in favour of lords against their neighbours. Obviously the lord was entitled to a higher right of enclosing commonage against strangers than against his own tenants.

enclosure should be thrown down. (*Placitorum Abbreviatio*, p. 146.)

“On the other hand, in the 6 Edward I. it was decided that William Fitz Adam de Derington was justified in enclosing twenty-six acres, because he had left sufficient commonage. (*Ib.* p. 268.)

“Of course, neither laws nor prosecutions stopped rich men from enclosing land then as now, if they thought they could do it safely. In 1414 the tenants of Darleton and Raghenell petition the King in Parliament against Sir Richard Stanhope, who has enclosed all the fields, meadows, and pastures, in which they have commonage, by right of their free tenements. ‘*Le Roi vorra de ceo estre avisée.*’ (*Rot. Parl.* iv. 29.)

“The general principle of English holding, was tenant-right, subject to fixed or variable dues. If fixed, the tenure was honourable; if variable, servile. In no case could the tenant be dispossessed of land altogether during life-time if he rendered the services due, though a man of the less favoured classes might be moved from one holding to another, and no impost was to touch his necessary furniture or tools of trade. But by the customs called the *Rectitudines singularum personarum*, the ‘*gebur*,’ who ranks after the ‘*villan*’ and the ‘*cotsetle*,’ had only a life tenure of his land, which was to contain five acres at least. Practically these three classes contained the great bulk of the population. The villan’s land went to his children.

“At first the tendency was to give the tillers of the soil better tenures. Robert d’Oyley, Abbot of Abingdon, finding that tithes on his property had been commuted for insufficient equivalents, offered to enfranchise the tenants if they would pay an extra tenth of their crops. The advantages held out were that they could not be shifted from one piece of land to another, and that their property would go to their children. They agreed to the proposal. A.D. 1087–1100. (*Hist. Mon. de Abingdon*, ii. 25, 26.)

“This, moreover, was promoted by the general commutation of labour-services for money. (See Hale’s *Domesday of St. Paul’s*, p. lvi., and Fleta, lib. ii. c. 82, § 3.) A man whose family for fifty years had paid a fixed sum in exchange for all servile duties easily became a copyholder; even though he had at first been a mere ‘*tenens penilond ad vitam et ad voluntatem domini.*’ (*Cart. Mon. Glouces.* p. 134.)

“Shortly before the fourteenth century, landowners began to find that they were often short for money or for labour. Expenses were increasing, the value of money slightly diminishing, and half the population were free yeomen. One way in which the upper classes tried to remedy this was by bringing actions to prove that townships or persons were of servile condition. (*Gesta Mon. S. Alb.* i. 460, ii. 262.) About the same time, laws were made

restraining tenants from selling their lands. (See my *History*, ii. 337.) Even bondsmen had been able to do this, the principle being that they were only bound to keep enough to discharge the services from. (*Gesta Mon. S. Alb.* i. 455.)¹ Last of all come the Statutes of Labourers under Richard II., the want of labour being by that time very grievous to employers, war and pestilence having diminished the population. Under Henry V. population had partly retrieved its losses, and an outlet for the surplus was found in the French wars. Under Henry VI. civil war answered the same purpose. But as soon as order was restored, the relations of classes became difficult again. By the new military system the Government preferred money to men, and the landlord had no occasion for armed retainers. His chief profit was derived from the wool-trade; he replaced ploughmen by shepherds everywhere, and only wanted one man where he before needed ten, except at special times, such as lambing and shearing. He accordingly evicted all whom he could, enclosed where he dared, and tried to drive the population into the towns, meantime securing a hold on their labour by the laws which Froude admires so much. I write from memory, not having the statutes at hand, but I think the first Act against enclosures was under Richard III. Such Acts were passed at intervals for a century afterwards. As Church estates were generally managed with more regard to public opinion than the lands of nobles and gentlemen, the Abbots in the fifteenth century not daring to use their legal powers, the abolition of the monasteries awakened many regrets among the poor, who saw that it gave a great stimulus to enclosures. On the other hand, Church lands were badly farmed, and generally in debt. In England, as now in Australia, the great sheep-farmers cared nothing for the national interests, and only wanted to produce wool in the largest possible quantities. No wonder men looked back with regret to the times when the bondman had his small farm, could alien part of it, could bequeath it to his children, was in request for labour, and could live without it on his own property. They forgot that, like the dog in the fable, he carried a collar; I don't mean literally, as I have never met with an illustration of Gurth's ornament.

"These are very hasty notes, but I have very few books at hand on the fifteenth century. They will not do to print, but they may give you a hint or two."

§ 13. *Aliens.*—Judging only from the Statute Book, one would think that the feeling towards aliens, in the English mind, would have been one of pity rather than of jealousy. Some of the statutory provisions against them are recited in the Preamble to the

¹ In the same way, the right of exchanging parcels of land with one another, was gradually taken away from the tenants on large estates. (*Cart. Mon. Glouces.* iii. p. 216.)

32 Henry VIII. chapter 16,¹ which was not repealed till the 26 & 27 Vict. cap. 125. First, by the Act 1 Ric. III. cap. 9, no Alien not made a Denizen, taking upon him to be an Artificer or Handicraftsman, was allowed to take any House or Chamber within the Realm, or abide in the same, nor sojourn with any Alien, nor exercise any Craft within the Realm, but should depart from it unless retained to work by any Englishman. Also, no such Alien should make cloth, or sell by retail, but only in gross; and that no Denizen should have any servant to work for him, except his own child or a British-born subject. Secondly, by the 14 & 15 Henry VIII. chapter 2, no Alien, whether made Denizen or not, could take an Apprentice, or have any servant but a British-born subject; and all Aliens were subjected to the Wardens of the Fellowship of Handicrafts in London. Thirdly, the power and number of Aliens having increased,—by the 21 Henry VIII. cap. 16, no Alien is allowed any more Servant Strangers but two at a time; all householding Denizens are made to contribute to the English Crafts their due share of all charges borne by such Crafts; no Alien, not being a Denizen, shall keep any shop to carry on handicraft in; and none shall assemble elsewhere than in the Common Hall of their Crafts.

One would have thought this enough; but the Preamble of 32 Henry VIII. chapter 16, says, that these Strangers and Aliens daily do increase and multiply within his Grace's Realm, in excessive numbers, to the great Detriment, Hindrance, Loss and Impoverishment of his Grace's natural true Lieges and Subjects of this his Realm, and to the great Decay of the same; and that all the foresaid good, wholesome, and beneficial Statutes been frustrated and defrauded, chiefly by means of Letters Patent obtained by the crafty Inventions and Practises of such Strangers, lately made Denizens in great numbers, which Letters Patent do contain that every such Denizen shall be as free as any Englishman naturally born, by reason whereof the said Denizens refuse to obey the former Estatutes; wherefore the Act enacts that all Denizens shall obey the old Statutes, any Letters Patent to the contrary, notwithstanding; that no Alien or Denizen using any Handicraft in Oxford, Cambridge, or the precinct of St. Martin's le Grand in London, shall keep more than two Alien Apprentices, Journeymen or Servants; and that none of the King's Subjects, and no Denizen not using any Handicraft, shall keep more than 4 Aliens in his Household; and that no Strangers except Denizens may take a Lease of any Dwellinghouse or Shop.

This obtaining of Letters Patent, through the favour of men about the Court, was, doubtless, as irritating to the master-trades-

¹ See also 14 & 15 Hen. VIII. cap. 1; 21 Hen. VIII. cap. 16, etc.

men of the county, as the employment by small masters of alien artisans of greater skill (perhaps) and at less wages (undoubtedly), was to the men. Very early in Henry's reign we have an instance of it, in the outbreak of the London apprentices and other "misruled persons," in the 8th year of Henry VIII., on "Evil May-day," as told by Hall, fol. lx. :—A Lombard having enticed away an Englishman's wife, with his plate, not only succeeded in keeping both the man's wife and plate, but had him arrested for the board of his wife. This brought matters to a crisis. A broker in London, John Lyncoln, told Beale, "a doctor in Deuinity called doctor Bele—howe miserably the common artificers liued, and skase coulede get any woorke to fynde them, their wyfes, and chyldren, for there were such a number of artificers straungers, that tooke alwaye all the luyunge in maner. And also howe the Englishe merchauntes coulede haue no vtterance, for the merchaunt strangers brynge in all Sylkes, Clothe of Golde . ." &c.

"When Ester came, and doctor Bele should preache the Twesdaye in Ester weke, he came into the pulpit, and there declared that to him was brought a pitiful bill, and red it in thys wyse: To al you, the worshipful lordes and masters of this citie, that wil take compassion ouer the poore people your neyghbours, and also of the great importable hurtes, losses, and hynderaunces, whereof procedeth the extreme pouertie too all the kynges subiects that inhabite within this citie and suburbes of thesame; for so it is, that the alyens and straungiers eate the bread from the poore fatherles chyldren, and take the luyunge from all the artificers, and the entercourse from all merchauntes, wherby pouertie is so muche encreased that euery man bewaileth the misery of other, for craftes men be brought to beggery and merchauntes to nedynes: wherefore the premisses considred, the redresse must be of the commons, knyght and nygte to one parte; and as the hurt and dammage greueth all men, so muste all men set to their willyng power for remedy, and not to suffre thesayd alyens so highly in their wealth, and the naturall borne men of his region too come to confusion. Of this letter was more, but the doctor red no farther, and then he began *Cælum cæli domino, terram autem dedit filiis hominum*, and vpon thys text he intreated, that this lande was geuen too Englishemen, and as byrdes woulde defende their nest, so oughte Englishemen to cheryshe and defend them selves, and to hurte and greue aliens for the common weale. And vpon this text *pugna pro patria*, he brought in, howe by Goddes lawe it was lawfull to fight for their countrey; and euer he subtellye moued the people to rebell agaynst the straungiers, and breake the kynges peace, nothyng regardyng the league betwene princes and the kynges honoure. Of this Sermon many a light person tooke courage, and openly spake against straungiers. And as the deuell woulde, the Sundaye after at Grenewiche in the Kynges gallery was Francis de bard, whiche as you harde kept an Englishe mans wyfe and his goodes, and yet he coulede haue no remedy; & with him were Domyngo, Antheny Caueler, and many mo straungiers, and ther they, talkyng with syr Thomas Palmer knyght, Jested and laughed howe that Fraunces kepte the Englishemens wyfe, sayyng that if they had the Mayres wife of London, they woulde kepe her: syr Thomas sayd, 'Sirs, you haue to muche fauour in Englande.' There were diuerse Englishe merchauntes by, and harde them laugh, and were not content; in somuche as one William bolt, a Mercer, sayd, 'wel you whoreson Lombardes, you reioyse and laugh; by the masse, we will one daye haue a daye at you, come when it will;' and that sayyng the other merchauntes affirmed. This tale was reported aboute Londen, and the young and euell disposed people sayde, they woulde

be reuenged on the merchaunt straungiers aswell as on the artificers straungiers. On Monday the morow after, the Kyng remoued to hys maner of Rychemonde.”

On the night of April 30, some 2000 of the craftsmen, prentices, and others rose, and sacked the ‘houses of the French and Flemish artificers, and then proceeded to the residence of Peter Meautis, the King’s Secretary, who escaped death by hiding himself in the belfry of the adjoining church. Their next object of attack was the Italian quarter, but the merchants there had provided themselves with men, arms, and artillery, and defied the mob, who drew off to attack the less resolute and the defenceless.’ (*Brewer’s Calendar*, vol. ii. p. cexix.) Ultimately the city gates were forced by the troops whom Wolsey had ordered up, and the preacher, as well as twelve of the ringleaders and seventy of their adherents, were taken. Of these, thirteen were found guilty and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; but Lincoln alone suffered; Henry pardoned the rest. The feeling of the citizens was, however, strong, says Professor Brewer, that undue partiality had been shown to the strangers; and the part that Surrey and other noblemen took in suppressing the outbreak, caused great hatred of the nobility to be combined with that of the aliens. Five months after, another rebellion broke out, but the mayor and aldermen suppressed it, and apprehended three of the ringleaders. (*Brewer*, ii. cexii.)

As my object is only to show the strong feeling against Aliens among our craftsmen in Henry’s VIII.’s time, I do not pursue the subject further; but the Petition and Ordinance printed at the end of the Ballad, will show with what minuteness aliens’ trading was regulated.

§ 14. *The Morality of the Clergy, Monks, and Friars.*—Professor Brewer in his *Monumenta Franciscana*, etc., warns people against the popular error of treating the Monks and Friars as Clergy. The characteristic of the Clergyman, the priest, was, that he was *ordained*, could celebrate Mass—or make his God, as it was called.—All other ministerial functions could be exercised by laymen, if licensed, whether under religious vows or not. The Monk was the cloisterer, under vows, but not necessarily ordained, and not, as a rule, going into the world, unless he had a cell, and served a church for his monastery. The Friar was under vows, and not ordained, but went abroad: often the self-denying Missionary, often the boon companion of all merry men and women, the man whose larks are generally put to the credit of the clergy, to whose body he did not belong. But we shall see that the Priests had sins of their own to account or. Our ballad complains of the Priests in lines 77–80:—

“The lay men say *that prestes Iett*;
alle ys fysshe *that comyth to the nett*;

thei spare none *that* they can gett,
whether she be mayd or wyfe."

This is no new complaint to the student of Early English Literature, to say nothing of the Latin and French literature of Early England.¹ Few books indeed that treat of the life of any part of his time, can that student take up, without finding the morals of the clergy complained of. Even if we go no farther back than the Homilies of about 1150–1200 A.D., lately edited for the Early English Text Society by Mr. Richard Morris, we find the preacher asserting that the priest leads this life even worse than the laity, "for the layman honoureth his spouse with clothes more than himself, and the priest not so his church, which is his spouse, but his day (maid servant), who is his whore, whom he adorneth with clothes more than himself. The church clothes are ragged and old, and his woman's shall be whole and new. His altar-cloth coarse and dirty, and her chemise small and white; and the alb soiled, and her smock white . . . and so the priest is much worse than the laity, for he honoureth his whore more than his spouse."

¹ Cp. Giraldus Cambrensis, etc. Some French poems—there are plenty more—are printed. In the *Anecdota Literaria* of Mr. Thomas Wright, he says, on p. 63, "I have already stated that the class of *ribalds* included women of ill-fame. The following short but curious poem [*Des Putains et des Lecheors*,] insinuates that these latter owed their support chiefly to the Romish clergy, while the other sex lived upon the superfluities of the knights." Take an extract:—

"Mès putains . . .
Avec les clers cochent et lievent,
Et sor lor depanses enbrievent,
Li clerc lo font por ax salver;
Mès li chevaliers sont aver
As lecheors; si se traissent,
Quant del comandement Dieu issent
Mès ce ne font li clerc noiant;
Il sont large, et obediante
As putains; l'œuvre le tesmoingne:
Et despendent lor patremoinne,
Et les biens au crucefié
En tel gent sont il employé,
Des rentes, des dismes, lo bien."

Again, at p. 66, Mr. Wright says, "No class of society was more frequently a subject of satire in the poetry of the middle ages than the clergy. Their general character for morality was exceedingly low, and, as we have already seen in the foregoing poem, their most general vice appears to have been incontinency, which was a natural result of the Romish system of celibacy. The following poem (*Des Clercs*) recommends an effective precaution against the corruption of the clergy in this respect." The precaution is, as in the *Song against the Friars*, p. 66 below, to geld them:—

"Ensi fust bien, ce m'est avis,
Que l'an les *senast* toz a lait,
Tot autresin comme l'on fait
Un porcel o une autre beste."

The curious "lutel sermoun" in Cotton Caligula, A. ix., following the Owl and Nightingale (T. Wright's ed. p. 80-4,) says,—

"Alle prestes wives,
ich wot heo beoth for-lore ;
Thes persones, ich wene,
ne beoth heo noȝt for-bore."

Wright, p. 82.

Before or about 1300 comes that wonderfully light and airy satire, considering its time, *The Land of Cokaygne*, hit off by a more-than-Chaucer hand.

¶ Whan þe abbot him iseeþ
þat is monkes fram him fleef,
he takeþ maidin of þe route,
and turniþ vp har white toute,
and betiþ þe taburs wiþ is hond,
to make is monkes light to lond.

¶ Whan is monkes þat iseeþ,
to þe maid[e] dun he fleef,
and geþ þe wench[e] al abute,
and þakkeþ al hir white toute ;
and siþ, aftir her swinke,
wendiþ meklich hom to drinke,
and geþ to har collacione,
a wel fair processione.

¶ Anoper abbei is þerbi,
for soþ a gret fair nunnerie¹,
vp a riuer of swet milke,
whar is gret plente of silk,
whan þe somer-is dai is hote,
þe yunge nunnes takþ a bote,
and doþ ham forþ in þat riuer,
hoþe wiþ oris and wiþ stere.
whan hi beþ fur fram þe abbei,
hi makeþ ham nakid forto plei,
and lepþ dune in-to þe brimme
and doþ ham sleilich forto swimme.

þe yung[e] monkes² þat hi seeþ,
hi doþ ham vp, and forþ hi fleef,
and commiþ to þe nunnes anon,
and eu[er]ich monke him takeþ on,
and snelliche beriþ forþ har prei
to þe mochil grei abbei,
and techiþ þe nunnes an oreisun,
wiþ iambleue vp and dun.

¶ þe monke þat wol be stalun gode,
and kan set a-right is hode,
he schal hab, wiþ-oute danger,
twelue wiues euche yere,
al þrogh right, and nocht þrogh
grace,

for to do him silf solace ;
and þilk monke þat clepiþ best,
and doþ his likam al to rest,
of him is hoppe, god hit wote,
to be sone uadir abbot.

¶ Whose wl com þat lond to,
ful grete penance he mot do ;
Seue yere in swine-is dritte,
he mote wade, wol ye iwitte,
al anon vp to þe chynne ;
so he schal þe lond [i-]winne."

Harl. MS. 913, leaf 5 back ; *Early English Poems*, 1862, p. 159-61.

Robert of Brunne, in 1303 A.D., continues the complaint ; but, living in a monastery, he does not scold the clergy, he is afraid of them—or says he is :—

"Of þys clerkys wyl y nought seye ;
To greue hem y haue grete eye,"

and therefore denounces the women. If they will have a man, let them take one, but not a priest ; for if a maid or wife disturb the holy life of the priest through lechery, against her shall call and cry, all that are in paradise, in purgatory, and on earth, and shall condemn her to be lost, and shall curse the time that she was born. Besides, her own conscience shall condemn her in that day when all shall rise before Jesus, that high Judge ; for—

¹ *La grange est près des bateurs* (said of a Nunnerie thats neere vnto a Fryerie) ; the Barne stands neere the Threshers. Cotgrave, under *Bateur*.

² MS. "monkeþ."

“shame hyt ys aywhare
To be kalled a prestes mare.”

He tells a Tale accordingly of the concubine of an amorous and lecherous priest, whose corpse was carried off by fiends with loathly brows, although her sons, who were priests, had tied her body to the bier. But still, Robert of Brunne declares that—

“Of prestes wyues men here euere telle,”

and he further says of men and clerics, that no scribe—though he were wiser than Solomon, or better-lingued than Mercyon, and lived a thousand years,—

“Ne myght telle þe sorow and were [*glossed* dysese],
Ne þe peyne, þat þe preste shal drye [*glossed* suffre]
þat haunteþ þat synne of lechery.”

Handlyng Synne, p. 247-252.

The life-like *Poem on the Evil Times of Edward II.*—of which Mr. Thomas Wright printed a fragment from the Auchinleck MS. in his *Political Songs* for the Camden Society in 1839, and of which Mr. Hardwick printed (not very carefully) a complete copy for the Percy Society, from a MS. in Peterhouse Library, Cambridge, in 1849,—says of the Archdeacon,—

“He wole take mede of that on and that other,
And late the parsoun have a wyf, and the prest another,
at wille;

Coveytise shal stoppen here mouth, and maken hem al stille
And of the parson on getting a fresh living,
And whan this newe parsoun is institut in his churche
And whan he hath i-gardered markes and poundes,
He priketh out of tounne wid haukes and wid houndes
Into a straunge contré, and halt a wenche in eracche;
And wel is hire that first may swich a parsoun kacche
in londe:”

which last line should be compared with the like sentiment in Simon Fish's *Supplicacyon for the Beggars*, p. 74 below.

Still, the poem says fairly:—

“There beth so manye prestes, hii ne muwe noht alle be gode.
And natheles thise gode men fallen oft in fame
For thise wantoune prestes that pleien here nice game
bi nihte

At even he set upon a koife, and kembeth the croket,
Adihteth him a gay wenche of the newe jet,
sanz doute;

And there hii clateren cumpelin whan the candel is oute.”

Political Songs, p. 326-9.

The rest of the bits on the monks, etc., who, when they come to meat, make their bellies tight off the best, is very good.

About 1350:—If we may take this to be the date of the fourteenth century MS. of Hampole's *Pricke of Conscience*, Ashmole

60, to which Mr. Black draws attention in his Catalogue of the Ashmole MSS. col. 105, we have an insertion of "a remarkable invective against bad clergymen," which we may as well put into type here, though it does not directly bear on our subject except in lines 8–12 and 38 :—

Ashmole MS. 60, leaf 97.

[*Stimulus consciencie a Ricardo, Heremita de Hampole, (ob. 1349. v. Jo. Baleum, fol. 431).*]

Gif lorel lordis þis vnderstode
 And þise bischopis þat kunnen litil goode,
 And þise vnkunynge abbotis and priouris,
 And many othere rekles doctours, 4
 And al-so þise false Erchedekene þat aboute þe cuntre wake
 And maynteynen false preestis in euery halke,
 And also officialis and denes in her chapitre *and* constory,
 That meyntenen false preestis in her leechery : 8
 Wherefore þise chief herdis of holiehirche
 Shulden take hede how synfully þei wireche,
 And how þat her sugetis vnder hem taken mede 12
 Of false pardones and preestis for her mysdede ;
 And for a litil moneye þei geuen hem leue
 In lordis courtis þanne to bilene,
 And bicomen þere lordis stywardis, [leaf 97 back.] 16
 And so leeuene þe office of goode herdis ;
 And so þe charge þat þei taken of her bischop,
 Thanne þei delyueren it vnto a lewid Iop¹
 That ne can neiper reule his flok ne hymself wel,
 And so he bryngeþ his folde in gret perel, 20
 And so he leueþ his sheep boþ skabbid *and* roynous,
 And defoulid wiþ synne ful venymous,
 And lateþ þe wolf come to the folde boþe nyght *and* day,
 To distroighe þe sheep, and bere hem away ; 24
 And so he leseþ boþe hym and his maister,
 And þe folde wiþ þe sheep in tyme comynge affir,
 And so is þe bischop and his curatour boþe disceyued ;
 Therefore þei shal alle þree wiþ þe fend in helle be reseceyued ; 28
 And þus þei ben lorne al-so sket,
 Bischop, persone, preest, and sheep ;
 And so þei wenden alle foure to helle,
 Eueremore þer-Inne for to dwelle 32
 For her false kepyng and gouernaile,
 That þei laten so þe fend her flockis assaile.
 And al þis comeþ thurgh þise false persounnes,
 That seruen lordis in dyuerce tounnes, 36
 And laten her chirche and her charge stonde
 In a ful leecherous foolis honde,
 And hymself serue lordis in kechene *and* in halle,
 And bicomen clerkis of a-counte, and Mareschalle. 40
 And gif þei bythoughten hem wel in alle þyng,
 They nolden for a thowsand wynter to be kyng

¹ ? MS. may be *rop*. The equivalent in l. 38, is a "leecherous fool." Ioppe or folte, *Joppus, joppa*. Prompt. Parv. In N. Britain, a big-headed, dull, lazy-looking fellow is called a Jupsie. (See Jamieson.) Coles gives "*Jobelin*, a sot or fool." (Way in *Pr. Parv.*)

And to be lord ouer see, woode, and land,
 And alle thyng in þis werld bowe to his hand, 44
 And haue þere peyne, þat is for þat hym ordeyned,
 Whanne he comeþ þere alle thynges shal be deined¹.
 Therfore, ne dispiseþ nought þe heuenes kyng,
 Neþer his lawis, ne his bidding, 48
 But fondip in alle thynges to wirke his wille,
 And letēp *youre* owen be, and his fulfille!
Qui sine timore est, non potest iustificari iudicium,
sapiencie / timor domini qui insipiens est, in culpa 52
sapiens, erit in pena. /

A.D. 1362. William of Malvern, or Longland, or whoever the author of the Visions of Piers Ploughman was, says of Mede (or Money),—

“She blessith these bisshopes, Theigh they be lewed;
 Provendreth persones, And preestes maynteneth,
 To have lemmans and lotebies Alle hire lif daies,
 And bryngeth forth barnes Ayein forbode lawes.”

Again, Sloth gives this account of himself:—

“I have be preest and parson Passynge thritty wynter,
 And yet kan I neyther solne ne syng, Ne saintes lyves rede;
 But I kan fynden in a feld Or in a furlang, an hare,
 Better than in *Beatus vir* Or in *Beati omnes*
 Construe oon clause wel, And kenne it to my parissshens . . .
 I visited nevere feble men, Ne fettred folk in puttes;
 I have levere here an harlotrye, Or a somer game of sowters,
 Or lesynge to laughen at, And bi-lye my neghebores,
 Than al that evere Marc made, Mathew, Johan, and Lucas.
 And vigilies and fastyng-dayes, Alle these late I passe;
 And ligge a-bedde in Lenten, *And my lemman in myne armes.*”
 (Ed. Wright, i. 101–2.)

But still, p. 26, l. 340, 350:—

“Manye chapeleyns are chaste, ac charité is away
 Manye curatours kepen hem clene of hire bodies;
 Thei ben acombred with coveitise.”

A.D. 1372. The Commons pray the Parliament of XLVI Edw. III., that the Prelates and Ordinaries of Holy Church may no longer be allowed to take money payments from the Clergy and others for leave to keep concubines, and other offences for which money ought not to be taken.

41. ITEM prie la Commune, que comme autre foithz au Parlement tenuz a Wyncestre, supplie y fuist par la Commune, de remedie de ce que les Prelatz & Ordinaires de Seint Eglise pristrent sommes pecuniers de Gentz de Seint Eglise, & autres, pur redemption de leur Pecche de jour en jour, & an en an, de ce que ils tiendrent overtement leurs Concubines; & pur autres Pecches & Offenses a eux surmys, dount peyne pecunier ne serroit pris de droit: Quele chose est cause, maintenance, & norisement, de leur Pecche, en overte desclandre, & mal ensaumple de tut la Commune; quele chose issint continue nient duement puny, est desespoit au Roi & a tout le Roialme. Qe pleise a nostre Seigneur le Roi ent ordeiner, que touz tiels redemptions soient de tut

¹ ? = “demed,” judged.

oustiez; Et que si nul viegne encontre ceste Ordeinance, que le prenour encontre la somme del double issint pris devers la Roi, & cely que le paie eit mesme la peyne. Et que Justices d'Assises & de la Pees, a totez les foithz q'il boesoigne, eient poiär d'oier & terminer a Suite de Roi & de partie touchantz les choses suisditiz. Et soit quelconque persone resceu a suivre pur le Roi, & eit la moite de ce que serra recovery pur son travail.—*Rolls of Parliament*, II, 313-4.

Ab. 1370-80. The Treatise *Why Poor Priests have no Benefices*, attributed to Wycliffe, says:—

"And when some lords would present [to a benefice] a good man, and able for the love of God and Christian souls, then some ladies be means to have a dancer, a tripper on tapis, or hunter, or hawker, or a wild player of summer's games, for flattering and gifts going betwixt; and if it be for dancing in bed, so much the worse."

Tracts and Treatises of John de Wycliffe, D.D., ed. Vaughan, 1845, p. 288.

"Prelates . . . their cursed extortion is called 'the great alms of Antichrist.' But hereby they make large kitchens, hold fat horse and hounds, and hawks, and strumpets gaily arrayed, and suffer poor men to starve for mischief, and yet suffer and constrain them to go the broad way to hell."

Ib. p. 240; see also p. 14, etc.

"but of sin against chastity, men say that many prelates are full thereof, and of the most cursed species thereof, such as it would be a shame to write; and so curates take example from them, and subjects take example from curates, both wedded men and single."

Wycliffe, *De Conversatione Ecclesiasticorum* or *Of Prelates*. in Vaughan's *Tracts and Treatises*, p. 17.

The Praier and Complaynte of the Plowman vnto Christe: written not long after the yere of our Lord, a thousande and thre hundred [say, near 1400], first printed in 1531, and reprinted in the *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. i. p. 153, ed. 1808, says, at p. 165:—

"Leue Lorde, yif good men forsaken the companye of woman, and nedes the moten haue the governayle of man, then moten they ben ycoupled with schrewes; and therefore thy spoushode, that thou madest in clenesse from synne, it ys now ychaunged in to lykyng of the flesh; and, Lorde, this ys a gret myschefe vnto thy people. And younge prestes and men of religion, for defaute of wives, maken many wymen horen, and drawen, thorow her yuel ensample, many other men to synne; and the ese that they lyuen in, and their welfare, ys a gret cause of this myschefe: And, Lorde, me thinketh that these ben quaynte orders of religion, and none of thy secte, that wolen taken horen, whilke God forfendes, and forsaken wyues, that God commaundes, and gyuen her selfe to ydelnes, that ys the moder of al noughtines."

And again at the end of the tract:—

"Lorde . . . they seggen that her order ys to holy for thy mariage. And, Lorde, he that calleth hymselfe thy viker vp on erth, will not suffren prestes to taken hem wyues, for that it ys ageins his law; but, Lorde, he will dispensen with hem to kepen horen for a certen sum of mon[ey]. And, Lorde, all horedome ys forfended in thy law. And, Lorde, thou never forfendest prestes her wiues, ner thy apostles nether. And well I wote, in our londe prestes hadden wiues vntil Anselmus dayes, in the yere of oure Lorde God aleuen hundred and twenty and nyne, as Huntindon writes. And, Lorde, this makes puple, for the moste parte, leuen that letchery ys no synne."

Harl. Misc. ed. 1808, vol. i. p. 182.

A.D. 1382. The *Song against the Friars*, probably of this date, in Mr. Thomas Wright's *Political Poems and Songs*, Rolls Series, i. 264–6, says of the friars:—

Thai dele with purses, pynnes, and knyves,
With gyrdles, gloves, for wenches and wyves;
Bot ever backward the husband thryves,
Ther thai are haunted till.
For when the gode man is fro hame,
And the frere comes to our dame,
He spares nauther for synne ne shame,
That he ne dos his wille . . .

Iche man that here shal lede his life,
That has a faire doghter or a wyfe,
Be war that no frer ham shryfe,
Nauther loude ne stille.
Thof women seme of hert ful stable,
With faire byhest and with fable
Thai can make thair hertes changeable,
And thair likynyes fulfille.
Be war ay with the lymitour,
and with his felawe bathe!
And thai make maystries in thi bour,
it shal turn the to scathe.

Were I a man that house helde,
If any woman with me dwelde,
Ther is no frer, bot he were gelde,
Shuld com within my wones.
For, may he til a woman wynne
In priveyté, he will not blynne
Er he a childe put hir withinne,
And perchaunce two at ones.
Thof he loure under his hode
with semblaunt quaynte and mylde,
If thou him trust, or dos him gode,
by God, thou ert bygyld.

A.D. 1394. The author of *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede* makes the Minorite friar say of the Carmelites (p. 2–4, ed. Skeat):—

“þei ben but jugulers . and iapers, of kynde,
Lorels and Lechures . & lemman's holden . . .
And þat wicked folke . wymmen bi-traieþ,
And bigileþ hem of her good . wiþ glauerynge wordes,
And þerwith holden her hous . in harlotes werkes . . .
þei lyuen more in lecherie . and lieth in her tales
þan suen any god liife; but lurken in her selles,
And wynnen werldliche god . & wasten it in synne
Wiþ sterne stauens and stronge . þey ouer lond strakeþ
þider as her lemmanes liggeþ . and lurkeþ in townes,
(Grey grete-hedede quenes . wiþ gold by þe eighen),
And seyn, þat here sustren þei ben, þat soiourneþ aboute.”

Then the Minorite says of the Austin Friar, “He holdeþ his ordynaunce wiþe hores and þeues.” And Piers says of them all:—

“Whereto beggen þise men . and ben nouht so feble? . . .
But for a lustfull lijf . in lustes to dwellen? . . . (*ib.* p. 23)
God wold her wonynge . were in wilderness,
And fals freres forboden . þe fayre ladis chaumbres!” (*ib.* p. 29)

Ab. 1393-4.—*The Complaint of the Ploughman in Wright's Polit. Poems, Rolls Series, i. 304, says of the Priests, at p. 312-313:—*

Some liveth not in lecherie [concupinage],
 But haunt wenches, widowes, and wives,
 And punisheth the poore for putree:¹
 Them selfe it useth all their lives . . .
 By yere eche priest shal pay his fee
 To encrease his lemman's call;
 Such herdes shul wel ivel thee,
 And al such false shul foule fall.

Some of them [Canons Secular] been hard nigges; [misers]
 And some of hem been proude and gaie;
 Some spende her goodes upon gigges [prostitutes],
 And finden hem of great araie.
 Alas! what thinke these men to saie,
 That thus spenden Goddes good?
 At the dreadfull domesdaie,
 Soche wreckes shull be worse than wood.

Some her churches never ne sie,
 Ne never o pennie thider ne send . . .
 And usen horedome and harlottrie,
 Covetise, pompe, and pride,
 Slothe, wrath, and eke envie,
 And sewen sinne by every side. (*ib.* p. 326-7.)
 Mennes wives they wollen hold;
 And though that they [men] been right sorye,
 To speake they shull not be so bold,
 For sompning to the consistorye;
 And make hem saie, mouth I lie,
 Though they it sawe with her iye,
 His lemman holden openly,
 No man so hardy to aske why. (*ib.* p. 330.)
 Though a priest lye with his lemman all night,
 And tellen his felowe, and he him;
 He goth to masse anon right,
 And saieth he singeth out of sinne,
 His birde abideth him at his inne,
 And dighteth his diner the meane while
 He singeth his masse; for he would winne;
 And so he weneth God begile. (*ib.* p. 333.)

Mr. Wright notices, at p. lxxxiv of the volume I have been quoting from, that in Gower's Latin Poem "On the Vices in the different Orders of Society," the poet says, "Among the monks and the secular clergy there was nothing but darkness. Their only lamps were games, idleness, prostitutes and taverns."²

Chaucer, I have been assured, never hints at the immorality of the Clergy, though he does speak strongly of that of

¹ Fr. *Puterie*: f. Whoring, whoredome, whore-hunting, wenching. *Cotgrave*.

²

De luce ordinis professi.
 Aut si vis gressus claros, non ordo professorum
 Hos tibi præstabit, quos cautius umbra fugabit.
 Ordine claustrali manifestus in speciali,

the Pardoner; those Tales in which he speaks of immoral monks, friars, and priests, are borrowed from foreign literatures, and cannot be taken to apply to the English clergy. This view was new to me. It is ingenious; but if I can read Chaucer, it isn't true. Take only two extracts, and judge whether Chaucer had come across any clerical fowl-treaders and free-bulls in his life:—

“Sire Nonnes Preest, our hoste sayd anon,
Yblessed be thy breche, and every ston!
This was a mery tale of Chaunteclere.
But by my trouthe, if thou were seculere,
Thou woldest ben a tredefoule a-right:
For if thou have corage as thou hast might,
Thee werè nede of hennes, as I wene,
Ye, mo than seven timès seventene.
Se, whichè braunès hath this gentil preest,
So gret a necke, and swiche a largè breest!
He loketh as a sparhawk with his eyen;
Him nedeth not his colour for to dien
With Brasil, ne with grain of Portingale.”

Tyrwhitt, iii. 64, lines 15453–65.

“. . . sothely, the vengeance of avouterye is awardid to the peyne of helle, but if he be destourbed by penitence. Yit ben ther mo spices of this cursed synne, as whan that oon of hem is religious, or ellis bothe, or for folk that ben entred into ordre, as sub-dekin, or dekin, or prest, or hospitalers; and ever the higher that he be in ordre, the gretter is the synne. The thinges that gretly aggreggith her synne, is the brekyng of here avow of chastité, whan thay reseceyved the ordre; and fortherover is soth, that holy ordre is chefe of alle the tresor of God, and is a special signe and mark of chastité, to schewe that thay ben joyned to chastité, which that is the moste precious lif that is. And eek these ordred folk ben specially tytled to God, and of the special meyné of God; of whiche whan thay don dedly synne, thay ben the special traytours of God and of his poeple, for thay lyven of the poeple to praye for the poeple; and whil thay ben suche traytours, here prayer avayleth not to the poeple. Prestis ben aungels, as by the dignité of here misterie; but for soth seint Poul saith, that Sathanas transformeth him in an aungel of light. Sothely, the prest that hauntith dedly synne, he may be likened to the aungel of derknes, transformed into the aungel of light; and he semeth aungel of light, but for sothe he is aungil of derknes. Suche prestes ben the sones of Helie, as schewith in the book of Kinges, that thay were the sones of Belial, that is, the devel. Belial is to say, withoute juge, and so faren thay; thay thynke hem fre, and han no juge, no more than hath a fre bole, that takith which cow that him liketh in the toun. So faren thay by wommen; for right as a fre bole is y-nough for al a toun, right so is a wikked prest corrupecion y-nough for al a parisch, or for al a contray. These prestes, as saith the book, ne conne not ministere the mistery of presthode to the poeple, ne God ne knowe thay not; thay holde hem nought apayed, as saith the book, of soden fleissch that was to hem offred, but thay tooke by force the fleissch that is raw. Certes, so these schrewes holde hem not appayed with rosted fleissch and sode fleissch, with whiche the poeple feeden hem in gret reverence, but *they wil have raw fleisch of folkes wyves and*

Lux ibi pallescit, quam mens magis invida nescit;
Lux et mortalis tenebrescit presbyteralis.
Clara dies transit, nec eis lucerna remansit;
Sunt ibi lucernæ jocus, otia, scorta, tabernæ,
Quorum velamen vitiis fert sæpe juvamen.

here doughtres. And certes, these women that consenten to here harlotrie, don gret wrong to Crist and to holy chirche, and to alle halwes, and to alle soules, for thay bireven alle these hem that schulde worschipe Crist and holy chirche and praye for cristen soules. *And therfor han suche prestis, and here lemmanus ecke that consenten to here leccherie, the malisoun of al the court cristian, til thay come to amendement."*

The Persones Tale, T. Wright's 2-col. ed., p. 206.

Now of course it is possible to hold that by the first passage Chaucer meant that the priest was virgin-pure; and that in the second he was only translating an older French or Latin treatise, without the most distant notion that any one would suspect him of aiming at the evils of his own time,—any more than one would suppose the noble words on behalf of churls and the poor in *The Persones Tale* to be meant for his England, if these words are not his own only.—But to any such interpreter, I humbly submit that he doesn't know much of Chaucer.

On the question of the parson's children,—how begotten I cannot say,—I must add Chaucer's bit in *The Reeves Tale*,—not translated from the French original, be it observed:—

A wyf he hadde, come of noble kyn;
The persoun of the town hir fader was,
With hire he gat ful many a panne of bras.

l. 3940-2.

And of the parson's granddaughter:

The persoun of the toun, for sche was feir,
In purpos was to maken hir his heir,
Bothe of his castel and his messuage,
And straunge made it of hir mariage,
His purpos was [for] to bystow hir hye
Into som worthy blood of ancestrye;
For holy chirche good moot be despendid
On holy chirche blood that is descendid.
Therefore he wolde his joly blood honoure,
Though that he schulde holy chirche devoure.

l. 3975-84, ed. Wright.

A.D. 1401. Jack Upland's Rejoinder to the Reply of Friar Daw Topias to Jacke Upland, printed in Mr. T. Wright's *Political Poems* for the Master of the Rolls, vol. ii. p. 39, etc., says:—

for oft ye leden away mennes wifes (p. 44) . . .
your freres ben taken alle day with wymmen and wifes;
bot of your privey sodomye spake I not yette. (p. 49)
And as to chastité of body, ye breken it ful oft. (p. 62)
¶ Daw, thou herdist me not grueche that ye went two togedir;
for otherwhile ye gon three, a womman is that oon." (p. 101.)

Compare the woodcut in Plate VI at the end of *The Babees Book*, etc., where at least one woman is present at a meal of tounded men, one of whom is pulling her about.

Ab. 1450. In the same volume of Mr. Wright's, at p. 249-50, is a short poem of Henry VI's time, *Against the Friars*, which says,

Lat a freer of som ordur
tecum pernoctare,
 Odur thi wyff or thi doughtour
hic vult violare ;
 Or thi sun he weyl prefur,
sicut furtam fortis.
 God gyffe syche a freer peyne
in inferni portis !

1485-6 A.D. 1 Henry VII. Mr. Froude states in a note to his History, i. 85, that ‘Among the miscellaneous publications of the [Old] Record Commission is a complaint presented by the gentlemen and the farmers of Carnarvonshire accusing the clergy of systematic seduction of their wives and daughters.’ Mr. Froude has unfortunately no more definite reference to this document, and Mr. Wood’s searches, and my enquiries for it at the Rolls, have not been successful in discovering it.

1489. In this year, says Mr. Froude, in his able and interesting Essay on “The Dissolution of the Monasteries,” in *Fraser’s Magazine*, 1857, and *Short Studies on Great Subjects*, p. 272, “Pope Innocent the Eighth—moved with the enormous stories which reached his ear of the corruption of the houses of religion in England—granted a commission to the Archbishop of Canterbury to make enquiries whether these stories were true, and to proceed to correct and reform as might seem good to him . . . On the receipt of the Papal Commission, Cardinal Morton, among other letters, wrote the following,” from which I take a few extracts, to William, Abbot of the monastery of St. Alban’s :—

“The pious vows of the founders are defrauded of their just intent, the ancient rule of your order is deserted; and not a few of your fellow-monks and brethren, as we most deeply grieve to learn, giving themselves over to a reprobate mind, laying aside the fear of God, do lead only a life of lasciviousness,—nay, as is horrible to relate, be not afraid to defile the holy places, even the very churches of God, by infamous intercourse with nuns,” etc. etc.

“You yourself, moreover, among other grave enormities and abominable crimes whereof you are guilty, and for which you are noted and diffamed, have, in the first place, admitted a certain married woman named Elena Germyn, who has separated herself without just cause from her husband, and for some time past has lived in adultery with another man, to be a nun or sister in the house or Priory of Bray, lying, as you pretend, within your jurisdiction. You have next appointed the same woman to be prioress of the said house, notwithstanding that her said husband was living at the time, and is still alive. And finally, Father Thomas Sudbury, one of your brother-monks, publicly, notoriously, and without interference or punishment from you, has associated, and still associates, with this woman, as an adulterer with his harlot.

“Moreover, divers other of your brethren and fellow-monks have resorted and do resort, continually to her and other women at the same place, as to a public brothel or receiving-house, and have received no correction therefor. At the nunnery of Sapwell . . . as well as at Bray, you depose those who are good and religious; you promote to the highest dignities the worthless and the vicious . . . under the name of guardians . . . in fact they are no guardians, but thieves and notorious villains . . .

“... even within the monastery of the glorious proto-martyr Alban himself . . . you have made away with the jewels; the copses, woods . . . and other forest trees, to the value of 8000 marks and more, you have made to be cut down . . . sold and alienated. The brethren of the abbey, some of whom, as is reported, are given over to all the evil things of the world, neglect the service of God altogether. They live with harlots and mistresses publicly and continuously, within the precincts of the monastery, and without . . .”

Mr. Froude adds, “We need not transcribe further this overwhelming document. It pursues its way through mire and filth to its most lame and impotent conclusion. After all this, the abbot was not deposed; he was invited merely to reconsider his doings, and, if possible, amend them. Such was Church discipline, even under an extraordinary commission from Rome. But the most incorrigible Anglican will scarcely question the truth of a picture drawn by such a hand; and it must be added that this one unexceptionable indictment lends at once assured credibility to the reports which were presented later on the general visitation. There is no longer room for the presumptive objection that charges so revolting could not be true.”

Again, when speaking of the Letters from some of which extracts are made below, Mr. Froude says, “The official letters which reveal the condition into which the monastic establishments had degenerated, are chiefly in the Cotton Library, and a large number of them have been published by the Camden Society. Besides these, however, there are in the Rolls House many other documents which confirm and complete the statements of the writers of these letters. There is a part of what seems to have been a digest of the ‘Black Book’—an epitome of iniquities, under the title of the *Compendium Compertorum*. There are also reports from private persons, private entreaties for enquiry, depositions of monks in official examinations, and other similar papers, which, in many instances, are too offensive to be produced, and may rest in obscurity, unless contentious persons compel us to bring them forward.” Mr. Froude then quotes two instances: one of disorder; one of the steady adherence of Robert Hobbes, Abbot of Woburn, to his old faith, through all trials and troubles whatever. From the former instance, that of Wigmore Abbey in Herefordshire, I take a charge or two (p. 278–280) from the Articles to be objected against John Smart, the Abbot of the Monastery of Wigmore, before Thomas Cromwell:—

“8. Item, that he the said abbot hath lived viciously, and kept to concubines divers and many women, that is openly known.

“9. Item, that the said abbot doth yet continue his vicious living, as it is known, openly.

“10. Item, that the said abbot hath spent and wasted much of the goods of the said monastery upon the aforesaid women.

“26. Item, the said abbot, in times past, hath had a great devotion to ride to Llangarvan in Wales, upon Lammas-day, to receive pardon there; and on the even he would visit one Mary Hawle, an old acquaintance of his, at the

Welsh Poole, and on the morrow ride to the foresaid Llangarvan, to be confessed and absolved, and the same night return to company with the said Mary Hawle . . . and Kateryn, the said Mary Hawle her first daughter, whom the said abbot long hath kept to concubine, and had children by her, that he lately married at Ludlow. And [there be] others that have been taken out of his chamber, & put in the stocks within the said abbey, and others that have complained upon him to the king's Council of the Marches of Wales: and the woman that dashed out his teeth, whom he would have had by violence, I will not name now, nor other men's wives, lest it would offend your good lordship to read or hear the same."

Mr. Froude refers to a list of priests, etc., in the Diocese of Hereford, allowed to live in Adultery and Fornication for money; and I print it here:—

[MS. Tanner, leaf 96, back.]

The Names of such Persons as be permitted to live in Adultery and Fornication for Money:—

The Vicar of Liddbury	S ^r Adam of Clone
The Vicar of Brasmyll	S ^r Rich ^d Apprice
The Vicar of Stow	S ^r Pearce of Norbury
The Vicar of Clonne	S ^r Griffon Apegmond ¹
The Parson of Wentnor	S ^r John Orbeley
The Parson of Rusbury	S ^r John of Mynton
The Person of Ploden	S ^r John Raynolds
The Dean of Pountsbury	S ^r Morris of Knighton Preest
The Parson of Stratton	Hugh Davis
S ^r Mathew of Montgomery	Cadwallater ap Gem ^{tt}
S ^r D D of Lauvaug	Edwd ap Merick
S ^r John Braghe	with many others within the Dio-
S ^r Morris of Clone	cess of Hereford

This list is followed by a petition for letters of dismissal for some persons unknown, commencing thus: "Wherefore, humbly beseeching your most honourable good Lordship that your poor Orators may have your honourable Letters of Dismission, or else they dare not go into the Country." (G. Waring.)

Beneath is a petition from the Abbot of Halles for the removal of a shrine "where that famed Relict called the Blood was." (G. Waring.)

The last extract from Mr. Froude brings even to a later date than our Ballad, what I had intended only as a sketch of popular opinion on the morals of the clergy, monks,² and friars, up to the date of the Ballad, and as preparatory to a few extracts showing what was the state of those morals—or what was said to be their state—about and soon after the time of *Now a Dayes*. Was the Ballad right on this point or not?

¹ The *p* in this name is doubtful, it may be an imperfect *f*.—G. W.

² There is an interesting Inventory of the property, in 1520, of Dan Thomas Golwynne, monk, professed of the house of London, in Mr. Brewer's *Calendar*, iii. 204. He has 3 habits, 2 new shirts and 1 old, 'a wide slop furred to put over all my gear, of the gift of my lady Conway, &c; a little Legend Aurey, the Shepherd's Calendar, & Æsop's Fables, all in print, with MS. and printed books of Devotion: lastly, 'a double still, to make with *agua vite*.'

Take these lines in Roy's Satire against Wolsey, in the Lamentation over the Mass,—allow for exaggeration:—

Drawe neare, ye prestes in youre longe gownes,
 With all the fryres of the beggerly ordres,
 Com hither, *monkes* with brode shaven crownes,
 And all soche as are shoren above the ears;
 Helpe me to lament with dolourous teares,
 Seynge that "gone is the masse!
 Nowe deceased, alas! alas!" . . .

Departed is now the masse, and clean gone,
 The chefe vpholder of oure liberte,
 Wherby our whores and harlotes euerychone
 Were mayntayned in ryche felicite.
 Full sore we shall repent this daye to se,
 Seynge that "gone is the masse!
 Nowe deceased, alas! alas!"

Our bandes and brotheles have lost their finding,
 Oure bastardes compelled to go astraye;
 Oure wynninge mill hath lost her gryndinge,
 Which we supposed never to decaye.
 Alas! therefore what shall we do or saye?
 Seyngo that "gone is the masse!
 Nowe deceased, alas! alas!" (*reprint*, p. 14-15.)

We devowred the sustenaunce of the poore,
 Wastyng the goodes of people temporall,
 Wherwith we norysshed many a whore,
 To satisfye oure pleasure bestiall.
 And yett we were counted spretuall,
 Under fauoure of the masse,
 Nowe deceased, alas! alas! (*reprint*, p. 17.)

Again, of Wolsey, "this butcherly sloutche," to whom ladies must "crouche as it were vnto an Emproure:"—

JEF. he hath no wyfe,
 But whoares that be his lovers. . . .
 WAT. Hath he children by his whoares also?
 JEF. Ye! and that full prouwdly they go:
 Nanly one whom I do knowe,
 Which hath of the churches goodes clerly
 More than two thousand pownde yerly,
 And yett is not content, I trowe:
 His name is master Winter.

Wolsey had also an illegitimate daughter, who was Abbess of Salisbury. (*Brewer*.)

Next take the evidence of the celebrated tract, 'A Supplication for the Beggars,' written before 1525, and answered by Sir Thomas More in his 'A Supplicatyon of Soulys.' The reader should recollect that, in the modern reprint of 1845, this tract is called "a libel to serve the purposes of a party;" and he should see Sir T. More's answer to it, especially his description of what would follow from the adoption of the Beggar's remedies, in leaf xxii of the 'Supplicatyon of Soulys.' Also he should see Tyn-dale's Answer to More.

Ab. 1524. A SUPPLYCACION FOR THE BEGGERS.

"Ye, and what do they more? Truly nothing but applie theym silues, by all the sleightes they may, to haue to do with euery mannes wife, euery mannes daughter, and euery mannes mayde, that cuikkoldrie and baudrie shulde reigne ouer all among your subiectes, that noman shulde knowe his owne childe, that theyre bastardes might inherite the possessions of euery man, to put the right begotten children clere beside theire inheritaunce, yn subuersion of all estates and godly ordre. These be they that by theire absteyning from mariage do let the generation of the people, wherby all the realme at length, if it shulde be continued, shall be made desert and inhabitable. ¶ These be they that haue made an hundreth thousand ydell hores yn your realme, whiche wolde haue gotten theyre lyuing honestly, yn the swete of theyre faces, had not theyre superfluous rychesse illected theyme to vnclene lust and ydelnesse. These be they that corrupt the hole generation of mankind yn your realme, that cateche the pokkes of one woman, and bere them to an other; that be brent wyth one woman, and bere it to an other; that cateche the lepry of one woman, and bere it to an other, ye, some one of them shall bost among his felawes that he hath medled with an hundreth wymen. These be they that when they haue ones drawen mennes wiues to suche incontinency, spende away their husbandes goodes, make the wimen to runne away from their husbandes, ye, rynne away them silues both with wif and goodes, bring both man, wife, and children, to ydelnesse, theft, and beggeri. Ye, who is abill to nombre the greate and brode botomles ocean see, full of cuilles, that this mischeuous and sinful generacion may lawfully bring vppon vs vnponissed. where is youre swerde, power, crowne, and dignite, become, that shuld punissh (by punisshement of deth euen as other men are punisshed) the felonies, rapes, murders, and treasons, committed by this sinfull generacion? where is their obedience become, that shulde be vnder your hyghe power yn this mater? ys not all together translated and exempt from your grace vnto them? Yes truly. whate an infinite nombre of people might haue ben increased, to haue peopled the realme, if these sort of folke had ben married like other men. whate breche of matrimonie is there brought yn by them? suche truly as was neuer, sins the worlde began, among the hole multitude of the hethen.

¶ Who is she that wil set her hondes to worke, to get .iij. d. a day, and may haue at lest .xx. d. a day to slepe an houre with a frere, a monke, or a prest? what is he that wolde laboure for a grote a day, and may haue at lest .xij. d. a day to be baude to a prest, a monke, or a frere? whate a sorte are there of theime that mari prestes souereigne ladies, but to cloke the prestes yncontinency, and that they may haue a liuing of the prest theime silues for their laboure? Howe many thousandes doth suche lubricite bring to beggeri, theft, and idelnesse, which shuld haue kept their good name, and haue set them silues to worke, had not ben this excesse treasure of the spiritualtie? whate honest man dare take any man or woman yn his seruice that hath ben at suche a scole with a spiritual man?"

Again, at the end of the tract:—

"wherefore, if your grace will bilde a sure hospitall that neuer shall faile to releue vs, all your poore bedemen, so take from them [the monks and friars] all these thynges. Set these sturdy lobies a brode in the world to get them wiues of their owne, to get their liuing with their laboure in the swete of their faces, according to the commaundement of god (Gene. iij.) to gyue other idell people by their example occasion to go to laboure. Tye these holy idell theues to the cartes, to be whipped naked about euery market towne til they will fall to laboure, that they, by theyre importunate begging, take not away the almesse that the good christen people wolde giue vnto vs sore impotent miserable people, your bedemen."

Ab. 1525. Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn, *Harl. Misc.* i. 197, ed. 1808:—

“As touching the matter of Wylton, my Lord Cardinal hath had the nuns before him, and examined them, master Bell being present, which hath certified me that for a truth, that she hath confessed her self (which we would have had abbesse) to have had two children by two sundry priests; and further, since hath been keepled by a servant of the Lord Broke that was, and that not long ago.”

1527.—*George Joyces Answer to Johan Ashwell* (sign. C. i. back). “They thought thorow the forbinding¹ of matrimony theyr prestes, to haue institute in their churche a more pure and cleaner state of perfection then euer God ordered; but to what a chaste ende theyr holy purpose² is come, euery man may se, for *all the worlde speke euell and shame of them, & euery man abhorre them for theyr pryde and vnclene lyuyng.*”

1533-4. Next we may take a short extract from ‘The Image of Ipcrysy,’ printed further on in this volume, because it mentions Sir T. More’s ‘Supplicatyon.’ But the reader should take care to read the whole poem.

Ye kepe your holy rules . . .

And nowe and then a fitt,
After the Rule of Bennett,
With dythinunia vennett,
A gaye a vott gennett,
With gill or with Jennyt,
Wyth Cycely or Sare:
Yf *thei* Come wher they are,
Thei lay one and not Spare,
And never look behind them,
Wher-soeuer they fynd them.
For whan that *thei* be hett,
And asmodeus grett,
They take, as *thei* can gett,

All fyshe that Comes to Nett;
For lust fyndes no lett
Tyll hys poyson be spett,
Be she fyne or feat,
Be she white or Iett,
Long or short sett;
Do she Smyle or Skowle,
Be she ffayr or fowle,
Or owgly as an owle;
For vnderneath a Cowle,
A Surplyse or an amys,
Can no man do amys.

(*The Image of Ipcrysy*, Lansdown MS. 794, leaf 29, and Dyce’s ‘Skelton,’ ii. 419, col. 2.)

Ab. 1535. Next take the important ‘Letters on the Suppression of the Monasteries’ from Henry VIII.’s Commissioners to Secretary Cromwell, of what state they found the Monasteries, etc., in,—edited by Mr. Thomas Wright for the Camden Society in 1843; but remembering again, on the one hand, that this is the evidence of enemies, and on the other, that all enlightened and good men were, or ought to have been (as I think) such enemies.

Thus much was printed when Prof. Brewer told me, 1. of the other Series of Letters or Reports by certain Romanist gentlemen on the smaller Monasteries, printed by Sir Hy. Ellis in the Third Series of his *Original Letters*; and 2. of an Article on the Dissolution of the Monasteries, in Sir John Acton’s Pope-suppressed liberal Romanist Review, *The Home & Foreign*, which Article is understood to have come from the pen of one of our first living English historians. I therefore, for fairness’ sake,

¹ ? Binding against by vows; not a mistake for “forbidding.”

² Orig. “ppurose.”

refer the reader to this article, and give him an extract from it, before the extracts from the Letters edited by Mr. Wright, in order that their statements may be discounted by the reader to the extent he thinks proper. I cannot say that my own rate of discount is large, as I doubt whether Romanists were the proper enquirers to send to Romanist monasteries, to discover their abuses, so that the monasteries might be suppressed where abuses existed.

[From pp. 178 & 179 of vol. 4 of the *Home and Foreign Review.*] “But the main point of interest for most men is, and must remain, whether the grave charges brought against the monasteries at the time of their dissolution are really warranted by the facts. ‘Cromwell,’ says an old manuscript, printed by Mr. Wright in his well-known collection of Letters on the Suppression of the Monasteries, ‘caused visitations to be made of all the religious houses, touching their conversations; whereupon was returned the book called the Black Book, expressing of every such house the vile lives and abominable facts,—in murders of their brethren,’ in crimes of the flesh, ‘in destroying of children, in forging of deeds, and other infinite horrors of life. Inasmuch, on dividing of all the religious persons in England into three parts, two of these parts at the least were’ ineffably depraved. ‘And this appeared in writing, with the names of the parties and their facts.’ Fox, Burnet, and more recently Mr. Froude, have indorsed this statement. It is observable, however, that Mr. Froude quotes almost entirely from Mr. Wright’s collection. Now, two series of letters have been printed on this subject; and those edited by Sir H. Ellis are as generally favourable to the monks as those edited by Mr. Wright are commonly unfavourable. In fact, the one extract which Mr. Froude makes from the Ellis letters is an account of a visit in which Henry’s commissioners were besieged in a tower by the Abbot of Norton Abbey and some hundreds of indignant country people. It becomes interesting, therefore, to examine the causes of this difference. It undoubtedly lies in the fact that Mr. Wright chiefly quotes from the reports of Legh, London, and Layton, who were Cromwell’s most zealous agents, or from men like Sir T. Audley, who profited largely by the confiscation; while Sir H. Ellis gives the letters of men of higher standing, such as Tregonwell, or of men like Sir S. Harcourt, who favoured the old religion. We must therefore decide from collateral evidence which of these views is the more trustworthy. It is not generally known that special commissions were issued in the spring and summer of 1536 to mixed committees of country gentlemen and court nominees, to report on the state of the smaller monasteries. The idea probably was, that their report would favour the king’s views and satisfy public opinion. The result, as we shall show, proving otherwise, the scheme seems to have been abandoned, and the employment of private commissioners substituted.”

We now recur to the extracts from Mr. Wright’s book.

1535. DR. LAYTON TO CROMWELL. (*Wright*, p. 58.)

(At Maiden Bradley, near Bristol) “is an holy father prior, and hath but vj. children, and but one dowghter mariede yet of the goodes of the monasterie, trystyng shortly to mary the reste. His sones be tall men waittyng upon hym, and he thankes Gode a never medelet with marytt wōmen, but all with madens, the faireste cowlde be gottyn, and always maredē them ryght well.¹

¹ This, I expect, is the explanation of Chaucer’s lines on the Friar in his Prologue to ‘The Canterbury Tales,’ l. 212–13:—

He hadde i-made many a fair mariage
Of yonge wymmen, at his owne cost.

The pope, consideryng his fragilitie, gave hym licens to kepe an hore, and [so he] hath goode wrytyng *sub plumbo* to discharge his conscience, and to choys M^r. Underhyll to be his gostely father, and he to gyve hym *plenam remissionem*, etc.”

JOHN BARTELOT TO CROMWELL. (*Ib.* p. 59-60)

“Pleas it your honourable mastership to be advertisid, that in the tyme of Lent last past, your contynuell oratour John Bartelot, with other, to the noubmer of v. personez of good conversacion, ffound the prior of the Crossid Fryers in London at that tyme beyng in bedde with his hoore, both nakyd, abought xj. of the klok in the fornone, upon a Fryday.”

DR. LAYTON TO CROMWELL. (*Wright*, p. 75, Letter XXXIII.)

[From MS. Cotton. Cleop. E. iv. fol. 127.]

“Pleasit your goodnes to understonde, that one Friday xxij^o Octobris, I rode bake with spede to take an inventarie of Fowlstone¹, and from thens I went to Langden. Wheras immediatly descyng from my horse, I sent Bartlett, your servant, with alle my servantes, to circumcept the abbay, and surely to kepe alle bake dorres and startyng hoilles, etc. I my self went alone to the abbottes logeyng jonyng upon the feldes and wode, evyn lyke a cony clapper full of startyng hoilles, a goode space knockyng at thabbottes dore, *nee vox nee sensus apparuit*, saveyng thabbottes litle doge that, within his dore faste lokked, bayede and barkede. I fownde a short polax standyng behynde the dore, and with yt I dasshede thabbottes dore in peisses, *ictu oculi*, and set one of my men to kepe that dore, and aboute howse I go with that polax in my hande, *ne forte*, for thabbot is a daingerouse desperate knave and a hardy. But for a conclusion, his hore, *alias* his gentle womman, bestyrrede hir stumpis towards hir startyng hoilles, and ther Bartlett wachyng the pursuet towke the tendre damoisel, and after I hade examynede hir, to Dover ther to the maire to sett hir in sum cage or prison for viij. dais, and I browgt holy father abbot to Canterbury, and here in Christes-churche I will leve hym in prison. In this soden doyng *ex tempore* to circumcept the howse and to serche, your servant John Antonie his men mervelede what felow I was, and so dyde the reste of thabbay, for I was unknowyn ther of al men. At last, I fownde hir apparel in thabbottes cofer. To tell yowe all this commodie,

John Taylor the Water Poet, in his *Workes* 1630, p. 91, col. 2, notices this Prior of Maiden Bradley, with others:

“Besides, I found a cursed Catalogue of these veneriall Caterpillers, who were suppress with the Monasteries in England, in the time of King *Henry* the eight, with the number of trugs which each of them kept in those daies, as these; *Christopher James* a Monke of the Order of Saint *Bennet* in *Canterburie*, had three Whores, all married women; *William*, abbot of *Bristol*, foure; *Nicholas VVhyden* Priest kept foure in *Windsor* castle: in the same place *George Whitthorne* fue, *Nicholas Spoter* fue, *Robert Hunne* fue, *Robert Dawson* sixe; *Richard* the Prior of *Maidenbeadly* fue; In *Shulbred* Monastery in *Chichester* Diocesses, *George Walden* the Prior seuen; *John Standnep* seuen; *Nicholas Duke* fue; In *Bath* Monasterie *Richard Linecombe* seuen, three of them married: *John Hill* in the Cathedrall Church at *Chichester* but thirteene; *John White* Prior of *Bermondsey* had no more but twenty: all this Rabble was found and knowne in *England*; let a man imagine then how many were not knowne, and what a goodly brood of barnes were fathered vpon those that neuer begat them: withall, if *England* were so stored with them, it is not to bee doubted but all the rest of the *Christian* world did swarme with these lecherous *Loeusts*.”

¹ At Folkestone in Kent, Eadbald, King of Kent, founded a nunnery, on the site of which Nigellus de Mandeville founded a priory in 1095. This house was surrendered on the 15th of November, 1535, as will be seen by a subsequent letter in the present volume. (*Wright*.)

but for thabbot a tragedie, hit were to long. Now hit shalle appere to gentilmen of this contrey, and other the comons, that ye shall not deprive or visite but upon substanciall growndes.”

OF BURY. (Wright, p. 85.)

“It is confessed and proved, that there was here suche frequence of women comyng and reassorting to this monastery as to no place more.”

DR. LAYTON TO CROMWELL. (Wright, p. 91, Letter XLII.)

[From MS. Cotton. Cleop. E. iv. fol. 131.]

“Hit may please your mastershippe to understande, that in goyng northwardes from London I towke in my way towardes Lichefelde, wheras I appointed to mete with doctor Leig, firste a prorie of Gylbertyns and nunnes inclosede and crosse;¹ wheras they wolde not in any wise have admittede me as vysiter, I wolde not be so answerede, but visitede them, and ther fownde two of the saide nunnes not baron; one of them *impregnavit supprior domus*, an other a servyng man. The two prioresses wolde not confesse this, nother the parties, nor none of the nunnes, but one old beldame; and whan I objectede agayns the saide prioresses, that if they cowlde not shewe me a cause resonable of that ther conseilement, I muste nedes and wolde punnissh them for ther manifeste perjurie, ther answer was that they were bounde by ther religion never to confesses the secrette fawttes done emongiste them, but only to ther owne visiture of ther religion, and to that they were sworne evere one of them at ther firste admission. Another prorie callete Harwolde², wherin was iiij. or v. nunnes with the priores; one of them hade two faire chylthren, another one and no mo.”

DR. LAYTON TO CROMWELL. (Wright, p. 97.)

“Hit may please your mastershippe to be advertissede, that here in Yorkeshire we fynde gret corruption emongiste persons religiouse, even lyke as we dyde in the sowthe, *tam in capite quam in membris*, and wurse if wurse may be in kyndes of knaverie, as, *retrahere membrum virile in ipso punctu seminis emittendi, ne inde feret prolis generatio*, and nunnes to take potations *ad prolem conceptum opprimendum*, with suche other kindes of offences lamentable to here.”

LAYTON AND LEGH TO CROMWELL. (Wright, p. 100, Letter XLVII.)

[From MS. Cotton. Cleop. E. iv. fol. 114.]

“Pleasit your mastershippe to understonde, that thabbot of Fontance hath so gretly dilapidate his howse, wastede ther wooddes, notoriously keypyng vj. hoorres, diffamede here *a toto populo*, one day denyng thes articles with many mo, the next day folowyng the same confessyng, thus manifestely incurring perjurie. vj. days before our accesse to his monasterie he committede theftt and sacrilege, confessyng the same. At mydnyght causede his chapelaine to stele the sextens keis, and towke oute a jewel, a crosse of golde with stones. One Warren, a goldsmith of the Chepe, was with hym in his chambre at that owre, and ther they stole oute a gret emerode with a rubie; the saide Warren made thabbot beleve the rubie to be but a garnet, and so for that he payede nothyng, for the emerode but xx^{li}. He solde hym also then plate withoute weyght or ownces; howe moche thabbot therfore therin was decevide he cannot tell, for the trewith ys he ys a vara fole, and a miserable ideote.”

RICHARD BEERLEY TO CROMWELL. (Wright, p. 133.)

“Now y wyll ynstrux your grace sumwatt of relygyus men, and how the

¹ This was probably the priory of Chicksand, in Bedfordshire, founded about 1150, for canons and nuns of the order of St. Gilbert of Sempringham. *Wr.*

² At Harewold, or Harwood, in Bedfordshire, there was a priory of nuns of the order of St. Augustine, founded in the middle of the twelfth century. *Wr.*

kynges grace commandyment ys keyp yn puttyng forth of boekes the beyshatt of Roms uscrpt power. Monckes drynk an bowll after collacyon tell ten or xii. of the clock, and cum to mattens as dronck as myss, and sume at cardes, sume at dyss, and at tabulles, sume cum to mattens begenyng at the mydes, and sume when yt ys allmost done, and wold not cum ther so only for boddly punnyment, nothing for Godes sayck, with many other vycys the use, wyche y have no leser now to express. Also abbettes, monckes, prest, don lyttyl or nothyng to put owtt of boekes the beyshatt of Romes name, for y my seylfe do know yn dyvers boekes where ys name and hys uscrpt power upon us ys. No more unto your nobul grace at thys tyme, but Jesu preserve you to pleser. Amen."

RICHARD, BISHOP OF DOVER, TO CROMWELL, OF THE FRIARS HOUSES IN BRISTOL, GLOUCESTER, AND WINCHESTER. (Wright, p. 197.)

"Where that I fynde them fawte, I declare ther fawttes after suche facyon that they rather woll gyffe up the howsys, than I shulde declare ther demenors, as by that menys I have receyvyd iij. howsys sythe that I wroght laste to yower lordeschype, the whyche I thynke wolde not a lytyll a moveyd yower lordschype, yff ye had knownen the order off them; sum stekeynge faste in wyndowys nakeyd, goyng to drabbes, so that the peler was fayne to be sawyde to have hym owte; sum beyng plucked from under drabbes beddes; sum feytyng so that the knyffe hathē stoken in the bone; wythe suche other praty besynes, off the whyche I have to moche. But on I thynke ye shulde doo a goode dede to wryght to the mayer of Marleburthe, that he sumwhat loke on a fryer ther that ys in prison for a mayde chyld off x. or xi. yeres of age, whom he useyd nowtely; they wolde that I shulde a delyveryd hym at my beyng ther, but master Yorke and I spake with the chyld and here fryndes, so that the mater appereyd, so that I wolde not medell with the fryer."

That it was no disgrace, but an honour, in Ireland at least, to be known as a priest's bastard, may be seen from the following anecdote told by Bp. Bale, in his *Vocacyon*, p. 340, *Harl. Misc.* vol. i. ed. 1808:—

"At supper, the parish priest, called Syr Phylipp, was very scrivicable, and, in familiar talke, described vnto me the howse of the White Fryres, which sumtyme was in that towne [Knocktouer]; concludinge in the ende, that the last prior therof, called Wyllyam, was his naturall father. I axed him, if that were in marriage? He made me answere, No. For that was, he sayd, agaynst his profession. Then counselled I hym, that he neuer shulde boast of it more. 'Whie,' sayth he, 'it is an honour, in this lande, to haue a spirituall man, as a byshop, an abbot, a monke, a fryre, or a prest, to father.' With that I greatly marueled, not so much of his vnshamefast talke, as I ded that adultery, forbidden of God, and of all honest men detested, shulde there haue both prayse and preferment; thinking in processe, for my part, to reforme it."

This must have been the case too in England in Chaucer's time. See how proud he makes the Miller's wife (in *The Reves Tale*) of being the parson's daughter, and brought up in a nunnery:—

Ther durste no wight clepe hir but madame (l. 3954)
 Hir thoughte ladyes oughten hir to spare,
 What for hir kynreed, and hir nortelrye
 That sche had lerned in the nonnerye. (l. 3964-6)

And Symkyn evidently chose her as a superior person :

“For Symkyn wolde no wyfe, as he sayde,
But sche were wel i-norissched and a mayde,¹
To saven his estaat and yomanrye.”

He also speaks of his daughter's high lineage—as the child of a priest's bastard :—

“Thou schalt be deed, by Goddes dignité,
Who durste be so bold to disparage
My doughter, *that is come of hih lynage.*”

The next letter from Mr. Wright's volume shows that, as was the priest, so was, to some extent, the layman :—

DR. LEGH TO CROMWELL. A.D. 1538. (Wright, p. 243.)

“Ther lackythe nothyng but good and godly instruction of the rude and poore people, and reformation of the heddis in thes partyes. For certen of the knyghtes and gentilmen, and most commonly all, lyvythe so incontinently, havyng ther concubynes openly in ther howses, with v. or vj. of their chyldren, putting from them their wyfes, that all the contrey therwith be not a litill offendyd and takithe evyll example of theym. Wherfor hetherto I have geven and sent commaundement to them, (forasmoche as I culd not speke with them all, by reason they war at the assyses) to put from them immediatly suche concubynes as they have hetherto notoriously and manyfestly occupied and kept, and to take agen their wyfes, or ellys to appere before your lordship to shewe a cause whye they shuld not be compellyd.”

With this last extract we may compare the following, from

THE LAMENTACYON OF A CHRISTEN AGAINST THE CITYE OF LONDON.

(By Henry Brinklow, A.D. 1542.) ed. 1548 in Brit. Mus. (ed. 1545 there too.)

“Oh ye Cytezens! yf ye wolde turne but euen the profytes of your chauntries and your obbittes to the fyndyng of the poore, with a pollitique & godly prouision, where as now London, beyng one of the flowers of the worlde, as towchynge worldlye ryches, hath so manye, yea, innumerable of poore people, forced to go from dore to dore, and to syt openly in the stretes a beggyng, and many not able to do for other, but lye in their howses in most greuous paynes, ande dye for lacke of ayde of the riche, to the greate shame of the, Oh london.” (Sign. b. vi.)

“There is a custome in the Cytye, ones a yeaere to haue a quest called *the warnmall* queste, to redresse vices; but alas, to what purpose cometh it, as it is vsed? If a pore man kepe a whore besides hys wife, & a pore mans wyfe play the harlot, they are punisshed, as well worthie. But let an alderman, a Ientleman, or a riche man kepe whore or whores, what punishment is there? Alasse this matter is to bad.” (Sign. b. vii. back.)

“Well, I can no more, but beseeche the Lord God, that he wyll geue suche grace to some, that in the time of hys wrath, he maye finde x. ryghteous persons in this Cytye, whereby the wrath and vengeance of God may be turned from it, which is lyke to come shortly vpon vs or vpon our childeren, for our sinnes & oure forfathers. For we haue deserved a M. tymes more plagis, then euer ded Tire & Sidon, or Sodoma & Gomora, ware it not for the great mercy of God I thinke, we had founde it so or this time.” (Sign. c. iii. back.)

“And though it appere that some of *the* troubles which chaused to the Kynges of Englonde in tymes past came by Abbotes of these fyllthy Monas-

¹ Do not these three words “and a mayde” mean a good deal, as applied to the morals of the poor, and the rich who used them?

teryes ryghtfully deposed nowo of late, yet came the grounde from the forked merchauntes. For be thou sure, neuer came any dyspleasure to anye Prynce in Englonde or elles where for sekyng any Godly redresse ande Goddes glorie; but *the originall & maintayners of the same ware these forked cappes.*" (Sign. e. ii.)

Prof. Brewer thinks there is no evidence to show that the state of morals in England was worse before the Reformation than after it (*Calendar*, Introduction to vol. iii.). He refers to the result of the remarkable document that he abstracts in his *Calendar* at p. 127, the returns of the searches for Suspected Persons in London on the 17th of July 1517—already quoted above, p. 51, *n.*—and doubts whether a similar search now would show results so relatively pure. Mr. Haweis does not hesitate to say that the post-Reformation popular morals were worse than those of the pre-Reformation,¹ and that the worseness was probably due to the removal of all ecclesiastical restraints (*Sketches*, p. 128–30). Mr. Haweis certainly produces a black picture of the times from the *Contemporary Pulpit*; but to me the truth seems to be, that at the Reformation the light was let in on the old dark places, and that what the Reforming Preachers saw was the natural growth of the Romish fungus. Are the late and the present murders and excesses in the Southern States and Texas due to Freedom or Slavery? When Latimer preached like he did before the King, it is a sign to me that matters were mending rather than growing worse.

But a more disgusting crime of the Monks is mentioned in other books, the passages about which I do not feel justified in keeping back from the reader; although his surprise at seeing them may be as great as mine was. The possibility of the vice in monasteries had never occurred to me till then; but considering the greater coarseness of the times, above three hundred years ago, considering that a statute against the vice was then passed,² considering what some monks may have been, and what

¹ One thing is certain, whether it arose from contempt of the clergy, the abuse of doctrinal instruction, the disuse of confession, the decay of ecclesiastical courts, or any other combination of causes, in an age when men thought it safer to doubt everything than to believe too much, all parties agreed that the nation had grown worse; none imagined that the gospel was doing its legitimate work upon the people, "purifying their hearts through faith," but each was inquiring with shame or exultation, "What is the cause that the former times were better than these?" "All men may see," says Bradford (*Serm. on Repentance*, 1553), "if they will, that the whoredom, pride, unmercifulness, tyranny &c. of England, far passeth in this age any age that ever was before." "London was never so ill as it is now," says Latimer, the Democritus of the Reformation. Hooper was the Heraclitus, and although his sermons are few, they want not indications of his opinion as to the deteriorated state of public morals.—*Haweis*, p. 132-3. Later, see *Stubbs*, p. 101-2.

² 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 6. *A Acte for the Punysshment of the Vice of Buggerie.*—For asmoche as there is not yett sufficient and condigne punysshment appoynted al lymytted by the due course of the lawes of this Realme for the

the report of some ship-surgeons on the subject now is, I am not prepared to treat the following accusations of the monks' enemies as entirely the creatures of their own imaginations.

In 1527 or 1528 Roy notices this vice in his *Satire*, p. 104-5 of Pickering's reprint, and accounts in a reasonable way for its prevalence among monks.

Jef. Their cloysters are the devils mewes,
 Farre worse than eny stewes/
 Or commen places of whordom.
 They are the dens of baudines/
 And fornaces of al letcherousnes/
 Lyke unto Gomer and Sodom.
 Yonge laddes and babes innocent/
 They brynge in by their intysment/
 To their leawde congregacion.
 Whom they receaue to profession/
 Before that they have discrecion/
 To their eternall damnacion.
 For when they fele by experience/
 The brynnynge of concupiscence/
 Pryckyng their hertes with love.
 Consyderynge also their bondage/
 Howe they can vse no mariage/
 As a christen man doth behove.
 Then to quenche their apetytes/
 They are fayne to be sodomytes/
 Abusyng them sclues vnnaturally.
 And so from hope of salvacion/
 They fall into desperacion/
 Ordrynge their lyves most shamefully.
Wat. I will not say the contrary/
 But amonge a grett company/
 One or two soche thou mayst fynde.
Jef. Make the company grett or small/
 A-monge a thousand fynde thou shall/
 Scant one chast of boddy and mynde.

The reader may have noticed the early allusion to this same vice in the extract from *Jack Upland*, p. 69 above.

detestable and abhominable vice of buggery *commyttid* with mankynde or beaste; It may therefore please the Kynges Hyghnes, with the assent of his Lordes *spirituall* and temporall, and the *Commyns* of this present parliament assembled, that it may be enacted by auctorytie of the same, that the same offence be from hensforth adjudged felonye, and suche order & forme of proces therein to be used ayenst the offendours as in cases of felonye at the *commen* lawe; and that the offenders being herof *convicte*, by verdicte, confession, or outlarye, shall suffer suche peynes of dethe, and losses and penalties of their goodes, catallis, Dettes, londes, tenementes, and hereditamentes, as felons byn accustomed to doo, accordyng to the order of the *commen* lawes of this Realme, and that no person offendyng in any suche offence shabbe shalbe admyttid to hys clergie: And that Justices of pease shall have power and auctoritie within the *lymittes* of their *commissions* and *jurisdiction*, to here and determine the scid Offence, as they do use to do in cases of other felonyes: this acte to endure to the last day of the next Parliamente. (This Act was made perpetual by the 32 Hen. VIII. cap. 3.)

DR. LAYTON TO CROMWELL, 22nd December, 1535. 'Letters relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries,' ed. T. Wright, 1843, page 93.

"Newarke here in Lecestre. . . . The abbay here is confederyde, we suppos, and nothyng will confesse. The abbot is an honeste man, and doth varawell, but he hath here the moste obstinate and factiouse chanons that ever I knewe. This mornyng I will objecte aganste divers of them bugrie and adulterie, *et sic specialiter descendere*, wiche I have lernede of other (but not of any of them); what I shall fynde I cannot tell."

A.D. 1546. A SUPPLICATION OF THE POORE COMMONS.

"Now can we not denye but that the outragious belowing of a *sort of sodomiticall butts*, myngled with the proud pipyng of organs, is the seruice of God, and worthy to be preferred before the redyng and preaching of Gods worde. . . . Now must we beleue that they can not erre, though they set up the bloude of a ducke to be honored for the verye bloude of Christe, though they made the roode of kente to wagge hys yies, though thy were baudes & fornicators with the holy whore of kent.¹ We maye not thinke they ought to marye wyues, though we take them daily abusinge other mens wyues. We muste not saye that they are rauenyng woulfes, but the true shepherdes of Christ, although we see them bothe buy & sell the congregacions of Christ, & when they haue them loke for nought els but what yearelye rentes may be clearlye reased therof" . . . (Sign. b. iii.)

"For what meane they in their Sermons, when they lament the greate discord and myserable estate of this our tyme, wishyng that all thyng were nowe as it was xx. yeares since: but that they woulde haue a Pope, pardons, lightyng of candels to Images, knocking and knelyng to them, with runnyng hither and thither on pilgrmage? Besides the infinit number of purgatory horseleches on whom the vengeaunce of God is so manifestly declared for *their beastly buggery*; that the very places where thei dwelt, ar not thought worthy to be the dwellinges of men, but the caues of bruit bestes and venemous wormes." (Sign. a. iii. back.)

yf anye poore lambe bleate, A, A, A, my God is the luyng God vncreat,—because he did create all,—euerlastyng, because all thynges endureth by him; vnchangeable, because he saythe I am God, and am not chaunged strayt wayes; he must be deuoured wyth fyre, because euery dronkerde, whore-monger, Idolater, *Sodomit*,—as youre owne man callethe you,—euery naturall noddie, yonge boye, blynde bussarde, lucyfer, Cayne, Simoniacke, fyre-brand of hell, and dampned idol, in this great babylon and Roynyshe church, —wherin this cage of deuilles and vncleane soules doth leiter,—may, when he lyst, cal downe with his beekes euen God fröme heauen, create his creator, make god, make wyng him daunce, eate him, sacrifice the son of God. (*I playue Piers... A ploweman*, sign. D. v.)

A.D. 1587. "Of his [the Pope's] ordinarie absolution for mony without respect of crime, he descanted pretily that said, Friers were fed fat with mens sinnes. . . . I omit his [the Pope's] beastly gaine raked out of the sinkhole of brothel-houses.² I loth to think upon his tolerating of the most stinking sin

¹ Elizabeth Barton. See the letters about her, and the account of her in Wright's 'Letters on the Suppression of the Monasteries,' p. 11-33. Compare also 'The Image of Ipoecrysy,' printed below.

² Th' Italian Stewes (to make the Pope good cheere)
Payd twenty thousand Duckets in a yeere. [£8000]
Besides, they giue a Priest (t' amend his fec)
The profit of a *Whore*, or two, or three . . .
Me thinkes it must be had Diuinity
That with the Stewes hath such affinity . . .

of *abominable Sodomitrie*: in commendation whereof John Casus, Archbishop of Beneventane, the Pope's Legat to the Venetians, wrote a booke. O detestable impudencie, to magnifie that in words, yea in writing, *the onely thought whereof woundeth the heart with horror.*" ('The Complaint of England,' by William Lightfoote, 1587, back of sign. G.)

They are the mooste abominable whore-maysters and theues, vnder pre-
tence of theyr whorish vowe, and fained holynesse, that is vnder heauen:
for they may abyde whoredome, baudrye, blaspheminge, fyghtinge, braw-
lynge, manslaughter, and theft, *with sodomiticall buggery*, with a thousand
more of abominable vyces, better then the eternal Testamente of God: for
all these vices aforesayd, be customely vsed in the high ministers of Anti-
christes Church, and the faythfull members of the same, vnpunished. But
let any creature hunger & thurst to learne the holy Scriptures to the amende-
mente of theyr lyues, till they cry and rore, and with capons & presentes
they will com to the iudge & iustices, & to gentilmen of the country¹ whyche
they knowe blinde, and not sene in the Scryptures, and they shall trouble
the poore men, and vexe them from place to place, with wryttes, cytations,
suspencions, and excommunications: They will flocke him, and present him,
slaunders him, and belie him, they wil ride vp to the commissary, and complaine
of them², that they set all the county on a rore, when the poore man can
better be ruled, and more gladlyer, then some of them can rule them selues.
But marke this as a generall rule, whosoer loueth the scriptures, they hate
him . . . yf you will banishe a prieste your house, bye a bible or a testament,
and he wyl neuer come there after; yf a parishe wil be ridde of a naughty
curate, driue out all the whores, and punish whoredome, and he will other
coorse away his benefice, or elles by a Lapidation. (*The ful of the Romish Church,*
with all the abominations, sign. C. v. back.)

Take next, Bale, Bishop of Ossory, in Edward VI.'s time. He
had been a White Friar before he gave up Romanism (III *Ellis*
iii. 155), and (I suppose) knew what went on among monks.
The prevalence among them of the vice we are treating of, seems
to have made a strong impression on his mind; he recurs to it
again and again. He wrote a Comedy on the subject, of which,
as the title is wanting in the British Museum copy, I give the
colophon:—

"Thus endeth thys Comedy concernynge the lawes, of Nature, Moses, and
Christ, corrupted by the Sodomytes, Pharisees and papystes most wycked.
Compyled by Johan Bale. Anno M. D. XXXVIII, and lately imprinted per
Nicolaum Bamburgensem."

He introduces his character *Sodomismus* by printing *Monachus*
in the same line with it, and afterwards makes *Sodomismus* say—

I dwelt amonge the Sodomytes,
The Beniamytes, and Madyanytes,
And now the popysh hypocrytes
Embrace me euery where.

I am now become all spyrytuall;
For the clergy at Rome and ouer all,
For want of wyues, to me doth fall,
To God they haue no feare.

(*Actus secundus.*)

But ther's no Common-wealth maintains the same,
But where the Pope is Landlord of the game.

Works of John Taylor, the Water-Poet, 1630 (repr. 1868) p. 110, col. 1.

¹ Sign. C. v.

² For him.

And again:—

If monkysh sectes renue,
And popysh prestes contynue,
To lyue I shall be sure (Actus secundus.)

Within the bownes of Sodomye
Doth dwell the spirytual clergye,
Pope, Cardinall, and pryst;
Nonne, Chanon, Monke and fryre,
With so many els as do desyre
To reigne vndre Antichrist.

Detestyng matrymonye,
They lyue abhomyvablye,
And burne in carnall lust.
Shall I tell ye further newes?
At Rome for prelates are stewes
Of both kyndes. Thys is iust. (Actus secundus.)

EUANGELIUM. Thys is not the church of dysgyssed hypocrytes,
Of apysh shauelynges, or papystycall *sodomytes*;
Nor yet, as they call it, a temple of lyme and stone,
But a lyuysh buyldyng, grounded in fayth alone,
On the harde rocke Christ, whych is the sure foundacyon

INFIDELITAS. . . . ye fellowes of the newe lerynge,
Forsake holy church, and now fall to wyuynge.

EUANG. Naye, they forsake whoredome, with other dampnable vsage,
And lyue with their wyues, in lawfull marryage,
Whyls the popes oyled swarme, raigne still in their *olde buggerage*.
(Actus quartus.)

In his Chronicle of Lord Cobham's death, Bale also says

"What wretched calamities the realme suffred afterward, for the space of more than fourscore yeres and thre, tyl the dayes of King Henry the Seventh, it is unspeakable. Sens the preaching of Johan Wicleve, hath the Lorde suffred the pompeuse Popysh prelates to shew themselves forth in theyr owne righte coulours, that they myght now, in the lyght of hys Gospel appeare, as they are in dede; even spightful murtherers, ydolaters, and *sodomytes*. Afore hys tyme, they lurked under the glyttering shyne of hypocresye, and coulde not be seane in their masteryes. The fryers with their charminge sophistrye threwe such a darke myst over the universall worlde, that superstieyon coulde not be knowen for superstieyon, nor ydolatrye for ydolatrye. Unspeakable fylthynes of all fleshly occupieng was than called pryestes chastitee, as it is yet, and wil be tyl it come to the hyghest, that God may take ful vengeance. Then was whoordom worshiped in prelates of the church, and sacred wedlocke rekened such a detestable vyce as was worthy in a pryest moost cruell death; as was seane, for example, in Sir Wylliam Wyghts, whiche was brent for the same at Norwych, in the yeare of our Lorde 1428." (From "*A breffe Chronycle concerning the Examinacion and Death of the blessed Martir of Christ, Sir Johan Oldecastell the Lord Cobham*; collected together by Johan Bale." ? 1548. Printed in the *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. ii. p. 254.)

So too in his *English Votaries*, or

"The first two partes of the Actes, or vnechast examples of the Englysh votaryes, gathered out of their owne legenades and Chronycles by Johan Bale, and dedycated to our most redoubted soueraigne kynge Edward the sixte." [The first Part was printed in 1548; the second in 1551.]

“If this wiuinge (thought they) might be brought to an yll opinion, that the people might reeke it nought, than shuld we make that office of pastorall cure, which afore serued God in painful study of his wurd, to serue vs in all vanities and plesures of the fleshe. To bryng this to good passe, we must pretende a perpetuall chastyete. We must outwardlye professe neuer to eoweche a woman, what so euer we do els in ye dark. By thys shal we haue these commoditees. We shall apere more holie than other people. We shal haue the preachers obedient to our affectes. They shall not rebuke our horrible darke doynge by the Gospell. No, for they shall for wante of women, haue vncomely lustes in theyr hartes, wherby they wyl be gyuen ouer of God to themselues. So shall they become *buggers and whoremaisters*. Yea, and suche blynde bussardes and beastes, as wyl be able to abyde no truthe. So shall our wyckednesse in the syght of people, become a lyfe of perfectyon and holinesse. By these chefely and by other lyke praetyses, came that adynystracyon for the sowles behoue, to an vtter decaye and ruine, as is shewed at large in thys former boke.” (Fol. Cxvij of the second part.)

Again, Bale says in his *Vocacyon*, 1553, of a temporary revival of Papistry in Kilkenny:—

“They maye now, without checke, haue other mannes wiues in occupienge, or kepe whores in their chambers; or els *play the buggery knaues*, as they haue done alwayes, and be at an vtter defiaunce with mariage, though it be the institution of God, honourable, holye, righteouse, and perfight.”

Harleian Miscellany, i. 348, ed. 1808.

The Wyll of the Deuyll, and last Testament (Lambeth 30.9.8) says, at sign. B. i.:—

“Item, I geue to all Whoremongers, Fornicators, and Aduouterers, a craftye wytte, to wrest the scriptures, & to make them serue for filthy purposes, therby to excuse & proue themselues faultlesse. Wherein, I wyl, al our *Sodomitical Clergye*, which, for their own ease, do abhorre paynfull wedlocke, and replenish the worlde with inestuuous whoredome, to helpe and ayde them with vnshamefast railynge, agaynst our enemies, the ministers of Goddes worde . . .

“Item, I geue to all Preestes, Lemondes, that wyl not marry, but perseuer in their Sodomitical & abhominable chastitee, that they shall pysse holy water all the dayes of their lyfe, cuer chattering agaynst the trewe wyues of the Ministers.

“Item, I geue to all them that professe the Gospell, and with their filthy liuyng doo geue occasion to blasphemc the same, a fayre tongue to talke of it, an hipocritical face, and a newe Testament or other booke in their handes, to hyde their feined holynesse & hipocrisye with all.”

Now, so far as the former extracts refer to those of the clergy who found that human nature, like murder, would out, and then took a concubine and kept to her, I agree with the view of a clerical friend, who says it was the most wise and right course for a celibate to pursue, who had not the pluck to face the persecution that trying to throw up his vows would have brought on him. I hope priests' concubinage was general, so far better must it have been than the indiscriminate fornication and adulterizing that must have often been its substitute. That these latter did prevail widely, in England as well as elsewhere in Romish times, I think there can be no doubt; the practices were

matter of open shame; as Joye says, all the world spoke of them. How the Romish system works in this regard in modern days, I do not personally know; but happening to ask the question of a physician-friend some three years ago, who had lived long on the Continent and studied the life of the people carefully, I heard a bad account of it. One instance that he told me of in Sicily struck me much. He was staying with an English friend there fifteen years back, and thinking the priests of a lower type than any he had seen, except in parts of Spain, asked his friend about them, and their relations with the men and women of the district. His friend said, "I'll give you a sample. One day I noticed that a man who worked in my garden came with his face bruised and blackened. I asked him what was the matter. He wouldn't tell me; but I insisted on knowing, and threatened to turn him off if he didn't account for the state he was in. Then, after much hesitation, he said that he had found his priest-brother with his young wife, and had remonstrated strongly against the proceeding. On which his brother knocked him down, and kicked him, when down, in the face, treating him brutally. 'But what were you doing all the time?' said I. 'Why didn't you wring his neck, or knock his d—d head off?' 'What Sir, strike a priest! Why he'd have damned me for ever to hell-fire!' That is a type of what goes on here. The low life of the priests, and the ignorance and superstition of the people, are deplorable."

Again, the following paragraph from the *The Pall Mall Gazette* of October 13, 1868, to which a friend has called my attention, points to the same facts as *The Land of Cokaygne* before 1300 A.D. :—

"An extraordinary story, and one which we are most unwilling to credit, is told to us by our correspondent at Rome. He says:—'I was mistaken in informing you that Monsignor Villanuova-Castellacci had resigned his post of Viceregent of Rome; it appears that he was dismissed by the Pope. The cause was a great scandal which came to light in a certain convent which at present I will not name. Nearly the whole of the nuns, who are very young, were found to be as nuns should not be. As the rules of the convent are very strict, the affair was kept very close. At length, search revealed a subterranean passage communicating with a monastery of Belgian monks. The passage terminated in an ancient Roman vault, the last vestige of a Pagan temple, in which the monks professed to practise mystic austerities. Monsignor Castellacci was blamed by the Holy Father for having failed to discover the secret communication, and for defending the nuns, particularly the abbess, though she was in the same condition as too many of her flock. I have been at pains to ascertain the truth of this story, and I relate only what is stated by several Roman prelates.'"

The same causes must produce the same effects, though the outward symptoms be modified by differences in the condition of the times wherein the symptoms appear; and I cannot doubt that the English dislike for celibate institutions was at the Reforma-

tion, as it is now, justified by the great social evils springing from them, and that the words of our *Now a Dayes* ballad were true of the time they were written in. But then were, as now are, doubtless, among the Romish clergy and nuns, men and women at least as pure and devoted as are to be found in the ranks of any other community on earth. Chaucer did not fail to set his 'poor Parson' by the side of, nay, more in view than, his 'free bull.'

§ 15. With the present poem generally, the reader should compare the Satire attributed to Skelton, *The Maner of the World Now a Dayes* (Dyce's *Skelton*, i. 147), and its original in the Sloane MS. 747, leaf 88, also printed by Mr. J. P. Collier in his *Old Ballads* for the Percy Society, by Mr. Dyce in his *Skelton*, ii. 200-3, by Mr. Fairholt in his *Satirical Songs and Poems on Costume* for the Percy Society, and which begins:—

" So propre cappes,
So lytle hattes,
And so false hartes,
Saw y never."

Also *The General Satire*, attributed to Dunbar by one MS., probably composed between 1504 and 1532, and printed in vol. ii. p. 24-7 of Mr. David Laing's edition of *Dunbar's Poems*, 1834, and which, says Mr. Fairholt, "is evidently the prototype" of *The Maner* last referred to. The second verse is:—

" Sic pryd with Prellattis, so few till preiche and pray;
Sic hant of harlettis with thame, baith nicht and day,
That sowld haif ay thair God afoir thair ene;
So nyce array, so strange to thair abbay,
Within this land was nevir hard nor sene."

l. 33-6. Henry VIII. was only in his eighteenth year when he ascended the throne, was married and crowned. His Council, which was appointed under the advice and influence of his grandmother, the Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII., consisted of Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor; Fox, Bishop of Winchester, Secretary and Privy Seal; the Earl of Surrey, Treasurer; the Earl of Shrewsbury, Steward; Lord Herbert, Chamberlain; Sir Thomas Lovel, Master of the Wards and Constable of the Tower; Sir Edward Poynings, Comptroller; Sir Henry Marney, Sir Thomas Darey, Thomas Ruthal, Doctor of Laws, and Sir Henry Wyat. Most of these were men of experience and ability: they had all served the late king. (Macfarlane's *Cabinet History*, vi. 80.) The forsaking of their counsel, implied in lines 37-8, refers to Henry's giving up his Council's advice for Wolsey's, and his own will.

In lines 69, 70, we read:—

" Every man is fayne
On other to complayne."

The Apostle of the North, Bernard Gilpin, in his Sermon before Edward VI. in 1552, notices the upspringing of a proverb on this subject:—

“God hath cause greatly to be displeas'd with all estates, when every man should looke upon their owne faults to seeke amendment; and as it is a Proverbe lately sprung up, *No man amendeth himselfe, but every man seeketh to amend other*; and all that while nothing is amended. Mighty men and Gentlemen, they say, the “Commonalty live too well at ease, they grow every day to be gentlemen, and know not themselves; their hornes must be cut shorter, by raising their rents and by fines, by plucking away their pastures,” and so by many goodly pretences Lady Avarice can whisper in their eares. The meane men, they murmure and grudge, and say, the gentlemen have all, and there were never so many gentlemen and so little gentleness. And by their naturall Logicke you shall heare them reason how these two *Conjugata*, these yoake-fellowes, gentlemen and gentleness, should be banished so farre asunder: And they lay all the miserie of this Commonwealth upon the gentlemen their shoulders. But alas! good Christians, this is not the way of amendment. *Si invicem mordetis & comeditis: If ye bite and devour one another*, as Saint Paul saith, *take ye heede lest ye be consumed one of another*” (pp. 41–42, ed. 1630, London).

But the vice is the later form of the Early English *onde*, envy, or grumbling, Latin *invidia*, for which Englishmen were noted in 1303, according to the proverb,

French men synne yn lecherye,
and Englys men yn *envye*.

Robert of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, p. 131, l. 4154–5.

Compare also the earlier

þe brid sin so is *onde* . þat mochl nuþe is in lond .
and euir hi quemlþ þe fend of helle.

Early English Poems, 1862.

1. 81–4. *Priors and Abbots buying and selling.* Compare the following, on the Church of Ireland in 1515:—

STATE OF IRELAND. (State Papers, vol. ii. p. 16; MS. p. 203.)

“Also the Church of thys lande vse not to lerne any other scyence but the lawe of Canon, For covetyce of Lucre traunsytory; all other scyence, wherof growe none suche Lucre, the parsons of the church dothe despyce. they cowde more by the ploughe Rustycall then by lucre of the ploughe Celestyal, to whiche they hathe streecheyd ther handes, and loke alwayes backwarde: they tende muche more to lucre of that ploughe, wherof groweth sclaunder and Rebuke, then to Lucre of the (p. 204) Soules, that is, the ploughe of Cryste. And to the traunsytorye lucre of that Rusticall ploughe they tendre so muche, that lytill or nought ther Chargeith to lucre to Cryste, the soules of ther subgetes, of whom^o they have the cure by preacheing and teacheing of the worde of godde, and by ther goode Insample gyveing, whiche is the ploughe of worship and of honour, and the ploughe of grace of [him] that euer shalle Indure.”

1. 97–8. One special cause of the ruin of “temporal lordes” and their households, in Henry's reign, and the consequent passing of their estates into trader's hands, is thus stated by Macfarlane (vi. 117), referring to Hall, Du Bellay, Polydore Vergil, and Godwin as authorities:—

“The most lasting effect produced by the ‘Field of the Cloth of Gold,’ as the interview and the place where it was held were afterwards called, was the ruin of many of the nobility both English and French, who, in their insane rivalry, contracted enormous debts.”

The ‘Field’ was held in 1520 A.D.
Shakspeare has noted this :—

ABUR. I do know
Kinsmen of mine, three at the least, that haue
By this, so sicken'd their Estates, that neuer
They shall abound as formerly.

BUC. O many
Haue broke their backes with laying Mannors on 'em
For this great Iourney.

Henry VIII, Act i., Sc. 1; p. 206, col. 1, Booth's reprint.

Hume notices that the power of disentailing estates was indirectly confirmed by Statute in Henry VII's reign, and no doubt more freely exercised afterwards.

Lines 129–136 look like a post-Reformation complaint, but, before the Reformation, the Monasteries may have given or sold livings to lay impropiators; and they would often put unfit men to serve the parishes whose tithes they took. See Sir Francis Bygod's Treatise on Impropiations: copies at Lambeth, and in Selden.

l. 193, 201. *Straunge sikenes. Greate Deth.* This, I believe, alludes to the Sweating Sickness in 1518; *Halle*, leaf lxiii., bk. :—

“After this greate triumphe, the kyng appointed his gester for his pastyme this Sommer, but sodeinly there came a plague of sickenes, called the Swetyng sickenes, that turned all his purpose. This malady was so cruell that it killed some within three houres, some within twoo houres, some mery at diner and dedde at supper. Many died in the kynges Courte; the Lorde Clinton, the Lorde Grey of Wilton, and many knightes, Gentlemen and officers. For this plague Mighelmas terme was adiourned, and because that this malady continued from July to the middes of December, the kyng kept hymself euer with a small compaignie, and kept no solempne Christmas, wyllyng to haue no resort for feare of infeccion; but muche lamented the number of his people, for in some one toune halfe the people died, and in some other toune the thirde parte, the Sweate was so feruent and infeccious.”

But there were subsequent returns of the sickness in 1526 and 1528. Of that in 1528, Macfarlane says, “In the month of May the city of London and the court were thrown into great consternation by the sudden appearance of the sweating sickness. The disease soon showed itself among the servants of Anne Boleyn. By the orders of the anxious lover, Anne was instantly conducted into Kent, to the seat of her father, Lord Rochford; but she carried the infection with her, and communicated it to her parent. Both father and daughter, however, were soon out of danger.” I think, though, that the date of 1518 suits the poem better than that of 1528.

Professor Brewer observes on the same sickness :—

In the reign of Henry VIII., the sickness first made its appearance in April 1516. Its violence abated as usual at the approach of cold weather. It re-appeared again in the spring of 1517 with alarming fury, and, continuing all through the summer into November without interruption, scarcely ceased in the winter, and raged more violently than ever in 1518. In that year it was accompanied with the measles and the smallpox. Not only amusements, but business, ceased in a great measure; crowds and places of public resort were carefully avoided; noblemen broke up their establishments, and every one in dread of the infection hastened, as best he could, to isolate himself from his neighbours. *Brewer's Calendar*, vol. ii. p. cexi.

1. 211. *Low born, & highe promotion.* This, Mr. Gairdner looks on as aimed unquestionably at Wolsey's being the son of a butcher, and yet raised to the second post in the realm.

1. 233-4. On the "gamers and gay courtiers, but few archers and ill warriors," we may quote a passage referred to by Mr. Froude, in which the Earl of Surrey, in 1523, makes the same complaint.

EARL OF SURREY TO CARDINAL WOLSEY, 1523. (Original Letters, ed. Ellis, 1st series, vol. i. p. 226.)

"And if yong noble men and gentlemen be not desierous and willing to be at suche jorneyes, and to take the payne and yeve the adventure, and the Kingis highnes well contented with thoos that wolle so doo, and not regarding others that wolbe but *dauncers, disers, and carders*, his Grace shall not bee well served when he wold bee."

With this, it may be interesting to compare a *Now a daies* of a hundred and fifty (or more) years earlier, a volume of Homilies of the fourteenth century, which Mr. Richard Morris pointed out to me, and which I hope he will some day include in the series which he has so well started in the Early English Text Society. The 'new gise' of the young folk of its day was vain laughter, interludes, and strumpets' dannee.

[Harl. MS. 2276, leaf 37.]

"þer is an oþer lepre of yonge folk: þat þei ben moche smyttid with now a daies / and þis is veyn laughtre, and idul wordis, and many oþer vayn iapis: þat seelden or neuer þei kumen stynte from hem / þei taken noon heede of goddis word. þei reimen to enterludes with gret delijt: yhe, þat is more reuþe, to strumpetis dannee / þe preest for hem mai stonde alone in þe chürche, but þe harlot in þe clepyng¹ shal be hirid for good money: to tellen hem fablis of losengeric / but to such maner folk: crist seiþ ful sharpeli þese wordis. / wo to you þat now lawen: for ye shuln wepe ful sore her-aftir /"

Our *Now a dayes* does not mention, among its complaints, the drunkenness that we know from Shakespere and other writers, was so prevalent in England in later days. That there was some of it here in Henry VIII.'s time, we cannot doubt; that it was in England earlier, the famous drinking-scene in the London tavern of the *Vision of Piers Plowman* (p. vi.-vii., 60-64,

¹ ? *chepying*, market; or 'in the calling,' when asked to come.

Text A., ed. Skeat), shows us; and the Homilies noticed above have a long passage on it, from which we may quote a few lines:—

[Harl. MS. 2276, leaf 36, back.]

“for drunkenesse is modir of vices: and makip a man ful dul to vertues / for whan man is ouercomen with drynk: where ben his wittis þanne: he fariþ as it were a queynt candle. and as he were deed in donge: his wit and resoun is drenchid in draftis / and so as þe profete seiþ: beestis roten in her donge / and wel mai drunkelew folk be clepid beestis þat lacken resoun. for bi þe meuyng of þe feend þei han difformid goddis ymage, þat graciousli is youen to man: bi walewyng in þe foule picke plud of drunkenesse, as vnwitti and drunken swyn, and so roten in þis foule synne !”

1. 233. *Few Archers.* The efforts of Henry VIII. to revive the use of bows and practice of Archery are well known. See these Statutes, referred to in the Index:—

<i>On Archery.</i>	<i>On Cross Bows and Hand Guns.</i>
3 Hen. VIII. c. 3.	3 Hen. VIII. c. 14.
6 Hen. VIII. c. 13.	6 Hen. VIII. c. 13.
33 Hen. VIII. c. 9.	14, 15 Hen. VIII. c. 7.
3 Hen. VIII. c. 14.	25 Hen. VIII. c. 17.
	33 Hen. VIII. c. 6.

§ 16. The Ballad of *Nowadayes* is written in the Lambeth paper MS. 159, of the sixteenth century, after some Latin Lives of St. Dunstan, Odo, Anselm, etc. The poem is in an informal hand, and is followed by another in the same hand, Art. “30, An English poetical address to the Trinity and to the Virgin Mary. At the end the name of *Thomas Langdon* is written in fol. 264.” (*Catalogue.*)

The last verse is:—

“Blessed be the ffather off lyghtes in hevyn,
& off virgyns *the* virgyn, our lady the queyn.
Lett my hart bless the lord of all goodnes
And thirst allwaye *the* fountayn of swetnes
And cease never.
thoms . . Amen. langdon.

But I suspect he was only the copier, as, for ‘swetnes’ in the last line but one, he first repeated ‘all goodnes’ of the line above, and then corrected it. The *Lutheran* poem, printed in this volume, follows the Virgin poem, and I think it is in Langdon’s hand, but am not sure.

Then come in a different hand, and on vellum, the “Words that John Hartgyll spoke before his death” (leaf 276, back), and “Ane Epitaphe vpon the death of John Hartgyll,” followed by “finis, *Quod* Thomas H.”

The curls to the *g* and *n*, represented in the text by the Record type \mathfrak{g} , \mathfrak{n} = *ger*, *ner*, are very small, and are to be taken as representing only a possible final *e*, and possibly nothing.

The Rev. F. W. Russell, Chaplain of Charing Cross Hospital,—and author of a most valuable work on '*Kett's Rebellion in Norfolk in 1549*, of which I unluckily did not know till this sheet was in course of revisal—first brought the ballad of *Now a Dayes* under my notice by sending me his transcript of it, (from which I find he quoted in his *Kett's Rebellion*) through our mutual friend, Mr. Fitzedward Hall, with a message that I might print it when I liked, after I had read it with the MS. and made out two or three words which had puzzled him. It was a long time before a chance offered of reading Mr. Russell's transcript with the MS., for during my visits to the Lambeth Library in Professor Stubbs's Librarianship, my time was taken up with other matters; then the library was closed altogether, but lately Mr. Ker-shaw's appointment has re-opened it; and here the Ballad is:—

[Lambeth MS. 159, leaf 261, ? ab. 1520 A.D.]

We Englisshemen beholde
 Our auncient customs bolde¹,
 more preciouser then golde,
 be elene cast away, 4
 And other new be fownd,
 the which (ye may vnderstand)
 that causethe all your land
 So gretly to decay. 8

Merveff it is to here
 Of noble men, *that* were
 Among vs many a yere
 Here in tymys past, 12
 The which toke in hand
 provision to be fond²,
 How to inhabit this land,
 & this was all they cast. 16

To bylde chirches strong²,
 With solempne bell[e]s rong²,
 Devine service song²,
 Mans life to amend. 20
 ther was dubbyd many a knyght;
 With all ther powre and myght,
 Holy churche Ryght
 Sworne to defende. 24

¹ The *l* has a tail to make it *h*, added by a later hand. ² Pronounce "fand."

NOW A DAYES.—*The good old times.*

- Than made they such ordynaunce, [lf. 261, col. 2.]
 that every man *with* Reverence,
 Vnder law and obedience
 ther prince should obay; 28
 And while this people pure,
 ther goodnes Dede endure,
 So long, I yow ensure,
 this lond myght not Decay. 32
- Then *the* kyng² sett good price
 By noble men and wyse,
 and after there Devise
 He did govern him-self; 36
 He wold not forsake
 ther counsayft to take;
 they wold no statute make
 But for *the* commen welth. 40
- then was he held in honor,
 the kyng² loved in gret plesur,
 & among his commons gret tresur;
 ffor nothing wold thei care. 44
 then were men both freshe & bolde,
 and kept noble housholde,
 the people had what *thei* wolde,
 ffew of them were bare. 48
- Mery hartes was than to Ryde [lf. 261 bk. col. 1.]
 thorough towne & cytees wyde,
 Replenysshed on every side
 With castels & towers hye. 52
 But now are the capitayns goone,
 ther ys not left the *tenth*¹ at home;
 the goodly towers of lyme & stone,
 A-long² on the grownd *thei* lye. 56
- Castels now be not set by:
 the cawse is well knowen whi.
 Sithe *thei* be Down, let them lye;
 thei stopp nott my way. 60
 thei stode my fathers tyme before;
 yf they do myne, I aske no more,
 and so of them men geve no store³,
 for *which* caus thei Do decay. 64

¹ MS. "left he the X."² MS. "strove."

- the people lyve in variaunce
for lack of perseveraunce;
semple ys there governaunce,
and wors ys there intent. 68
- Every man is fayne
On other to complayne:
Yf thys long^d Rayne,
We shaft yt all repent! 72
- The spirituall church, *their myslevyn^d,* [lf. 261 bk.
to *the* temporall, evell ensample gevyng^d; col. 2.]
& thus, ether others works reprovyng,
thei lyve in bate & stryfe. 76
- The lay men say *that* preestes Iett,
alle ys ffyssh *that* commyth to *the* nett;
thei spare none *that* they can gett,
Whether she be mayd or wyfe. 80
- men say *that* priors & abbottes be
Grete grosyers in this countre;
they vse bying^d & sellyng openlye;
the church hath *the* name. 84
- Thei* are nott content with *ther* possession,
But gapyn^d ever for promotion,
& thus withdrawyn^d mens Devotion,
vnto *the* landes grete shame. 88
- And in lykewyse *the* commynalte
Apply themselff ryght mervelouslye
To lerne craftes and subtilite,
ther neybour to begyle: 92
- The sister wiff begyle *the* brother,
the childe wyff begyl the mother;
And thus on wiff not trust another
Yff this world last awhyle. 96
- Temporall lordes be almost gone, [lf. 262, col. 1.]
Howsholdes kepe *thei* few or none,
Which causeth many a goodly mane
ffor to begg his bredd: 100
- Yff he stele ffior necessite,
ther ys none other remedye
But *the* law wiff shortlye
Hang^d him att save *the* hedd. 104

- And thus *the* people with gret cruelte
vse the law with extremyte ;
The world ys without aff pite,
On god *thei* have no dredd. 108
In such pride *this* world ys brought,
That vytaffe men *thei* sett Ryght nought,
the which thing² ons wyl be forthought
Yff euer to them *thei* shall have nede. 112
- The grete mysorder of everi cytee
Cawsythe gret derth & povertie.
Alas ! Alas ! yt ys gret pitee
That Rych men be so blynd, 116
Which, for *ther* gret pride & fulsom fare,
They pluck & puff ther neybons bare,
And thus the people punyshed are,
And shortly browght be-hynd. 120
- A Rich man *withowt* wysdom, [lf. 262, col. 2.]
A wyse man *without* discrecion,
A foole naturaff for his promotion,
A Ruler shal become ; 124
Than shall he *mervelous* statutes cry,
made by his grete pollicy,
The Rich to be avauanced therby,
and *the* poore cleane vndone. 128
- Now ys [Gods church] merchandyse,
Bying² and sellyng² benefice ;
A layman will therin enterprice
That knowth nothing *the* charge. 132
Craftes-men now to kepe a cure,
that with such thinges was neuer in vre ;
so he have *the* title¹, ye may be sure
the paryssh gothe at large. 136
- The gret men now take no hede
How iff so euer the commons spede ;
the poore Dare not speke for drede,
for nowght *thei* can Recover. 140
Some gracious man sett his hand
that good provision may be fownd !
Or els farweft *the* welth of *this* land,
Cleane vndone for ever ! 144

¹ tithe.

- Love the law, and vse well; [lf. 262 bk. col. 1.]
 to be periured it shall not skyff,
 So *that* I may my bagges ffill,
 my heyers to promote : 148
 A nother Day, then shall he
 Be a Ruler after me ;
 And so *the* poor cominalte
 be troden vnder fote. 152
- Envy waxith wonders strong,
 the Rich[e] doth the poore wrong :
 God of his mercy sufferith long
 the devill his workes to worke. 156
 The townes go down, *the* land decayes ;
 Off cornefeylde, playne layes ;
 Gret men makithe now a dayes
 A shepecott in the church. 160
- The places *that* we Right holy cast,
 Ordeyned ffor christyan buriass,
 Off them to make an ox staff
 thes men be wonders wyse. 164
 Commons to close and kepe ;
 Poor folk for bred [to] cry & wepe ;
 Towns pulled downe to pastur shepe :
 this ys the new gyse ! 168
- Alyauntes here have *ther* way, [lf. 262 bk. col. 2.]
 And Englysshmen cleane decay,
 the one half must nedes play ;
 this ys a comon welth ! 172
 Other landes avauanced bee,
 & by & sell among vs free ;
 & thus our own commodite
 Doth clene vndo our self. 176
- Marchauntes vse subtilty,
 the church livith viciously,
 the commons are in poverty,
 this lond goth to wast : 180
 Marchaunt men travess *the* contre,
 plowmen Dwell in the cyte,
 Which wyll Destroy *the* land shortly :
 That will be sene¹ in hast ! 184

¹ "Sene" is interpolated by a later hand.

- To gather goodes gret men be wyse,
 but yet *thei* can nothing Devise
That of ther own wittes shall aryse
 Ffor a common wele. 188
- ther wyttes on *that* *thei* wiff not breke ;
 But yf a man agayn them speke,
 Other remedy shale he none gett
 but be caried strayt to *the* gayle. 192
- straunge sikenes we have new,
 the people of *promyse* be vntrew,
 ffrom sinne *thei* may nott eschew,
 But Dayly warse & warse : 196
 Where ys no Repentawnce, [lf. 263, col. 1.]
 God must nedes take vengeaunce :
 New synne, new penaunce ;
 Off Ryght he can no lesse. 200
- Greate Deth & much idelnes,
 lytle mony and much sicknes,
 gret pryde & smale Riches,
 How can these agree ? 204
- Gret auctorite & smale wisdom,
 Symple officers & gret extorsion :
 Lyght offence & sore correction,
 An¹ end of this must bee. 208
- A litle man, gret possession
 much sinne & smal devotion,
 low born & highe promotion,
 this hath ben seen of late : 212
- Muche cunnyng and smale Regard,
 Good service & smale Rewarde,
 lyght brayns & over charghd :
 this ys *the* new estate ! 216
- Much wrong & smale Remedy,
 litle besynes and smale subtilyty,
 gret nede & smale charyty ;
 Grace can not be hadd : 220
- ffew people and much synne, [lf. 263, col. 2.]
 gret hayres and smale Rynne²,
 many leopardyes & few wynne ;
 This³ ys the world ladd ! 224

¹ MS. "and." ² ? Rine, rind = "long hair and little wool." ³ this = thus.

- moch trouble, and euer bare ;
 smale avauntage & moch care,
 sore labour & evyll fare ;
 this Dayly we may se : 228
- litle sellyng and much pletyng,
 many chyldren with smale weddyng,
 moch theft & more beggyng ;
 Such ys ther poverty ! 232
- many gammers¹ and few archers,
 gay cortyars & yff warryers,
 many craftesmen & halff beggers,
 both in townes & cyty : 236
- ffrenche ware hither ys browght,
 & englishe hand craft gothe to nowght.
 Half this Realme, it ys vnwrowght !
 Alas, for pure pytty ! 240
- Gret frawnches & smale liberte,
 new fangle & gret sca[r]cyte,
 Smale favour & gret brybre,
 fayned love with pryvy hate : 244
- Gret derth and smale nede ; [lf. 263 bk. col. 1.]
 the more daunger, *the less drede* ;
 Yet *men* theroff take none hede
 tyff *that* it be to late ! 248
- The former off heven above all thing,
 In *the* celestiaff court sitting,
 thre in one *withowt* begynnyng,
 the father & sonne & holy goost ! 252
- Off thy infynyte mercy
 send to vs some Remedy !
 Or els I fear shortly
 this Realm wyl be lost. 256
- The second *person* in trinite,
 that spred his armes apon tre
 apon the mount of calvery,
 & aff for our gylt ! 260
- With thy mother mary,
 save thys our Dowry !
that in *this* gret necessaryty
 thys Realm be not spylt. 264

¹ Gamblers, and not players at athletic games.

He *that* made this treatise
 Which ys called “now a dayes,”
 sheweth how *the* Realm decayes
 By *them that* be vnkynd : 268
 though yt be Rudely exprest, [lf. 263, bk. col. 2.]
 Desiryng to take *the* best,
 vppon no man to rayle ne gest,
 for *that* was not his mynd. 272

But for *them*¹ who doth hit Rede,
 to *ther* own fawtes shold take hede,
 & *them* reform, for hit ys nede ;
 thus he did entend : 276
 That people shold amend *ther* lyvyng
 and love God above all thyng
 beyng true and faythfult to *the* kyng
 then shuld thys world amend. 280

Amen ffor charite.¹

¹ “tyme” in MS.

NOTE.—The watermark is a hand and star, between 1512 and 1530? : probable date 1540? In another series of verses, occurring after the above (lf. 270), one begins “O noble prince Henry, thou prince of high progeny,”² and was doubtless written in the time of Henry VIII.—F. W. RUSSELL.

¹ After the poem above is written in the MS. :—

“thys ys the sygn off the moon O .”

² This ‘series of verses’ is the poem *Against the Blaspheming English Lutherans, and the Poisonous Dragon Luther*, printed below.

Appendix to "Howadayes."



§ 5 of *Introduction*, page 6.

The Ballad, l. 162, *The turning of Cornfields into Pasture.*

„ „ l. 157, 167, *The Decay of Towns and Men.*

„ „ l. 100–4, *The Hanging of People for stealing from want.*

PAPERS OF HENRY VIII. Vol. IX., leaf 262, Document 431,
A.D. 1514.

Petition to Henry VIII. against the Engrossing of many small Farms into one man's hands, and the consequent Neglect of Tillage for Pasture, Loss of Corn, Poultry, etc., Decay of Houses and Churches, Ploughs and Men.

To the king our soueraigne lorde.

Pleasith it your noble grace, by the aduice of your lordis spirituall and temporall, and Commons, in your Parliament Assembled, to consider the great indigence and scarsitie of almaner of vitailles necessary and behouffoll for your pore Subiectes within this your Realme of Englund, whiche hath growen', and daily doth growe, more and more, by reason' of the great and couitous misvsages of the ffermes within this your Realme, whiche misvsages, and the inconveniencences therof, hath not only be begon' and rysen' by diuers gentilmen' of the same your Realme, but also by diuerse and manye Merchauntes adventurers, Clothmakers, Goldsmythes, Bochers, Tannars, and other Artificers, and vnreasonable Couitous persones, whiche doth encroche daily many ffermes more than' they can' be able to occupye or maynteigne with Tilth for Corne, as hath been' vsed in tymes past, forasmoche as diuers of them, hath obteyned and encroched into their handes x, xij, xiiij, or xvj ffermes, in oon' mannes hand attons, where in tymes past there hath been' in euery fferme of them' A good house kept, and in somme of them', iij, iiij, v, or vj ploughes kept, and daily occupied, to the great comforte and Relief of your subiectes of your Realme, pore and Riche. for when' euery man' was contented with oon' fferme, and occupied that well, than' was plentie and reasonable price of euery thing that belongid to mannes sustinaunce and Relief, by reason' of Tillage, forasmoche as euery acre of lond tilled and ploughed, bere the strawe and chaffe, besides the Corne, Able and sufficient—with the helpe of the shakke in the Stobill—to socoure and fede as-

many great beastes, as horses, Oxen', and kye', as the laud wold kepe layed in leyes. And¹ further, by Reason' of the hinderflight Crappes and sedes tryed out in cleansing, wynowing, and Sifting of the said Corne to make it cleue, there was fedde and brought vp at euery barne dore, Hennes, Capons, Gees, Duckes, Swyne, and other pultrie, to the great comforte of your people in euery Shyre within this Realme of Englund. and now, by reason' of so many ffermes engrosed in oon' mannes handes whiche can' not till them', as is aforsaid, the ploughes be decayed, and the fferme houses, and also other dwelling houses in many townes within this Realme, So that where was in a towne xx or xxx dwelling houses, they be now decayed, ploughes and all, and all the people clene goon' and decayed, and the churches downe, and no more parisshons in many parisshes, but a nettard and a Sheppard, or a warner & a Sheppard, in the stede of iij^{xx} [60] or iij^{xx} [80] persones. Pleasith it therefore your noble grace, by the assent of your lordis spirituall and temporall, and commons in your present parliament assemblid, and by auctoritie of the same, to establishe and enacte that no maner of persone from hensforth² shall haue or kepe in his owne haudes or possession' any moo ffermes than' oon', and that the holder of the same, or other to his vse, enhabite and dwell therupon' with their familie and houshold, the same fferme occupying yerely with tilth, in payne to forfaitte xl li, tociens quociens; the oon' half therof to be to your noble grace, and the other half to hym' that will sue therefore.

PAPERS OF HENRY VIII. Vol. IX., Document 432, leaf 264.

Draft of a Proclamation in accordance with the Prayer of the above Petition against the Neglect of Tillage for Pasturage, and the engrossing of Farms,—which produce idleness, theft, and the hanging of the thieves,—and ordering all Farm-houses to be re-inhabited.

The kyng, oure Soueraigne lorde, like a vertuouse & gracious prince, Dayly trauaylyng aboute thenerease of the Commune weale of this his Realme, & his true & faithfull Subiectes of the same, as well by the lamentable complaynte of his said Subiectes, as by the credible reporte of his Justices of the peace & Commissioners of euery Shire within his said Realme, perceuythe & graciously conydeythe that the longe contynuyd Scarstie, as well of grayne as of other vitales, within this Realme, to the grete Detriment of his said louyng subiectes hath bene, & yet is, not only by conuerting arable grounde vnto pasture, but allso by engrossyng of many ffermes & tenementes of husbondry ynto the haudes & possession of a fewe couaytouse persones, whiche for their owne particuler

¹ Leaf 263.

² An *f* is made through the *n*.

lucre neglectithe tillage, & only applyinge the lande bilongyng to the said fermes vnto pasturage & fedying of catell, suffrithe the houses of the said fermes & tenementes to decaye & fall ynto ruyne, vneth kepyng as many persones vppon all the saide fermes or tenementes as yn euery of them seuerally were wonte to be kept bfore the saide engrossyng & decaye of husbondry by occasion wherof, not only all maner of corne & grayne hath bene in a grete quantitie mynysshyd, but pultrye & oder vitaille necessary for mannys sustinaunce Decayed, which were wonte to be bradde in the saide ffermes & tenementes whan thei were inhabited, but allso an infinite numbre of the kynges Subiectes for lacke of occupation hath fallen, & Dayly do fall, vnto Idelnes, & consequently vnto theft & robries, And finally by the rigour of the lawes of this Realme many of them haue ben putt to the execution of Dethe, to the grete Depopulation & waikenyng of this noble Realme, & the lamentable remembraunce & grete heuynesse vnto the kynges highnes; His grace, therefore, for the zele that he hath to the commune weale, desyryng to encountre with the vncharitable & couaytouse appetites, as well of them whiche conuertithe arable grounde in to Pasture, as of the saide Engrossers of fermes and tenementes of husbondry, reputyng them as Enemyes of the Commune weale of this his Realme of Englande, Straytly chargith & commaundithe all & euery his subiectes, spirituall and temporall, of what estate, Degre or condicion, he or they be, which now hath, or here-after shall haue, any moo fermes or tenementes of husbondry than one, & intendith to kepe them in his or their own handes, or that any other persone or persones hath to his vse, that thei & euery of them do till or cause¹ to be tillyd, by the feste of saint Michel tharchaungel next commyng, all suche landes lying or appertaynyng to all & euery of their saide fermes & tenementes of husbondry, as was occupied & vsyd for tillage² at any tyme bfore the first yere of the reigne of the moste noble prynce of famous memory, kyng henry the vijth.² And the landes being tillyd, as is bfore saide, contynuelly to exercise & vse it in tillage accordyngly. Semblably that the said Engrossers immediatly do cause all & euery of the saide houses of husbondry yet standyng, wherunto the saide landes to be put in tillage (as is biforesaide) doo appertayne or bilonge, to be inhabitid & Dwelt yn by husbondmen or laborars, accordyng as it was bfore the engrossyng of the said houses: And that they faile not thus to doo vppon suche greuous payne as will ensue, & as they will avoyde the kynges highe Indignation & Displeasure.

¹ Leaf 265.

² These words are between the lines of the MS. The original words, "by the space of next bfore the publisshing of this proclamation," are struck out.

Aliens. See *Introduction*, § 13, p. 56-9; *Now a Dayes*, l. 169-176.

In illustration of the Ballad's complaint about the harm done to English trade by aliens, the following Petition to Henry VIII from a large body of traders, is subjoined, with a draft of a Statute passed or intended to be in pursuance of the Petition's prayer.

[Harl. MS. 2252, leaf 15.]

To the kyng' owur Souerayne Lorde, And to the Honourabyll Lordis Spirituall And Temporalle, And to the Burgessys And commons of thys hie Cowurte of parleament Assembled:

In' Moste petuus And Lamentabyll wyse Shewen' and complainen' vnto your moste exelent hyegnes, your humbylle, trewe & faythefulle Subgettis, and Contynualle orators, that ys to sey, mercers, grocers, drapers, goldsmythes, skynners, habardassers, Taylers, ledyrsellers, pursers, poyntmakers, glovers, powchemakers, Sadlers, Cutlers, pewterers, Cowpers, gyrdlers, founders, Cordeners, vyntners, sporyars, yoyners, And all hother Chappmen, Retaylers, occupiers of euery Crafte, mystery, & ocupacion, in alle and euery your Cetes, portis, Townus, & Borowus within pis Nobyll Realme of Inglond // That where your seyde Realme and land ys so Inhabyted with A grete Multytude, nedy pepylle, estrangerges of dyuers nacions, As Frensshemen', galymen', pycardis, flemyngis, keteryckis, Spaynyars, Scottis, Lumbardis, & dyvers hother nacions, That your lyge pepylle, englysshemen', Cannot IMagen' nor Telle wherto, nor to whate ocupacion, that they shalle vse or put there chylde to lerne, or occupye, with-ynne your seyde Cetees, Borowus, portis, and Townus of thys your seyde Realme, with Many hother Chappmen' & powur comons vsynge the seyde Craftis, Mysterys, and ocupacion in all and euery shere of thys your seyde Realme / For The good Rule wherof / hyt ys Esstablysshyd, Made, ordeyned, enacted, and prouyded, By thassemble And Assente of hyghe Cowurte of parleament in the Rayne of the Moste drade and vctoryous kyng' herry the vijth of famus Memory, your late dere fader, whom' god pardon', And Also By the actis, ordynauncis, Establysshyngis, and prouysyons, of dyuers hother Nobyll And vctoryous kynggis of thys your Realme / your predecissors, there Actes and Statutis in your Recordis, In' lyke wyse dothe Apere // Resytyng' that Alle merchauntes Estrangers, and hother Strangers, whate nacion so eyvr they be, Shulde kepe & be Resyauntis in Cetes, portes, Townus, & Borowus, with-yn' the Mansyons and habytacions of Englyshmen' / And of per waris, goodis, & merchaundyshes, mak there porte sallers yn' grose, And yn' no manere of wyse by¹

¹ Leaf 15 b.

Retayle, For the tyme of A moneth after there Fyrst A Revaile and commyng to the said porte or towne // And no longer to countenewe *perin'* without Speyalle Lyeense; And yf they do presume p^e contrary, ther said warys, goodis, & merchaundyse, what-so-euer they be / To be Seissyd & Forffayted, Acordyng to the tennours, purportis, & effectis of the forsaid Actis, & estatutis or estatute, yn suche case provydede, ordeyned, & confiermyd yn tymus passed: nowe hyt ys so, moste Redowtyd Souerayne lord, that yn'-numorable nedy peple of galy men',¹ Frenshemen', &

¹ Were these Galymen those named in Kersey's ed. of *Phillips*: "*Galley-Men*, certain *Genoese* Merchants formerly so call'd, because they usually arriv'd in Gallies, landed their Goods at a Place in *Thames-street*, nam'd *Galley-key*, and traded with their own small Silver Coin call'd *Galley-half-pence*." In l. 12 of the *Petition* they are put between Frenchmen and Picards. Compare Harl. MS. 2252, fol. 14, giving the substance of the corruptly written Latin statute (?) below, which I cannot identify with any in the Statute Book. (Note, that every final ll has a line across it, which may mean a final c.)

"The Condission' of thys Acte ys thus: That noo marchaunte Stranger, as galymen', And hother Strangers, merchauntis, shall not Sell no ware, But Suche as ys lefull for them: As the galymen shall sell no maner of Flaunders ware, But onlye Suche ware as Comythe owte of there awne natyve Contre; And that they shall not goe A-Bowte to Townus, Borowus, & vyllagis, offeryng' there ware to Sell, to the hurte and preiudyce of hother Merchauntis, the kyngis Subyettis . And yff ony suche So be Takyn': þe Fyrste tyme, he to be convycte & Amercyd . The second tyme, he to Abyde the Iugemente of the pyllery, And to forfete all such ware so fownde./ The thryde tyme, he to be Imprisoned & redemyd./ The iiijth tyme to forswere the Towne or Contre./ And thys to be don' of all forstallers./ And Also to them that, owthyr with Councell, helpe, or throwe favour, them' dothe Ayde or Strenthe. They to be in lyke wyse, as Afore ys seyde, to be ponysshed, et cetera./

ANNO REGNI REGIS E. iiij^e & QUARTO.

Mercatores extraneos, cum rebus venalibus veniente[s], Circumvenient, offerent, se vendicionem rerum suarum, suggerens eis quod bona sua carius vendere poterunt quam vendere ponebant, & sic Arte et ingenio villam' seducit, et patriam': primo coniectus,¹ Amerciatur; Secundo conuinctus, paciatur iudicium pyllerie; iiij^o, inca[r]cerentur, & redimantur: quarto, Abi[ur]ent villam'; et indicti hoc fiat de vniuersis forstall[atoribus],² et sic de eis qui consilium, a[u]xilium & fauorem³ prestauerint, et cetera."

Are the 'patronus of the galyes' named in the next extract from the same MS., galymen?

"ORDYNANCE IN THE CETE OF LONDON'.

Hyt ys ordayned that the patronus of the galyes shall kepe there howsys & there dorys shytte at the Ryngyng' of Curfue of Berkyng' Chyrche . And that they ne Any of þer felawshyppe be wanderyng' Abrode ./ And þat they shall in nowyse Make Retaylyng' with-in the Cete of London."

Minot, in 1352, mentions the Galaies men, or men having galleys, as if they formed a body, if they were not all of one nation. By command of Philip of Valois,

Schipmen sone war efter sent,
To here the kinges cumandment;
And the *galaies men* also,
That wist both of wele and wo
they were to invade England.]

The galay man held up thaire
handes,
And thanked God of thir tithandes
[that

² MS. coniuinctus.

³ MS. forstallius.

⁴ MS. fauorom.

odyr gret multtytudes of Alyandis estraungers, don' Circuyte, wandyr, go to & Fro, yn euery your Citeis, portis, townys, & borowghes yn alle placis, aswelle within Fraunchyses, prevylegis, & lybartes, as without, to euery mannys dorris, takyng vp standyngis, And per make per showys, markettis, & sales of dyveris warys & marchaundyse to there Awne sy[n]guler proffettis, advantagis, & advaylys, to the grete dysturbance, emporyshyng, hurtis, lossys, & vtture vndoing of your naturalle Subgettis & leege pepylle yn alle & euery Cete, porte, borowe, towune, & plases of þ^{is} your said Reame: And also of more Inconveniens for there Avaancement, The seyð Alyandis estraungers vse to hyre them' seruantis of there awne nacion', or hother estraungers, to go A-bowte, wandyr, And Retayle in alle Cetes, portis, Townus, & borowus, and alle other placis, to bye, selle, Retayle, and occupye featis And Merchaundyis at there pleasurs, with-owte lawfuller Awtoryte or lycens, contrary to the seyð actis & Statutis Afore provided, And Contrary to the Charters, lyberteas, constytucyons, and confyracions, made, gevyn', & grauntyd by your seyð nobylle predycessours Afore Rehersyd; By Mean' of whyche vnlawfuller Retaylyng' so Custummabely hauntyd, vsyd, and occupyed, your lyege pepylle and naturalle Subgietis, theire wyffis, Chyldren', and seruauantis, byn' vtterlye decayed, enpowryshed, & vndon' in thys¹ worlde, onlesse your excelent & benyng grace, of your tendyr pety, be vnto your said subgettis graeyously at þis tyme showed² yn thus behalff. And with-out A Shorte Remydy be had heryn', your said Subgettis be not Able, nor Shalle not be of power, to paye there Rentis, nor also to mayntayne there powur howsoldis, And to bere lotte and Scotte, and all hother prestis Benevolens, and Chargis in tyme of nede and warre for the defence of your grace, And of thys your seyð Realme, for the Repressyng', subdewyng', And venquysshyn' of your Auneyente enemyes, Frensshemen', & alle hother there Adherentis, & Bannyshed men' owtwardis; wherfor, wylle hyt pleas your exelente hyghnes, By the Advyce of the honourabyll lordis, and hother in thys your hyghe Cowrte of parleament Assembled To-geder, To see and provyde that no Alyand Strangers Be suffred From' hense-forthe To occupye, or retayle, contrary to theffecte of the seyð actis and statutis Aforeseyd; And over thys, that none Alyand galyman', Frensheman', ne hother estraungers, presume or Take vppon' hym' to make hys markett, sale, or shewe hys goodis, in any place within Fraunchys or lybarties, or withoute Fraunchys

Then wen[t] thai theder all bidene,
The galayes men, with hertes kene,
viij. and xl. galays and mo

Bot galay men war so many,
That Inglis men wex all wery . . .
ete.

Political Poems and Songs, Edw. III to Ric. III, ed. T. Wright, i. 64-5.

¹ Leaf 16.

² MS. "be showed."

or lybarte, Vppon' payne conteyned yn' the forsaid Actis; by mene wherof *your* said leege pepylle may the bettyr lyve, to Sustayn' & maynteyne *per wyffis* & howssold, Aswell For thessuste-[n]aunce of euery *persone*/ As for the Subduyng of the said estraungeris, To the wele & enrecee of thus *your* said Realme; And thys yn' the wey of Cheryte: And they shalle praye Fore the Longe *preservacion*, of *your* noble Estayte &c.

Theffecte of Another Statute.

Wherfor the kyng' owur Souerayne Lord, By thavyce And Assente of the Lordys *spiritualle* and *Temporalle*, at the prayer of hys seyde Comons in the seyde *parleament* Assemblyd, And by the Awto-ryte of the same, hathe ordeyned and *prouyded* that no merchaunte *Straungers*, after the feste of Ester now nexte *commyng'*, Bryng' in to thys Realme of ynglond to be solde, Any *Maner gyrdyllis*, nor Any *harnys wrowghte* for *gyrdyllis*, *poyntis*, *lakis* of *leder*, *pursys*, *powchys*, *pynnus*, *glovys*, *knyvys*, *hangers*, *taylour sherys*, *sesars*, *Andyrens*, *Cobordis*, *tongis*, *Fyre forkis*, *gyrdyrens*¹; *Stocke*, *lockis*, *keyes*, *hyngis*, and *garnetis*, *Sporys*; *paynted papers*, *paynted focers*, *payntid IMagis*, *paynted Clothys*, Any *betyn' golde*, or *betyn' Syluer*, *wroughte* in *papers* for *paynters*; *sadyllis*, *Sadyl-trees*, *horse harnys*, *Boocis*, *Byttis*, *Steroppus*, *Bokellis*, *Chaynus*, *laten' naylys with yren' shankis*, *Turretis*, *Standyng' Candylstyekis*, *hangyng Candylstyekis*, *holy water Stoppus*, *Chafyng' dysshys*, *hangyng' lavers*, *Curten' rynggis*, *Cardys* for *wulle* (exsept & *Rone Cardys*), *Claspus* for *glovys*, *Bokellis* for *shoys*, *Brochys*, *Bellis* (exsept *Bellis* for *haukis*) *sponus* of *tyn* And *Lede*, *Cheynus* of *wyre*, as *welle* of *Laten'* as of *Iren*, *gratis*, *hures*, & *Lanterne hornus*, or *ony* of these *forseyd wayys*, *Redy* made & *wrowghte*, *perteynyng'* to the seyde *Craftis* Above *Speeyfyed*, or *Any* of them', *vppon' payne* of *forfeture* of all the *wayys*, and of *every* of them, so *Browght* in-to thys Realme, To be *contrary* to thys *Acte*. or the *valew* of them/ In whose *handis* they or *ony* of them' shalle be *Founde*/ the *on' halff* of *suche Fynys*, *Forfayturys*, & *penaltes*, And *eche* of them', be *vnto* the *kyng* *owere souerayn' lorde*/ And that *othyre halff* to be *vnto* *hym* or *thaym'* of the *kyngis subgettis*, the *whiche* shalle *seas* the same, or *sue* For the same, by *Accion'* of *dett*/ by *wrytte* or/ *bylle* At *Comen lawe*, by *bylle* or *playnte*, After the *Custom'* of the *Cetie* [or] *towne*, wher *yt shalle happyu' her*, After *ony suche Fynes*.

¹ MS. "gyrdyrens, gyrdyrens."

Vox Populi Vox Dei.

(A.D. 1547-8.)

[Harleian MS., 367, leaf 130.]

INTRODUCTION.

THE first print known to us of this most interesting poem, which sums up, in the first years of Edward VI.'s reign, the social evils of Henry VIII.'s, is that of 1821¹; but its title-page declares it to be a reprint, "Re-printed by G. Woodfall, Angel Court, Skinner Street." The text, however, refers to the Harleian MS. 367, as if it were printed from that; but this is quite consistent with the fact of there being an earlier printed edition, though none has yet turned up.

The second edition of the poem was by Mr. Dyce, in the Appendix to his 'Skelton,' ii. 400. He edited it from the MS. 2567 (Bishop More's) in the Cambridge University Library, collated with the Harleian MS. "The latter," he says, "though it contains a very considerable number of lines which are not found in the former, is on the whole the inferior MS., its text being greatly disfigured by provincialisms." Mr. Dyce's reason for printing the poem in his Appendix to 'Skelton' was that the Cambridge MS. attributes the poem to Skelton, "finis quothe Mr. Skelton, Poete Lauriate;" but, says Mr. Dyce, it "was evidently composed by some very clumsy imitator of his style."

Passing over the American reprint, or edition, as it is called, of Mr. Dyce's book, we come to the third English print of the poem, that in vol. iii. of 'Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England,'² p. 267. So far as I can see, this is a mere reprint of

¹ Privately printed, intended by Sir Joseph Littledale for the Roxburghe Club; but for some reason Skelton's Interlude of Magnyfycence was substituted, and the whole impression, consisting of 104 copies, was sold in his library in 1843. *Bohn's Lowndes*.

² A most useful and interesting collection, which I recommend all our Members who have not got it, to buy,—the 4 vols. only cost £1—though I comment adversely on one Introduction in it.

Mr. Dyce's text, omitting his collations—except one, which is mis-stated, the right being made wrong,—his notices of lines missed, and sense wanting, in parts of the poem, and also omitting *one* line, l. 81, "What wolde ye any more?" which Mr. Dyce had inserted in his text from the Harleian MS. The omission of this one line is thus heralded in the Editor's Introduction to the poem:—"Occasionally, however, he has been obliged to exclude the additional matter, which was sometimes interwoven, of course by a later hand, without much regard to the sense or the context."

The Editor then proceeds to comment on Mr. Dyce's reasoning powers and poetic judgment:—"The reason which Mr. Dyce gives for thinking that it [the poem] was not Skelton's, does not seem a very good one; for, although an event is mentioned in the poem which did not occur till after Skelton's death (1529), it ought to be borne in mind that 'additions' were made to MS. poems, as well as to dramas, by later pens; and of this the Harleian copy is proof, if one were required. The Cambridge MS. itself may have been the work of a copyist." Now, the reader has seen that Mr. Dyce's "reason," not for "thinking," but for stating positively, that the poem was not by Skelton, but by some very clumsy imitator of his style, is contained in the word *evidently*. Having the critical faculty himself,—how largely we all know,—he just said to all others having it, "the thing is self-evident;" and so it is.

How, then, has this Editor mixed the matter up with this question of dates? By confusing it in his own mind, I imagine, with what Mr. Dyce has said at p. 413 on "The Image of Ipcrussy," a poem which Mr. Dyce rejects as Skelton's upon the evidence of dates:—"to say nothing of other passages, the mention of certain writings of Sir Thomas More and of 'the mayde of Kent' (Elizabeth Barton [executed April 21, 1534]), which occurs in the third part, would alone be sufficient to prove that it was the composition of some writer posterior to his time."

Having thus cleared off this little fog, we may proceed to discuss a date which has been suggested for *Vox Populi*. "The original appearance of 'Vox Populi Vox Dei' may perhaps be assigned to some period between 1515 and 1520, when the exactions of Wolsey were rendering him exceedingly unpopular." A more desperately unlucky shot, one more completely out of the line of fire, and wide of the mark, could hardly have been made. It is just as if some future editor of Tennyson were to say that the poet's touching lines on Prince Albert, for his virtues, were probably written on George IV for his vices. There is not a line in "Vox Populi" that can be applied to Wolsey; there are two appeals to the King's Protector to redress and correct excesses (ll. 631 and 769). Just fancy Henry VIII, when from twenty-four to thirty, with a Protector! And the characteristic

of the poem, as contrasted with others of the kind, is its shor dwelling on the oppressions of the King's officers, its long stay on those of landlords and traders and usurers. Of the only two passages that speak of the Government evils, one is an insertion of the Harleian MS. :—

“For pawre men dayly sees
How officers takes their fees.” [l. 384-5.]

While the other is only an enumeration of those “that do holde the substance and the golde and the treasure of this realme ;” and, after naming the lawyer and the landlord, names the great men and the “record,” and then specifies who are included in the term “record,” namely,—

“Lorde Chancellour & Chancellours, Masters of Myntes, & monyers, Secondaryes and surveyours,	Auditors and receivours, Customers and comptrollers, Purveyours and prollers.”
[l. 708-13.]	

These (among others) the Protector is appealed to, to help of their pleurisy in section 12. But the joke of attributing the poem to Wolsey's time, when his exactions were making him unpopular, will be further apparent to the reader when he sees that the following passage is in it :—

“Godes worde is well sett forthe ; It never was more preached, Nor never so playnly teached. . . We have banyshed superstycion. . . We have sent away all cloysterers,	We have taken theire landes for theire abuse, But we convert theym to a wourse use.
[Section 1. ll. 531-544.]	

Still it may be answered, “All these passages, which fix the date so plainly to the two first years of Edward VI's reign, and to Somerset's protectorate, that no one who reads the poem with the slightest care or the smallest head, can avoid seeing it,—all these may be interpolated lines, which never formed part of the Remonstrance at the outset. The Harleian version shows that the poem has been tampered with.” No doubt the part of Hamlet may have been interpolated in the play of ‘Hamlet,’ but until we have some evidence of it, we may as well conclude that Shakspeare put it there ; and until we have evidence that the Protector and Reformation passages of “Vox Populi,” which all exist in the Cambridge MS. as well as the Harleian, were interpolated in both, we had better, I think, assume that the writer of the poem put them there, where they are quite in harmony with the rest of the poem, and not indulge in gratuitous assumptions without a shadow of foundation. Let any one who wants to see how people wrote against Wolsey, read Roy's “Satire,” Skelton's “Why come ye nat to Courte?” (Dyce, ii. 26), “The Impeachment of Wolsey,” in the present volume, etc. In short, there is no reason whatever to suppose that the poem applies to Wolsey or his taxes, or was written in his day.

Fog number two being thus cleared off, we now come to the subject of the poem. Whether the old printed title in the edition of 1821, and on the back of the Harleian MS., "A Complaynt of the Comons against Taxes," meaning against the oppressions of the King's taxes, rightly describes that subject, may be safely left to the intelligence of any careful reader. The only sense in which this title can be true is this, if we grant that part of the burden of the poem—

"Your powr men thus doe saye,
If they hade yt, they wold paye,"—

applied to a then present or threatened tax. The poem does not either dwell on, or even name, such tax; but shows mainly the other wrongs, not governmental, under which the poor suffer; and the causes, not directly governmental either, by which they are rendered unable to pay.

Section 1 complains that the land of the country is in so few men's hands that neither farmer nor poor have malt or meal, bacon, beef, or veal, but are ready to steal for pure need (cp. *Now a Dayes*, p. 5, and p. 95, l. 101), and the Commons can hardly keep a cow or sow.

§ 2 says the Commonalty are in such great penury on account, chiefly, of the too many sheepmasters who turn arable land into pasture (cp. p. 4-37, and p. 101-3, above), and make poor men weep for the storing of the sheep. The landlord and the lawyer are special sinners this way, and raise the price of meat, so that the butcher must charge 12s. or a mark (13s. 4d.) for the bare carcass of a sheep (without its offal and fleece), and £4 (or £5, according to a later hand) for an ox.

§ 3. This misuse of their sheep and oxen by the Lords is what makes the Commons cry. They alone feel the extremity of it. And if God were to send rain to spoil the harvest, all would know that it was His punishment for the great men's transgressions.

§ 4. Not long ago, one or two preachers told throughout the land how the poor man was tost from pillar to post; the labourer, husbandman, handicraftsman, and yeoman (cp. l. 191, and the extract from Ascham p. 113), who used to have plenty of kine and cream—butter, eggs, cheese, honey, wax, and bees (adds the later text)—are all gone to wrack; they, the stay of the realm, its only defender against foreign foes. So the Commons declare; and I, a poor shepherd, but write their words anew. Here the later text introduces one hundred and two lines saying that the devourers of the poor are upstart gentlemen who lately supped out of an ashen cup, but have now plate worth £200, or £2000, as the later hand writes in the margin. And also that merchants stay at home and lend money to gentlemen, and jockey

them out of their lands, instead of going to sea and trading abroad boldly, as they ought to do. No merchant should be allowed to buy over £40 or £50 of land—by the year, seemingly.

§ 5. The covetous Lords think only of getting large fines for leases¹, enclosing commons, and hoarding up their gains. And, says the later text, poor men daily see how officers take their fees, which deserves God's curse. By each seeking his own gain, our weal is undone.

§ 6. Moreover, coin is very scarce, and so much debased, that merchants, when exchanging a pound on the other side of the sea, find it no better than the foreign pound, though formerly it "was better than theirs by nyne."

§ 7. The poor say that when they have any suit, they get put off, and the rich men who can pay, get heard; and the poor man gets turned out of his farm—unless he'll pay double rent, and a fine too,—and the arable is turned into pasture, because that pays the landlord better. Also the farmer must sell his goose to pay his rent, or be turned out, with wife and child, at Lady Day, for which they curse the covetous landlord.

§ 8. True, that God's word was never so plainly taught as now; but then it was never so little followed. We've got rid of the monks, and have taken their lands, *but we've turned them to a worse use.* O King, consider well this thing!

§ 9. All is not well. Ambition reigns so among the great. How can those who buy office for £2000 (?) rescue poor men out of their trouble? Instead, they get back their money by craft and extortion.

§ 9*b*. Our isle is suddenly decayed, and poor men so overlaid, that I fear the stroke of God. Take care, then, my Lords, that we are not checkmated. For it is not one, but an infinite number of poor men who make piteous moan. O Protector of the King, first of the realm under him, redress this excess! Take no excuses; punish these abuses of fines and new uses, and suppress this shameful usury, now called husbandry.²

§ 10. If you want to know the holders of the treasures of the realm, I'll tell you who they are: the Lawyer, the Landlord, the great Reeve, and the Record,—that is, all who hold office under the King,—graziers, sheepmasters, and clothiers; but especially the lawyers; these have money enough not only to pay for a year's war, (though you have to fight both France and Scot-

¹ Cp. Harrison, in 1577, cited in Percy Folio, ii. 182:—"Forget not also such landlords as vse to value their leases at a secret estimation giuen of the wealth and credit of the taker, whereby they seeme (as it were) to eat them vp, and deal with bondmen, so that if the lessee be thought to be worth an hundred pounds, he shall paie no lesse for his new terme, or else another to enter with hard and doubtfull couenants."

² This is no petition to remit, or not to put on, taxes, be it observed.

land), but will then retain more than their patrimony. These men will yield you enough, even if you take no penny from your poor Commonalty. Their wealth is yours by right; take it then. If the poor had it, they would give it with a better will than these rich underlings.

§ 11. O worthiest Protector, and you Lords of the Council, if you do not redress this covetousness, there will be such an outbreak as never was seen in any old man's time. Relieve these rich men of the pleurisy and gout of their wealth. And then God speed your Swepestake and Mynyon, and the rest of your fleet (to Scotland!). O King, *Miserere mei!* have pity on the poor in their distress!

I repeat, then, that the point of the poem, as I see it, is not complaint against taxation, but against social evils,—sheepfarming, raised rents, raised prices, etc., and among them this, that as to the possessions of the monasteries,—

“We have taken their landes for thaire abuse,
But we convert them to a worse use,”

“so that we may say of our miseries what Ascham said, when writing to the Duke of Somerset on November 21, 1547,—the very year our poem was written in,—

“Qui auctores sunt tantæ miseræ? . . . Sunt illi qui hodie passim, in Anglia, prædia monasteriorum gravissimis annuis redditibus auxerunt. *Hinc omnium rerum exauctum pretium*: hi homines expilant totam republicam. Villiei et coloni universi laborant, parcunt, corradunt, ut istis satisfaciant . . . Hinc tot familie dissipatæ, tot domus collapsæ. Hinc, quod omnium miserimum est, nobile illud decus et robur Angliæ, nomen, inquam, *Yomanorum Anglorum* fractum et collisum est. NAM VITA, QUÆ NUNC VIVITUR A PLURIMIS, NON VITA SED MISERIA EST.”

(Ascham's Works, ed. Giles, i. 140-1.)

“And we declare to your Grace of Somerset, ‘the good Duke,’ our Protector, that the chief holders of these monastery lands are,—besides the Lawyer, Reeve, & Landlord,—those who serve the King.”

Of the poem generally, Latimer's Sermons are a good illustration. Three extracts are on p. 27 here; and I add a few more on the raising of rents, the lawyers, the scarcity and dearness of food.

I doubt most rich men have too much; for without too much we can get nothing. As for example, the physician: if the poor man be diseased, he can have no help without too much. And of the lawyer, the poor man can get no counsel, expedition, nor help in his matter, except he give him too much. At merchants' hands no kind of ware can be had, except we give for it too much. You landlords, you rent-raisers, I may say, you step-lords, you unnatural lords, you have for your possessions yearly too much. For that here before went for twenty or forty pound by year, (which is an honest portion to be had gratis in one lordship of another man's sweat and labour,) now is let for fifty or an hundred pound by year. Of this “too much” cometh this monstrous and portentous dearth made by man, notwithstanding God doth

send us plentifully the fruits of the earth, mercifully, contrary unto our deserts: notwithstanding, too much, which these rich men have, causeth such dearth, that poor men, which live of their labour, cannot with the sweat of their face have a living, all kind of victuals is so dear,—pigs, geese, capons, chickens eggs, &c. These things, with other, are so unreasonably enhanced; and I think verily that if it thus continue, we shall at length be constrained to pay for a pig a pound.

Sermons, ed. 1844, p. 99 (; and see Carte's *Hist. of England*, iii. 233, quoted in the notes).

On the debasement of the coin complained of in lines 414, etc., of "Vox Populi," William Strafford enlarges with great force in his 'Certeine Complaints,' quoted above, p. 30. He thinks it the one chief cause of all the troubles his countrymen complain of, and gives Elizabeth due praise for removing it, and restoring the coin to its proper standard. But I quote only from him a passage [leaf 44, back] in which he shows how the debasement of the coin operated to raise rents and prices:—

"whereas immediately after the basenesse of our Coyne in the time of kyng Henry the eight, the prices of all things generally among al sorts of people rose: it must needes happen here withal (as yee know), that our gentlemen which liued only vpon the reuenues of their lands, were as neare or nearer touched (as is before proued) with the smarte hereof, then any other, of what order or estate so euer. Thys therefore being taken as most true, the Gentlemen, desirous to maytaine theyr former credite in bearing out the Porte of theyr Predecessors, were driuen of necessity, as often as whensoever any Leases deuised for terme of yeares by themselves of their Auncestors were throughly expyred, & fel into theyr handes, not to let them out agayne for the most part, but as the rents of them were farre racked beyond the old: Yea, this rackyng and hoysting vp of Rentes hath continued euer since that tyme, vntill this present day: Hereupon the husbandman was necessarily infored, whereas his rent was now greater than before, (and so continueth vnto this day,) to sel his Victayles dearer, & to continue the dearth of them: and likewise other artificers withall to maintaine the like proportion in theyr wares, wherefore as this dearth at the fyrst time (as I said before) sprange of the alteration of the coyne, as of his firste and chiefest efficient cause: so doe I attribute the continuance of it hitherunto, and so forwarde, partely to the racked and stretched rentes which haue lasted, yea, and increased euer since that time hetherunto, & so are like to continue, I know not how long."

Lines 463-4, how the rich men win their law-suits, are also illustrated by Latimer's Second Sermon before Edward VI. (ed. 1844, p. 127):—

I must desire my lord Protector's grace to hear me in this matter, that your Grace would hear poor men's suits yourself. Put them to none other to hear, let them not be delayed. The saying is now, that *money is heard everywhere; if he be rich, he shall soon have an end of his matter*. Others are fain to go home with weeping tears, for any help they obtain at any judge's hand. Hear men's suits yourself, I require you in God's behalf, and put it not to the hearing of these velvet coats, these upskips. Now a man can scarce know them from an ancient knight of the country. I cannot go to my book, for poor folks come unto me, desiring me that I will speak that their matters may be heard. I trouble my lord of Canterbury: and being at his house, now and then I walk in the garden, looking in my book, as I can do but little good at it. But something I must needs do to satisfy this place. I am no

sooner in the garden, and have read awhile, but by & by cometh there some one or other knocking at the gate. Anon cometh my man, and saith: "Sir, there is one at the gate that would speak with you." When I come there, then it is some one or other that desireth me that I will speak that his matter might be heard; and that he hath lain this long at great costs and charges, and cannot once have his matter come to the hearing: but among all other, one specially moved me at this time to speak. This it is, Sir. A gentlewoman came to me and told me, that a great man keepeth certain lands of hers from her, and will be her tenant in the spite of her teeth; and that in a whole twelvemonth she could not get but one day for the hearing of her matter; and the same day when the matter should be heard, the great man brought on his side a great sight of lawyers for his counsel; the gentlewoman had but one man of law; and the great man shakes him so, that he cannot tell what to do; so that when the matter came to the point, the judge was a mean to the gentlewoman, that she would let the Great Man have a quietness in her land.

I beseech your grace that ye will look to these matters. Hear them yourself. View your judges, and hear poor men's causes. And you, proud judges, hearken what God saith in his holy book: *Audite illos, ita parvum ut magnum.* "Hear them," saith he, "the small as well as the great, the poor as well as the rich." Regard no person, fear no man: why? *Quia Domini judicium est.* "The judgment is God's." Mark the saying, thou proud judge. The devil will bring this sentence at the day of doom.

Latimer recurs again and again to the magistrates and judges taking bribes, and letting off rich offenders for them. At p. 139 of the 1844 edition, we find,

Bribery is a princely kind of thieving. They will be waged by the rich, either to give sentence against the poor, or to put off the poor man's causes. This is the noble theft of princes and of magistrates. They are bribe-takers. Now-a-days they call them gentle rewards: let them leave their colouring, and call them by their christian name, bribes. . . . Wo worth these gifts! they subvert justice everywhere. Giffe-gaffe was a good fellow; this Giffe-gaffe led them clene from justice. "They follow gifts."

A good fellow on a time bade one of his friends to a breakfast, and said, If you will come, you shall be welcome; but I tell you aforehand you shall have but slender fare: one dish, and that is all." "What is that?" said he. "A pudding, and nothing else." "Marry," said he, "you cannot please me better; of all meats, that is for mine own tooth; you may draw me round about the town with a pudding." These bribing magistrates and judges follow gifts faster than the fellow would follow the pudding.

At p. 157, Latimer again dwells on the judges' duty, and at p. 190 states a fact that he could testify-to himself:—

I know where a woman was got with child, and was ashamed at the matter, and went into a secret place, where she had no woman at her travail, and was delivered of three children at a birth. She wrung their necks, and cast them into a water, and so killed her children: suddenly she was gaunt again; and her neighbours suspecting the matter, caused her to be examined, and she granted all. Afterward she was arraigned at the bar for it, and despatched, and found not guilty, through bearing of friends, and bribery of the judge; when, at the same sessions, another poor woman was hanged for stealing a few rags off a hedge, that were not worth a crown.

On l. 468-74, "my lord is not at leisure; the poor man at the door stands like an Iceland cur," compare Latimer:—

Ye noblemen, ye great men, I wot not what rule ye keep. For God's sake,

hear the complaints and suits of the poor. Many complain against you, that ye lie a-bed till eight, or nine, or ten of the clock. I cannot tell what revel ye have over-night; whether in banquetting, or dicing, or carding, or how it is; but in the morning, when poor suitors come to your houses, ye cannot be spoken withal: they are kept sometimes without your gates; or if they be let into the hall, or some outer chamber, out cometh one or other, "Sir, ye cannot speak with my lord yet; my lord is asleep; or he hath had business of the king's all night." And thus poor suitors are driven off from day to day, that they cannot speak with you in three or four days, yea, a whole month: what shall I say more? yea, a whole year sometimes, ere they can come to your speech, to be heard of you. For God's love look better to it. Speak with poor men when they come to your houses; and despatch poor suitors, as indeed some noblemen do; and would Christ that *all* noblemen would so do! But some do. I went one day myself betime in the morning to a great man's house to speak with him in buisness that I had of mine own; and methought I was up betimes; but when I came thither, the great Man was gone forth about such affairs as behoved him, or I came. Well; yet, thought I, this is well, I like this well: this Man doth somewhat regard and consider his office and duty. I came too late for mine own matter, and lost my journey and my early rising too: and yet I was glad that I had been so beguiled. For God's love follow this example, ye great men, and arise in the mornings, and be ready for men, to speak with them, and to despatch suitors that resort unto you.

On Surveyors, l. 710, Latimer says (*ib.* p. 102):—

Surveyors there be that greedily gorge up their covetous goods; hand-makers, I mean: honest men I touch not; but all such as survey, they make up their mouths, but the commons be utterly undone by them; whose bitter cry ascendeth up to the ears of the God of Sabaoth, the greedy pit of hell-burning fire, without great repentance, doth tarry and look for them. A redress, God grant! For surely, surely, but that two things do comfort me, I would despair of redress in these matters. One is, that the king's majesty, when he cometh to age, will see a redress of these things so out of frame; giving example by letting down his own lands first, and then enjoin his subjects to follow him. The second hope I have, is, I believe that the general accounting day is at hand, the dreadful day of judgment, I mean, which shall make an end of all these calamities and miseries.

The outrage threatened in the last section of the poem l. 766–71, occurred two years after its date; "a summer of popular tumult and confusion such as had not been known in England since the rebellion of Jack Cade, almost exactly a hundred years before." (Macfarlane, *Cabinet Hist.* vii. 160.) Somerset himself reports the causes of this in the following extract from a letter of his, now in the Cotton MS. Galba B. xii. leaf 115, printed by Burnet in *Col. of Rec.*, and cited from him by Macfarlane, but here from the MS. :—

"the Causes and pretences of thes vpprores and Risyns are diueres and vn-certeine, and so full of varietye almoste in Euery Campe, as they Call them, that it is hard to write what it is; as ye knowe is lyke to be of people without heade and Rulle, And that wold have that they wotte not what . some Crie the 'plucke doune inclosures and parkes'; some for their Comones; others pretende the Relygeone; A number wold Rulle an other while, and directe things as [the] gentlmene have done; And, in deed, all hathe Conveyed a wnderfull hate againste gentlmen, and takethe them all as their Ennemyes. the Ruffens among them, and souldyeres Cases, *which* be the Chiefe doeres,

looke for Spoylle, so that it seemethe noe other thinge but a plage and a fury amonge the vileste and worste soarte of mene.”

But Holinshed attributes the immediate cause of the outbreaks to Somerset's Proclamation against Enclosures:—

HOLINSHED'S CHRONICLES. (Vol. iii. p. 1002.)

A proclamation for the laien open of inclosures.

“So it was, that the kings maiestic, by the aduise of his vnele the lord protector, and other of the counceill, thought good to set forth a proclamation against inclosures, and taking in of fields and commons that were accustomed to lie open, for the behoofe of the inhabitants dwelling neere to the same, who had greuouslie complained of gentlemen and others for taking from them the vse of those fields and commons, and had inclosed them into parkes and generall pastures for their priuat commodities and pleasures, to the great hinderance and vndoing of manie a poore man. This proclamation tending to the benefit and releefe of the poore, appointed that such as had inclosed those commons, should vpon a paine by a daie assigned laie them open againe. But how well soeuer the setters forth

The meaning of the foresaid proclamation.

of this proclamation meant, thinking thereby peraduenture to appease the grudge of the people that found themselues grieued with such inclosures; yet verelie it turned not to the wished effect, but rather ministred occasion of a foule and dangerous disorder. For wheras there were few that obeyed the commandement, the vraduised people presuming vpon their proclamation, thinking they should be borne out by them that had set it forth rashlie without order, tooke vpon them to redresse the matter: and assembling themselues in vnlawfull wise, chose to them captains and leaders, brake open the inclosures, east downe ditches, killed vp the deare which they found in

Commotions in Summersetshire, and other places.

parkes, spoiled and made hauocke, after the maner of an open rebellion. First they began to plaie these parts in Summersetshire, Buckinghamshire, Northhamptonshire, Kent, Essex, and Lincolneshire. In Summersetshire they brake vp certeine parks of sir William Herbert, and the lord Sturton: but sir William Herbert assembling a power together by the kings commission, slue and executed manie of those rebellious people. In other places also, by the good diligence and policie vsed by the counceill, the rebels were appeased and quieted. But shortlie after, the commons of Deuonshire and Cornewall rose by waie of

Rebellion in Deuonshire. *John Fox in Acts & Monuments.*

rebellion, demanding not onelie to haue inclosures laied open, and parkes disparked: but also thorough the instigation and pricking forward of certeine popish priests, ceased not by all sinister and subtil meanes, first vnder Gods name & the kings, and vnder the colour of religion, to persuade the people to assemble in routs, to choose captains to guide them, and finallie to burst out into open rebellion.”

The Norfolk rebels under Kett fortunately stated their grievances in their own words in their Petition to Edward VI; and this is printed in the Appendix at the end of *Vox Populi*, to which the reader should turn. The rebels ask, among other things, that all who are bond shall be made free. Compare pp. 14, 15, above.

Lastly, we may notice that of the nine ships mentioned in lines 791–8, six, the ‘Swepestake,’ ‘Mynyon,’ ‘Herte,’ ‘Swallow,’ ‘Galleye,’ and ‘Henry Grace,’ are known as ships of Henry VIII's navy.¹

¹ Patten does not give, in his interesting account of Somerset's Expe-

We will take first the Harte, Swallowe, and Gallye, and give the number of their men, guns, and war-stores, from a fine roll among the Additional MSS in the British Museum, pointed out to me by Mr. Brock, which has a fine picture of each ship, with flags and reefed sails:—

Addit. MS. 22,047.

THE HARTE | TUNNES | iij^c.

MEN.

SOULDIOURS	} Clxx	} iij ^c .
MARRYNNARS		
GONNARS . . . xxx		

FOR THE HARTE.

ORDENAUNCE, ARTILLARY . MVN-
CIONS, HABILLIMENTIS FOR THE
WARRE, FOR THE ARMYNG, AND IN
THE DEFENCE, OF THE SAYD GALIAS TO
THE SEE.

GONNES OF BRASSE.

Demy Cannon	j
Culueryns	ij
Summa	iiij

GONNES OF YRON.

Demi Culueryns	iiij
Sakers	ij
Porte pecys	iiij
Slyngis	ij
Baessys	xij
Hayle shotte pecys	xij
Handgonnes complete	xij
Toppe pece	j
Summa	xlviiij

GONNE POWDER.

Serpentyn powder in Barrellis	xij
Grosse corne powder in Barrellis	ij
Fynne corne powder	xxiiij ^b

SHOTTE OF YRON.

For Demi Cannon	lx
For Culueryns	Cl
For Demi Culueryns	Cxx ^{ti}
For Sakers	lx
For Slyngis	lx
Dyce of yron for hayle shotte	iiij ^c
Crossebarre shotte	xij
Summa	viiij ^c lxij

SHOTTE OF STOEN AND LEADE.

For porte pecys	lxxx
For Toppe pece	xx ^{ti}
For Baessys, shotte of leade	CCC
For handgonnes, shotte of leade	CC
Summa	vjc

BOWES, BOWESTRYNGIS, ARROWES,
MORRYS PYKES, BYLLYS, & DAERTIS
FOR TOPPIS.

Bowes of yough	C
Bowe stryngis	ij groce
Lyuer ¹ Arrowes in shevis	Cl
Morrys pykes	C
Byllys	C
Daertis for toppis	vj dousen

MVNICIONS.

pycke hamers	vj
Sledgys of yron	iiij
Crowes of yron	vj
Comaunders	iiij
Tampions	vj ^c
Canvas for Cartowches	xiiij ellys
Fournes for Cartowches	iiij

HABILLIMENTIS FOR THE WARRE.

Ropis of hempo for woling and brechyng	vj Coyl[es]
Naylis of sundre sortis	vj C
Baggis of ledder	iiij
Fyrkyns with pursys	ij
Lyme pottis	ij Dousen
Spaer whelys	ij payer
Spaer truckellis	ij payer
Spaer extrys	iiij
Shepe skynnys	iiij
Tymber for forlockis and koynnys	xxx Foet

THE SWALLOWE | TUNNES | CCxl

MEN.

MARRYNNARS	Cxxx	} Clx
GONNARS	xxx	

dition, a list of Lord Clinton's ships by name. He mentions that the English recovered the 'Mary Willoughby' and 'Antony of Newcastle,' and took the 'Bosse' and seven more.

¹ ? Delivery: but MS. may be 'Lynere.'

FOR THE SWALLOWE, ORDENAUNCE,
ARTILLARY, MvNICIONS, HABILLI-
MENTIS FOR THE WARRE.
FOR THE Armyng And in the deffence
of the sayd galias to the See.

GONNES OF BRASSE.

Demy Cannon	j
Demy Culueryn	j
Sakers	iiij
<i>Summa</i>	vj

GONNES OF YRON.

Demy Culueryn	j
porte pecys	vj
Demy Slyngis	iiij
Baessys	xx
Tope pece	
Hayle shotte pecys	xij
Handgonnes complete	xij
<i>Summa</i>	lv

GONNE POWDER.

Serpentyn ^o powder in barrellis	xxiiij
Fynne corne powder	xxx lb.

SHOTTE OF YRON.

For Demi Cannon	l
For Demi Culueryn	lx
For Demi Slyngis	lxx
For Sakers	Cxx
Dice of yron for hayle shotte	iiij C
Crosse barre shott	xx
<i>Summa</i>	vij Cxx

SHOTTE OF STOEN AND LEADE.

For porte pecys	Cxx
For the tope pece	xx
For Baessys, shott of leade	iiij C
For Handgonnes, shott of leade	ij C
<i>Summa</i>	vj Cxl

BOWES, BOWESTRYNGIS, ARROWES,
MORRYS PYCKIS, BYLLYS, DAERTIS
FOR TOPPYS.

Bowes of yough	C
Bowestryngis	ij groce
Lyuere Arrowes in shevis	Cl
Morrays pykes	l
Byllys	l
Daertis for toppis	vj Dousen

MvNICIONS.

pyckhamers	vj
Sledgys	iiij
Crowes of yron	iiij
Comaunders	iiij
Tampions	vC

Canvas for cartowches	xij ellys
Fourmes for cartowcho	ij

HABILLIMENTIS FOR WARRE.

Ropis of hemepe for woling & brechying	vi Coyles
Naylis of sundere sortis	iiij C
Baggis of Ledder	iiij
Fyrkyn with pursys	ij
Lyme pottis	iiij Dousen
Spaer wholis	j payer
Spaer truckellis	iiij
Spaer extrys	iiij
Shepe skynnys	iiij
Tymber for forlockis	xxx Foet

THE GALIE SUBTILLE | TUNNES |
CC

MEN.

MARYNARS	CCxlij	} CCL
GONNARS	vij	

FOR THE GALIE SUBTILLE . ORDE-
NAUNCE, ARTILLARY, MONICIONS,
HABILLIMENTIS FOR THE WARRE,
FOR THE Armyng, And in the deffence,
of the sayd galie to the See.

GONNES OF BRASSE.

Cannon	j
Sakers	ij
<i>Summa</i>	iiij

GONNES OF YRON.

Fowlers	ij
Baessys	xiiij
Hayle shott pecys	xij
Handgonnes complete	l
<i>Summa</i>	iiij ^{xx} xij

GONNPOWDER.

Serpentyn ^o powder in <i>half</i> ¹ barrellis	xviiij
Fynne corne powder <i>half</i> ¹ barell	j

SHOTTE OF YRON.

For Cannon	l
For Sakers	iiij ^{xx}
Dice of yron for hayle shotte	vC
<i>Summa</i>	vj Cxxx

SHOTTE OF STOEN AND LEADE.

For Fowlers	xl
For Baessys, shott of leade	vC
For handgonnes, shotte of leade	iiij C
<i>Summa</i>	viiij Cxl

¹ MS. Di.

BOWES, BOWESTRYNGIS, ARROWES,
MORRYS PYCKIS, BYLLYS, DAERTIS
FOR TOPPIS.

Bowes of yough	C
Bowestryngis	ij groce
Lyuere Arrowes in shevis	Cl
Morrays pykes	lx
Byllys	lx
Daertis for toppis	ij Dousen

MVNICIONS.

pyckhamers	iiij
Sledgys	iiij
Crowes of yron	ij
Comaunders	ij

Tampions	iiij C
Canvas for cartowches	vj ellys
Fourmes for cartowche	ij
paper Ryall	j qwayer

HABILLIMENTIS FOR WARRE.

Ropis of hempe for woling & brechyng	j Coyle
Naylis of sundre sortis	ij C
Baggis of ledder	ij
Fyrkyn with pursys	J
Lyme pottis	iiij Dousen
Spaer truckellis	ij
Spaer extrys	ij
Shepe skynnys	iiij

This 'Galie Subtille' may not however be the 'Gallye' of *Vox Populi*. The whole list of the ships in the Rolls is as follows:—

- The Graunde Masterys
- The Anne Gallante
- *The Harte
- The Antelop
- The Tegar
- The Bulle
- The Salamander
- The Vnicorne.

- *The Swallowe
- *The Galie Subtille
- The Neue Barcke.
- The Graye Hounde
- The Iennet
- The Lyon
- The Dragon

The 'Henry Grace' was Henry VIII's famous big ship of fifty-two guns, of which there is a large, spirited engraving, dated May 14, 1756, representing her in full sail, her guns projecting from the port-holes, four men in the scuttle of her mainmast, and plenty on deck. Full particulars of her building in 1514 are given in Mr. Brewer's 'Calendar,' vol. i.; and the engraving refers to Camden's 'Britannia,' fol. 223, for a full account of her. She was burnt on the 27th of August, 1553. The 'Mynyon' may have been so called from its carrying cannon of that name. "*Minion* poiseth eleauen hundred poundes, and is three inches and a halfe wide in the mouth." (Harrison's *Descr. of Britain* p. 198, col. 2.) The 'Swallow,' or its successor of the same name¹, is among a list of Elizabeth's ships in 1575, printed in 'Household Ordinances,' p. 267; and in Harrison, A.D. 1577, p. 201, col. 1. Was the 'Antelope' in these lists our 'Roe?' The 'Hart' and 'Sweepstake' are also mentioned in the following MS. list of some of Edward VI.'s ships, and the wages of some of his seamen, etc., in A.D. 1548:—

¹ It was, and still is, I believe, the custom in the navy to continue old names by giving them to new ships when the old ones are broken up. We find the 'Swallow' at least as early as 1345 A.D., for in that year Edward III., "in the afternoon of Sunday the 3rd of July, sailed from [Sandwich] in his flute called the *Swallow*." (Nicolas, *Hist. Royal Navy*, to A.D. 1422, ii. 85.) A *flute* or *fluve* was a large vessel of the only kind "stated in naval accounts to have had two masts and two sails. It would seem that they had also two rudders, probably one at each end, rather than the old rudders or paddles at the side." (*Ib.* 162.)

[Harl. MS. 353, leaf 55.]

The Charge of wages to be Dewe to Certaine Capitayns, Maisters, Mariners, and Gonners seruinge in diuers of the Kinges *Maiesties* Shippes arriued in Irland, and in other his highnes Shippes Purposed thither, the xiiijth Daye of Aprill anno .5. *Regis* Edwardi Sexti. /.

Sea wages.

Shippes. Inprimis for the Dyettes of .iiij. Capitaines seruinge in the
The Hart. same Shippes, by the space of .vij. weekes .begun the first Daye
The Newe barke. of March Last, and to ende the xvijth Daye of this present
The Gerfawcon. April, at xlijs^a everie of them, is xiiij^{li}. xiiij^s. And More For
The Barke of woges of CCCC and iiij^{xx} Souldiers, Marriners, and Gonners,
Bolloigne. seruinge vnder them, for like tyme, at xiiij^s every Man .

Deadshares, and rewardes in the same accompted, is CCCxxvij^{li}
Soma is §—CCCl^{li} . xiiij^s.

Wages in harboro.

The great Barke. Item for wages of one mCCCxxx .Maisters Marynners and
The Pawncey.¹ gonners, seruinge the kinge his *Maiestie* in the same Shippes by
The Sweepstake. the space of .v. weekes begun the xvijth Daye of March last,
The Antelop. and to ende the xixth Daye of this present, at .x^s. everie Man.
The Mvrryon. Deadshares, and rewardes in the same accompte.

The Mary Ham- Some is— § vij^c . xv^{li} . /.
boro.
The Phawcon.
The Moone.
The Seven Starrs.
The last Made

pynnas.

Conduct Money. /.

Item for the Conducte of viij^c .lxxx. Marrayners and Gonneres to be Discharged ouer and besides .CCC. men appointed to serve in the Anteloppe, and the Fawcon for Wafters . And CCl men appointed to serve in the Shippes, for the transeport of Grayne at vij^s vj^d everie Man: Some is §—CCCxxx^{li} . /.

Some Totall of all } mCCCiiij^{xx} . xv^{li} . xiiij^s.
the Charge aforesaid }

Here I meant, at first, to have ended this Introduction; but on further consideration I could not bring myself to put forth a poem which deals so much with the condition of the poor in the middle of the sixteenth century as this *Vox Populi* does, and yet not notice the fierce Poor Law in force when the poem was written. The savagery of the provisions of that Poor Law must astonish any one reading them for the first time. It enables any one who finds a man idling for three days together, or running away from service, to take such man before two Justices, and have him branded on the breast with a hot iron V, and afterwards keep him as a slave for two years, put a chain round his neck, arm, or leg, and beat him to make him work; and if the slave run away twice, then he is to be put to death. The Act also enables any one to take away from a beggar his or her child, and on undertaking to bring it up to some honest labour, to use the child as a servant or apprentice, till twenty years old if it is a girl, and till twenty-four if it is a boy; and if the child runs

¹ A.D. 1547 "hostilities between the two countries [England and Scotland] recommenced with an encounter between an English vessel called the *Pansy*, commanded by Sir Andrew Dudley, brother to the Earl of Warwick, and the 'Lion,' a principal ship of Scotland." (Macfarlane, vii. 115, referring to Hayward.)

away before such age, then his master may chain him, and use him (or her) as a slave. The master is also empowered to let out, sell, give or bequeath the labour of any such slave, servant or apprentice, adult or not. The material comfort of the vagabond poor under these arrangements, Mr. Froude will doubtless admit, was *not* greater than that of our paupers now.

1 Edw. 6, cap. 3.

AN ACTE FOR THE PUNISHMENT OF VAGABONDDES AND FOR THE RELIEF OF THE POORE AND IMPOTENT PARSONS.

..... be it therfore enacted, First, that all Statutes and Actes of parliament heretofore made for the punishment of vagaboundes and sturdie beggers, and all articles comprised in the same, shalbe from hensfurth repealed, voyde, and of none effecte: Seeundlie that who so ever, after the first daie of Apryll next following, man or woman, being not lame, Impotent, or so aged, or diseased with sicknes, that he or she can not worrke, not having Landes or Tenementes, Fees, Annuities, or anny other yerelic Revenues or Profittes wheron theie may fynde sufficientlie their Living, shall either, like a servinge man wanting a maister, or lyke a Begger, or after anny other suche sorte, be lurking in anny howse or howses, or loytringe, or Idelye wander by the highe waies syde, or in Stretes in Cities, Townes or Vyllages, not applying them self to some honnest and allowed arte, Seyence, service or Labour, and so do contynewe by the space of three dayes or more to-gither, and not offer them self to Labour with anny that will take them according to their facultie, And yf no man otherwise will take them, doo not offer them self to worrke for meate and drynek, or after theie be so taken to worrke for the space agreed betwixt them and their maisters, doo leave their worck out of convenyent tyme, or runne awaye, That then everie such parsonse shalbe taken for a Vagabounde; and that it shalbe lawful for everie suche Maister, and to anny other parsonse espying the same, to bring, or cause to be brought, the saide parsonse so living Idelye and loyteringle, to twoo of the next Justices of peaxe there Resyaunt or abyding, who, hearing the proefe of the Idle living of the saide parsonse, by the saide space living idelye as is aforesaid, approved to them by twoo honnest witnesses, or confession of the partie, shall immediatelie cawse the saide loyterer to be marked with an whott Iron in the brest, the marke of V., and adjudge the said parsonse living so Idelye, to such presentour, to be his Slave, To have and to holde the said Slave to him, his executors, or assignes, for the space of twoo Yeres next following, and to order the saide Slave as followethe, That is to saie: to take such parsonse adjudged a Slave, with him, and onelye giving the saide Slave breade and water, or small dryneke, and suche refuse of meate as he shall thinke mete, cawse the saide Slave to worrke, by beating, cheyninge, or otherwise in suche worrke and Labour, how vyle so ever it be, as he shall putt him unto; And yf anny manner of Slave, either for loytring or for the cawse before rehearsed, so adjudged, shall within the Space of the saide twoo yeres here appointed, runne awaye, departe, or absent him from his saide Maister by the space of xiiij dais to-gither without Lyceance, it shall not onlie be lefull to his saide Maister to pursue and feteche him againe, by vertewe of this Acte, but also to punishe suche faulte by chaynes or beating, as is aforesaide, And further, everie such Maister shewing and proving by twoo sufficient witnesses the saide offence or faulte of his runnyng awaye, before twoo Justices of peaxe of the same Countye, wherof one to be of the Quorum, the same Justices shall cawse suche Slave or loyterer to be marked on the forhed, or the ball of the cheke, with an hote Iron, with the Signe of an S. that he may be knowen for a loyterer and runneawaye, and shall adjudge the loyterer and runawaye to be the saide Maisters Slave for ever; And yf suche Slave shall the Seconde tyme runne awaye, or absent him self, yf the saide Maister shall approve the same Second runnyng awaye, with twoo sufficient witnesses, be-

fore the Justices of Peaxe in their generall and Quarter Sessions, then everie suche faulte and runninge awaie to be adjudged felonie, and suche loyterer and runnaway to be taken as a felon, and therof being lawfullie indicted and attaynted, or otherwise condempned, to suffer paynes of death, as other fellows ought to doo.

Section 3.

And Forasmuche as divers wemen and men goeth on begging wayefaring, of the which *somme* be impotent and lame, and some hable enoughe to Labour, which doo carrye children about with them, some foure or five Yeres of age, or yonger or elder, which, brought upp in Idelnes, might be so rooted in it that hardelie theie maye be brought after to good thurifte and labour, Or yf anny childe above thage of five Yeres, and under thage of xiiij yeres, go Idelic wandering about as a vagabounde, Be it enacted . . . that yf anny manner of parson will take anny such childe, be it male or female, of and from anny suche begger, being the mother therof, nource, or Kepar, wheither theie be willing or not, or without anny suche nourryce, mother or keper, by him self wandering, and bring the saide childe, so taken awaie, before one of the Constables of the parish, and twoo other honnest and discrete neighbours, witnesses, and before anny Justice of Peaxe there Resiaunt and abiding, and promesse to bring the same childe upp in some honnest Labour or occupation till he or she come to thage, of twentie Yeres the woman childe, or xviiiijth the man childe, That then and immediatlic the said Justice of peace and Conestable shall adjudge, by vertewe of this Acte, the saide childe, unto the ages before specified, to be *servauntes* or apprentices to the saide parsons so taking and promising, to be used and ordered in all pointes according as the Lawe and Custome of this Realme is of *servauntes* and apprentices, to what Labour occupation or service so ever the said Maister shall appoint him or her during the said tyme: And yf it shall fortune such childe so adjudged to runne awaye at anny tyme, ons or two tymes, from his or her Maister or Maistres, That then it shalbe lawfull for everie such Maister to take the said childe againe, and to kepe and punishe the said child in chaynes or otherwise, And use him or her as his Slave in all poyntes for the tyme before rehersed of thage of such childe. . . .

Section 4.

Provided allwaies that anny Maister either of the men or of the women so adjudged Slaves, or of the children adjudged apprentices or *servauntes*, maye lett, sett furthe, sell, bequethe, or give, the service and labour of suche Slaves or *servauntes* so adjudged as is aforesaide, to anny parson or parsones to whome so ever he will, upon suche condic^on, and for such tyme of yeres, as the saide parsons be adjudged to him for Slaves, *servauntes*, or apprentices, after suche like sorte and manner as he maye doo of anny other his movable goodes or Catelles, And theie for the saide space of tyme to be bownde to all poyntes and constructions to suche Lessee, donnee, Vendee, or assigne, as theie were to their first apprehenders and Maisters, by vertewe of this Statute.

Section 16.

And be it ordeyned and enacted by thauctoritie abovesaide, that it shalbe lawfull to everye parson to whome anny parson . . . shalbe adjudged as Slave, to putt a ryng of Iron about his Necke, Arme, or his Legge, for a more knowledge and suretie of the kepinge of him; and that yf any parson or parsones doo take or helpp to take, anny suche bonde of Iron from anny suche Slave, that then everie parsones so doing without the Lycence or assent of his Maister shall forfeite for everie suche defaulte Ten Poundes sterling.

My reason for printing the later Harleian MS of *Vox Populi* instead of the earlier Cambridge one, was, that Mr. Dyce had already printed the latter, though with insertions from the former. I also wanted the former complete, on account of its provincialisms, which may be of use to some critic some day. Besides, it is always well to get two MSS of a poem in type.

/Thus./

e. s. /To the kinges most Exellent Maiestie/

I	praye yo ^u , be not wrothe for tellinge of the trothe! for this, the worlde, it gothe bothe to lyfe and to lothe.	[Harl. 367, leaf 130.] 4
	as god him-Self he knothe, and as all men vnderstandes, bothe lordeshipes and landes are now in few mens handes ;	8
	bothe Substance and bandes of all the whole realme are now consumed Cleane— as moste men exteme—	12
	frome the fermer and the powre to the towne and the towere, <i>which</i> makethe them to Lowere, to See that in theirre flowerre	16
	is neyther malte nor meale, bacon, byfe, nor veale, Crocke, mylke, nor keale, ¹ but redy for to steale	20
	for very pure neede. Youre <i>commenes</i> saye in dede,	[leaf 130, back.]
	they be not abell to fede In there stable skant a stede,	24
	to bryng vp nor to brede, Nor skant abel to brenge to the marktett any thyngre	28
	Towardes there howsse-kepinger ; and skant haue a cowe, nor to kepe a powre sowe / thus the warlde ys nowe !	32
	and to here the relation of the powre menes <i>comminyca</i> sion, vnder whatt sortte and faschyon thaye make there exclamasyon, yow wolde haue <i>compassion</i> .	36
	thus gothe ther protestation,	

¹ *Crock* is a pot or earthen vessel; *crockerie*, a collection of the same; *crook butter* is potted or salt butter; but as *crook milk* could only mean sour butter-milk, I suppose that *crocke* above is a pot, and *keale*, a keel or cooler. (Nares.)

Sayenge, that suche and suche
 that of latte are mayde Ryche,
 Haue to, to / to myche, 40
 by grasyng and Regratyng,
 by powlyng and debattyng,
 by rolling and by Dattyng,
 by cheke and cheke-matyng, 44
 with¹ Delays and Debatyng,
 with cowstomes and tallynges,
 forfayttes and fore-stallynges,
 So that youre pourmen² saye 48
 they styll paye, paye,
 most wyllingly alwaye,
 but yett thay se noe staye
 of this owtt-rage a-raise. 52
 vox populi / vox Dei :
 O most nobell kyng, [leaf 131.]
 Consider well this thyng /

.2.

And thus the woise dothe mvltyplye 56
 amownges your grasis commynalte :
 they are in suche grette penury
 that thay cane nether sell ner bye,
 Such ys there extreme powertey. 60
 experyenes dothe it veryfy,
 as trwthe yt selfe dothe testyfy,
 this is a mervellvis mesirie³/
 for grasiars, and Regraters, 64
 with soe many shepe-maisteres
 that of erabell grounde make pasteres,
 are they *that* be thes wasteres
 that wyll vndoe this Lande, 68
 yf thay contyniv⁴ and stande ;
 as ye shall vnderstonnde
 by this lytell bowke.
 yf youre grace it over-lowke, 72
 And over-lowke it agayne,
 Hit wyll tyll yow soo playne

¹ Lines 45-47 are not in the Cambridge MS.

² This word was originally *comenes*: the *c* was altered into *p*; *r* written over the *o*; and the *es* contraction scratched out. See line 125.

³ Camden adds, "And trewe thei saye, it is no lye;" and in a later hand, in the Harleian MS., is written at the side, "and trw they say it is no lye."
 (Dyce.) ⁴ ? *for* continw.

the tenvre and the trowthe,
 Howe this world now growthe 76
 with my neightbore and my nost,
 in every cowntre/ towne, and cost,
 within the cercumvisiones
 of your grasis Domynyones ; 80
 and whye the powre men wepe
 for stawryng¹ of suche shepe,
 for that soo many kype
 Suche nvmber and suche stawre,² [leaf 131, b.]
 and never was sene before. 85
 what wolde ye any more ?³
 the ingresse⁴ was never more :
 thus gothe the woyses and rawre,⁵ 88
 and trewth it ys in dede ;
 for all men now Doo brede,
 that cane chache⁶ any lande
 owtt of the powre menes hande. 92
 for whoe is soe grett a grosier
 as the lorde and the laweer ?
 for every Drawyng Daye
 the bocher more most paye 96
 for his fattyng ware,
 and to be the more Redyer
 a nother tyme to craue,
 when he more shepe wolde haue ; 100
 and to elywatte the pryce,
 Sume-whatt he most rysse,
 with a synke or a sysse ;
 Soo that the bocher cane not spare— 104
 Towardis his charges and is fare—
 to sell the vere carchasse bare
 vnder xij^{ses} or a marke,
 wiche is a pytyfull werke !⁷ 108
 be-syde the offall and the flice ;
 The flice and the fell,
 thus he dothe it selle.

¹ Written *stawryng* and altered to *storyng* by the later hand.

² The *a* is turned into *o* by the later hand.

³ This line is not in the Cambridge MS.

⁵ *rawre* altered to *rowre*.

⁷ This line is not in the Cambridge MS.

⁴ encrease (C.).

⁶ ketche (C.).

A-las ! A-las ! A-las !	112
this is a pitywous chasse ¹ !	
Whatt powre man nowe is abell	[leaf 132.]
to haue mette one is tabell ?	
ane oxe at fyve ² pownde—	116
yf he be any thing rownde,—	
or elles come not in the grownde,	
Suche labore for to waste :	
this is the new caste,	120
the new cast frome the olde ;	
this comen price thay holde !	
wiche is a were ³ rewthe,	
yf men myght saye the trwth.	124
youre pourmen ⁴ thus Doo saye :	
⁵ yf thaye haue it, thows thay paye. ⁵	
vox populi vox dei :	
O most nobell kynge,	128
Consyder well this thyng !	

.3.

Howe saye ye to this my lordes ? ⁶	
are not thes playne recordes ? ⁶	
ye knowe as well as I,	132
this makes the <i>commones</i> crye,	
this makes ⁶ them crye and wepe :	
mysevsyng ⁷ soe there shepe,	
there shepe, and eke ther beffes	136
as yll and worse ; they theffes ! ⁸	
vnto a comon welth,	
this is a vere stelth !	
But yow that wyll ⁹ this bett,	140
yowe lordes ¹⁰ that be greett, ¹¹	
yow wold not paye so for <i>your</i> mette	

¹ case (C.).

² *first* 'four' fourre (C.).

³ very (C.).

⁴ The original "*comenes*" of the MS.—*es* being erased—has been altered by the writer to "*pormen*," as in line 48.

⁵ They are not able to pay
But *miserere mei.* (C.)

⁶ These *s*'s are represented by the usual contraction for *es*.

⁷ Misusing (C.).

⁸ "As yll or worse then theaves." (C.) *Theaf* is a special name for some kind of sheep,—see Philol. Soc. Dictionary Slips—so it may be a pun. (E. Brock.)

⁹ welthe (C.).

¹⁰ landlordes (C.).

¹¹ Originally written *graett*.

except your grasyng ware soo swett ;
 Or elles,¹ fere me I, [back of leaf 132.]
²yowe fynde some remedy 145
 In tyme,² and that right shortlye.
 but yett, this extremyte,
 non felys it but the comynaltye. 148
 A-las ! ys there noe remede
 to helpe them of there mesire ?
 yf there showld come a rayne
 to make a derthe of grayne,— 152
 as god maye sende it playne,
 for our covitis³ and disdayne,—
 I wolde knowe amownges⁴ all
 what he where *that* showlde not fall, 156
 And sorowe as he wente,
 for godes ponyshementte ?
 A-las ! this were a plage
 for powertes passession, 160
 towardis⁵ ther suppression,
 for the grett menes transsgressyon.
 A-las, my lordes !⁵ for-see
 there maye be remede ! 164
 for youre powre comenes saye
 thay haue noe more to paye.
 vox populi vox Dei :
 O most nobell kyng, 168
 Consyder well this thyng !

.4.

And yett not lowng agoo
 was prechar^{es} one or tooe⁶
 that spake it plene enowgh 172
 To yow', to yow, and to yowe, [leaf 133.]
 " that it was reght tyme to repente⁷
 this develysche in-tente,
 of covitis the convente."⁸ 176

¹ elles I (C.).²⁻² "In tyme" is in a later hand. "Ye wold fynde remedye." (C.)³ "Both MSS. have *covetous*," Hazlitt, iii. 273. The Harl. MS. has certainly *covitis*.⁴ Among vs (C.).⁵ This *s* is represented by the contraction for *es*.⁶ Compare line 102 in the next Ballad, "The Ruyne of a Reame," p. 161.⁷ This line is crossed out; and in its stead 'highe tyme for to repent' is written in a later hand in the margin.⁸ This line is not in C.

frome skottland into Kente
 this precheng was be-sprent ;
 and frome the est frunt
 vnto saynt mychelles montte¹, 180
 this sayeng Did surmownte
 a-brode to all menes heres,
 and to youre grasys peres :
 that frome pylyr to post, 184
 the powr man he² was toste ;
 I mene the laboreng man,
 I mene the husbande man,
 I mene the plowghe man,³ 188
 I mene the handy-craft man,
 I mene the vy [tay]lyng⁴ man,
 and also the gud yoman
 that some tyme in this realme 192
 hade plente of key and creme,
⁵butter, egges, and chesse,
 hony, vax, and besse⁵ ;
 but now, a-lacke ! a-lacke ! 196
 all thes men gowe to wrake,
 that are the bodye and staye
 of youre grasis realme alwaye.
 al-waye and at lenght 200
 they most be youre strenght,
 youre strenght and your teme⁶
 for to defende youre realme.
 Then yf thes men appall, [leaf 133, baok.]
 and lack when ye doe call, 205
 Wiche waye maye youe,⁷ or shall,
 Resyst youre enymes all,
 thet over ragynge stremes 208
 wyll wadde frome foren realmes ?
 for me to make Iudiciall,
 This matter ys to mysticall.
 Iuge yowe, my lordes / for me, ye shall ; 212
 youres ys the charge that governes all,

¹ Mount (C.).

² *he* is put in between the lines by the later hand.

³ C. adds another line, "I meane the playne true man."

⁴ victualing (C.).

⁵ Not in C.

⁶ A.S. *teām*, issue, offspring, race.

⁷ *y^e* in MS.

for 'vox populi' / me thay call,
 that maketh but reersall¹ 216
 de parvum, but not De totall,
 de locis, but not locall ;
 Therefore ye most not blame
 the wyght that wrott the same ;
 for the comenes² of this Lande 220
 hath sone³ this in there sande,
 plowghyng it with ther hande.
 I fonde it where I stonnde,
 And I ame but the hayne⁴ 224
 that wrythe new⁵ agayne
 The copy, for to see,
 that also lerneth me
 to take there-by good hede 228
 my shepe howe for to fede ;
 for I a sheparde ame,
 A sory powre man ;
 Yett wolde I wysche, my lordes, [leaf 134.]
 this myght be youre recordies, 233
 and make of it nowe⁶ Dreme ;
 for it ys a worthey realme ;
 a reme that in tymes paste 236
 hath made the prowdes⁷ a-gaste.
 and now⁸, my lordes all,
 note this in especiall,
 and haue it in memoryall⁹ 240
 with youre wysse vnyversall,
 that nether [for] faver nor effectioun,
 yowe grawnt youre protection
 to suche as hath¹⁰ by election, 244
 [who] shall rewle by erection,
 and Doth gett the perfection
 of the powre menes refection,
 wiche ys a grett innormyte 248
 vnto youre grasys commynalte.

¹ Reherssall (C.).² Altered by a later hand to "poremen."³ sowen (C.).⁴ hande (C.).⁵ wryttes yt newe (C.).⁶ no (C.).⁷ prowdest (C.).⁸ Therefore (C.).⁹ The Cambridge MS. omits the next 102 lines, down to "comonwelthe," l. 342.¹⁰ "There appears to be some corruption here." (Dyce.)

for thay that of latt did supe^(a)
 owtt of an aschyn cuppe,
 are wonderfully sprong vpe : 252
 That nowght was worth of latt,
 Hath now a cubborde of platt,
 his tabell furnyscheyd tooe
 with platt be-sett I-nowe, 256
parsell gylte and sownde,
Well worth two hundred pound.^(b)¹
 with castinge cownteres & ther pen,²
 Thes are the vpstart gentylmen ; [leaf 134, back.]
 thes are thay that Dewowre 261
 all the goodes of the pawre,
 And makes them dotysche Davys³,
 vnder the cowler of the kenges lawys. 264
 and yett an⁴ nother decaye
 to youre grasys Seetes alwaye :
 for the statte of all yowre marchant men
 vndo most parte of yowre gentyll men, 268
 and wrape them in suche bandes
 that thay haue halle ther landes,
 and payeth but halfe in hande
 tyll thay more vnderstownde 272
 of the profett of there lande ;
 and for the other halfe
 He shalbe mayd a calfe,
 excepte he haue gud frendes, 276
 wiche well cane waye bothe endes ;
 and yet with frendes tooe
 he shall haue mvche to Doe :
 wiche ys a grett innormyte 280
 to youre grasys regallyte.

a-b Compare these lines with the well-known passage in Harrison's 'Description of Britain, A.D. 1577,' vol. i. p. 188, about the farmer of his time, who, though his old rent of £4 were raised to £40, £50, or £100, would yet have, towards the end of his lease, six or seven "yeares rent lieng by him, therwith to purchase a new lease, beside a fine garnish of pewter on his cupboard, with so much more in od vessell going about the house, three or fouze featherbeds, so manie couerlids and carpets of tapistrie, a silver salt, a bowle for wine (if not an whole neast), and a dozzen of spoones to furnish vp the sute!"

¹ 'CC li' crossed out and 'two thousand pounce' written in the margin by the later hand.

² Calculations were formerly made with counters as well as with the pen ; and we find works published to instruct beginners in the art of reckoning "with the pen or with counters" (Hazlitt). ³ Daws. ⁴ MS. and.

lett marchant men goe sayle, for that ys ther trwe waylle ; for of one .C. ye haue not ten	284
that now be marchantes ventring men, that occupi grett in-awnderes ¹ forther then into flanderes,— flawnderes or in-to france—	288
for fere of some myschance, but lyeth at home, and standes by morgage and purchasse of landes Owtt of all gentyll menes Handes,	[leaf 135.] 293
wiche showld serve alwaye your grace with horse and men in chasse : wiche ys a grett dewowre vnto youre regall pawre.	296
what presydenste cane thay shewe. that fowre skore yeres agooe, that any marchant here, A-bove all charges clere,	300
In landes myght lett to hyre too thowsant markes by yere ? other ² , where shall ye fynde a gentyll man by kynde,	304
but that thay wyll ly in the wynde to breng hyme fer be-hynde ? Or elles thay wyll haue all, yf nedes thay hyme ³ for-stall,	308
wiche ys the hole Decaye of your marchant men, I saye, and hynderes youre grasys costome by the yere a thowsant pawnde,	312
And so marryth—the more petye— the comon welth of yche Sytte, and vndoth the cowntre, as prosse ⁴ doth make propertie :	316
this matter most spesyally wolde be loked one quiclye. yett for ther recreation in pastime and procreation,	320

¹ inawnderes, (Dyce) : ? meaning "adventures," "ventures."

² or.

³ ? MS. hyne.

⁴ "Prosses," process, legal proceedings. "Pross" is talk, conversation. (Halliwell's Glossary.)

in tempore nesessitatis,
 I wysche thay myght haue grattis [leaf 135, back.]
 lysenes to compownde,
 To purchasse fortie pownde, 324
 or fyfte, at the moste,
 by fyne or wrytte of post.
 and yf any marchant man—
 to lyve his occupieng then— 328
 wolde purchasse any more ;
 lett hyme forfett it therfore.
 then showld ye se the trade
 that marchant men frist mayde, 332
 whyche wysse men marshall
 for a welth vnyversall,
 yche man this lawe to lerne,
 and trewly his goodes to ywr[n]e :¹ 336
 the landlord with his terme,
 the plowght man with his ferme,
 the kneght wyth his fare,
 the marchant with his ware ; 340
 then showld increse the helth
 of yche comon welthe.
 therefore be not yow wrothe²
 for tellyng of³ the trothe ; 344
 for I dooe here it eviry daye,
 howe the comones thus doe saye :
 yf thaye hade it, thay wolde paye.
 vox populi, vox dei : 348
 O most nobell kynge,
 Consyder well this thing !

5

[leaf 136.]

But howe, Robyn ! howe !
 wiche waye dothe the wynde blowe ? 352
 Herke ! herke ! herke !
 ys not this a pityvis warke,
 the grounde and the pithe⁴
 off all this myscheffe ? 356
 for oure covitis lordes
 dothe mynde noe other Recordes

¹ Dyce corrects to "yerne."

² C. begins again, with And be not withe me wrothe.

³ you (C).

⁴ cheiffe (C).

but framyng fynes for fermes,¹
 with to myche, as some termes, 360
 with rentes and remaynderes,
 with Surwaye and Surrenderes,
 with comunes and common Ingenderes,
 with inclosieres² and extenderes, 364
 with hurd-vpe, but noe spenderes :
 for a comon welth,
 this is a vere stelth.
 prove it whowe shall, 368
 to make there of triall,
 thus gowthe there Diall :
 I knowe not what[s]³ a cloke
 but by the cowntre coke,⁴ 372
 the mone⁵ ner yett the prime,
 wntyll the sowne⁶ dooe shyme
 or elles I colde tyll
 Howe all thinges showld be well. 376
 the compas maye stande a-wrye,
 but the card wyll nott lye.
 Haale in your mayne shete!⁷
 this tempeste is to grett;⁸ 380
 for pawre men Dayly sees
 how officers takes their fees,⁹
 Sume yll, and some yet worse ; [leaf 136, back.]
 as good right as to pike there purse ! 384
 Deservethe this not godes curse ?
 there consyenes ys sooe grett,
 theye fere not to dischare¹⁰
 yf it were as myche more, 388
 Soe thay maye haue the stowre.
 thus is oure we[l]the vndone
 by synguler commodome¹¹
 for we are in dyvision 392
 bothe for reght and religion ;

¹ Compare Harrison, p. 189, in 'Percy Folio Ballads,' ii. 181-2.

See "Now a Dayes," p. 97, l. 165, and also p. 3-37, 54-6. ² hoard.

³ whates (C.).

⁴ cocke (C.).

⁵ mone in both MSS., but ? none (Dyce).

⁶ sonne (C.).

⁷ Altered by a later hand from "graett shepe."

⁸ The next 21 lines, to *knewe*, l. 401, are not in the Cambridge MS.

⁹ This line is written by the later hand.

¹⁰ There is some error here; and perhaps a line or more has dropt out (Dyce). Quære: not if *dischare* applies to the officers taking fees.

¹¹ Latin *commodum*, advantage.

and, as some saythe,¹
 we stagger in our faythe.¹
 but excepte in shortt tyme 396
 we drawe by one lyne,
 and² agre with one accorde,—
 bothe the plowgh-man & the lorde,—
 we shall sore Rewe 400
 that ever this statte we knewe.
 the *commones* thus doth saye,
 yf thaye hade it thay wolde paye.
 vox populi vox dei /¹ 404
 O most nobell kenge,
 Consider well this thing !

6

Thus Runnys the rwmer abowtt
 A-mownges the holle rowtt : 408
 thay cane nott bryng a-bowtt
 [how this thyng shuld be,]³
 hit hathe suche hight Degree :
 the cowne⁴ it ys soo skantt⁵ 412
 That every man dothe wantt,
 [leaf 137.]
 and some thynke not soo skarese,
 but even as mvch to basse.
 your marchant men doe saye, 416
 thaye fynde it daye by daye
 to be a matter strange,
 when thay showld make exc[h]ange
 one thother syde the see, 420
 thay are dryven to there plee.
 for were⁶ oure pounce some tyme
 was better then theres by nene,⁷
 now oures, when it commythe forthe, 424
 no better then theres is worthe,
 noe, nor skant sooe gude :
 they Saye so, by the roode.
 how may the merchant man 428
 be able to occupye then,
 exept, when he comes here,
 he sell his ware to Dyre⁸ ?

¹ These lines are added in a later hand.

³ From the Cambridge MS.

⁵ The *a* looks like *u* in the MS.

⁶ where (C.).

⁷ nyne (C.).

² MS. amd.

⁴ coyne (C.).

⁸ too dear.

he needes must haue a lyvinge #32
 or elles, fye one the wyning!
 this Coyne by alteracyon
 hathe brought this Desolacion,
 which is not yet all knowen, 436
 what myschiff it hathe sowen.
 they saye, "wo worthe¹ that man
 that fyrst that Coyne began,
 to putt in anye heade 440
 the mynde to Suche a reed,
 to come to suche a hiere
 for covites Desyre!" [leaf 137, back.]
 I knowe not what it menythe; 444
 but thus thay saye and dremethe,²
 ve ille *per quem skandalum venit!*
 but this wyll axe graett pene
 be-for it be well agayne, 448
 graett pene and sore
 to make this as [it]³ was before.
 youre *commones* thus Doe saye,
 yf thay hade it, thay wolde paye. 452
 vox populi, vox Dei:
 o most nobell⁴ kenge,
 Consyder well this thinge!

7

This matter is to trewe, 456
 that many a man Dothe rewe
 thesse sowrowes doe in-sewe;
 for, pawre men, thay doe crye,
 and saye it ys a-wrye; 460
 thay saye thay cannott be herde,
 but styll frome Daye [to daye] Differed;
 when thay haue any swtte,
 they may gowe blowe ther flwtt;⁵ 464
 thus gothe the comon brewtt.
 the riche man wyll come in,
 for he ys sure to wyne,
 for he cane make is waye, 468
 With hand in hande to paye, [leaf 138.]

¹ be to; A.S. *weorðan*, to become.³ it as it (C.).⁴ MS. nebll.² deamythe (C.).⁵ flute (C.).

bothe to thycke and thyne:¹
 or elles, to knowe the[ir]² plesure,
 my lorde is not at lesure:³ 472
 the pawre man at the dur
 standes lyke an yslande⁴ cur,
 and Darre not ones sture,
 except he gowe is waye 476
 and come another Daye ;
 and then the matter ys mayde,
 that the powre man withe his spade
 mvst no more his ferme in-wayde, 480
 but most gowe vse some other trade ;
 for it ys soe agreyd,
 that my ladey, maisteres mede,⁵
 shall hyme expulse with all spede, 484
 and our maister the landlord
 shall haue it all att his accorde,
 his howsse and ferme agayne,
 to make there-of his vttmost gayne ; 488
 for is wantage wylbe more,
 with shepe and cattell it to⁶ store,
 and not to plowgh his ground no more,
 except the fermer wyll arere 492
 the rente hyer by a holle yere.
 yett mvst he haue a fyne, toe,
 the bargayne he may the [better]⁷ knowe ;
 wiche maketh the markett now soe Dere 496
 That there bye⁸ fewe that makes good chere* ;
 for the fermer most sell his gosse, [*leaf 138, back.]
 as he maye be abell to paye for his howse ;
 or elles, for non payeng the rente, 500

¹ "A line, or perhaps more, has dropt out here" (Dyce).

² their (C.).

³ A line borrowed from [or occurring in] Skelton's *Why come ye nat to Courte*, l. 622, vol. ii. 46. (Dyce.)

⁴ Island (C.). "Iceland Dogs: shaggy, sharp-eared, white dogs, much imported formerly as favourites for ladies, etc. 'Pish for thee, Iceland dog, thou prick-ear'd cur of Iceland, *Henry V.* ii. 1.'" (Nares.)

⁵ The writer, perhaps, recollected that Skelton had mentioned "mayden Meed" in *Ware the Hauke* l. 149, vol. i. 160. (Dyce.) Shall we add, that Skelton perhaps recollected the fine scenes between "Meede be Mayden," or "Mayden Meede," and Conscience, the King, and Reason, in *Passus II.-IV.* of *The Vision of Piers Plowman* (pp. 17-51, ed. Skeat, 1867, Text A.)? That Skelton owed much to the *Vision* and the *Creed*, I cannot doubt.

⁶ MS. itto.

⁷ may better (C.).

⁸ be (C.).

a-voyde at oure laydye daye in lent :
 thus the pawre man shalbe shente ;
 and then he and his wyffe
 with there children, all there lyfe, 504
 Dothe crye owtt and ban¹
 vppon this corsede covitys man.
 I swere, by god omnipotent,
 I fere that this presydent 508
 wyll make ws all for to [be]² shent !
 trowe yow, my lordes that be,
 that god doth nott see
 this ryche manys charyte 512
per speculum Inigmate?³
 yes, es, yowe ryche lordes !
 hitt is wrytten in christes recordes
 that divis⁴ lay in the fyre 516
 with belsabube his Syrre ;
 and pawper, he a-bowe⁵ satt
 In the Sett⁶ of abrames lape,
 and was taken frome this troye 520
 to lyve allwaye with god in yoiye.⁷
 yowr comones thus do saye ;
 yf thay hade it, thay wold paye :
 vox populi, vox Dei : 524
 o most nobell kenge,
 Consyder well this thing !

8

The prayse no lesse ys worthe, [leaf 139.]
 goddes worde is well sett forth ; 528
 hitt never was more preched,
 ner never so playnely techede ;
 hitt never was soe halloed,
 nor never soe lyttell fowloed 532
 both of hyght and lawe,⁸
 as many a man dothe knowe.
 for this ys playne perskrypsyon,

¹ band (MS.); ban (C.).² be (C.).³ This line in MS. C. is added by a different hand; and in MS. Harl. by the later hand. (Dyce.)⁴ Dives (C.).⁵ above (C.).⁶ seate (C.).⁷ joy.⁸ lowe (C.).

we haue banyschyd superstysyon, 536
 but styll we kepe ambysyon ;
 we haue showtt awaye all cloystrees,¹
 but styll we kepe extorsynares ;
 we haue taken there landes for ther abbwese,² 540
 but we haue conuertyd theme to a worse vse.
 yf this talle be noe lye,
 my lordes, this gothe a-wrye :
 a-wrye, a-wrye, ye gooe, 544
 with many thenges mooe,
 quytt frome the kenges hy-waye !
 the commones thus Doe saye,
 yf thay hade it, thay wold paye. 548
 vox populi, vox Dei :
 O most nobell keng,
 Consyder well this thyng !

9.

And of all this sequell, 552
 the fawtt I cane not tell :
 put yowe together, and spell, [leaf 139, back.]
 my lordes of the cownsell.
 I fere albe³ not well, 556
 amebyssyon So Dothe swell—
 as it gothe by reportte—
 amownges the grettes [t]⁴ sortte ;
 a wonderfull sortt of cells⁵ 560
 that wox populi telles⁶
 of thes bottomelesse welles⁷
 that are est, west, and so forth,
 bothe by south and also north, 564
 with ryche, ryche, and ryche,
 with riche, and to myche.⁸
 the pawre men to be-gylle,
 with saccke and paccke to fyle, 568
 with suche as we compownd
 for an offys ij thowsant pownde.
 howe maye suche men do reght,
 youre pawre men to requytt 572

¹ " We have sent awaye all cloysterers " (C.).

² abuse (C.).

³ all be (C.).

⁴ greatest (C.).

⁵ sylkes (MS.); selles (C.).

⁶ tylties (MS.); telles (C.).

⁷ weltis (MS.); welles (C.).

⁸ Cp. Latimer's 'too much,' p. 113, above.

owtt of there trowbell and payne ?
 but thay most gett it agayne
 by craft, or such coarsyon,
 by bryberey and playne exstorsyon, 576
 with many farlys mooe
 that I colde trewly schewe :
 ther never was Suche mesyre,
 nor never soe moche ewzery.¹ 580
 your powr men thus doe saye,
 yf thay hade yt, thay wold paye.
 vox populi, vox Dei :
 O most nobell keng, 584
 Consider well this thing !

[9 b.]²

And thus this yll of brwtttes, [leaf 140.]
 most plentyfull of frewttes,
 ys sudenly Decayed ; 588
 powre men all-most Dysmayd,
 thay are soe over-layde.
 I fere and ame afrayde
 of the stroke of gode, 592
 wiche ys a perelos rodde.
 praye / praye / praye /
 we never see that Daye !
 for yf that Daye dōo cume, 596
 we shall desseuer and rune,
 the father agaynste the sonne,
 and one agaynst an³ nother.
 by godes blessed mother, 600
 or they begyne to hugger,
 for godessake looke a-bought,
 and staye be tymes this rought,
 for feare they do come owte. 604
 I put yo^u ought of dought,
 there is no grett trust,
 yf trothe shoulde be discust.
 therefore, my lordes, take heede 608
 that this gere do not breede,
 at chesse to playe a maett,
 for then it ys to latt ;

¹ vserye (C.).

² 10 (C.).

³ MS. and a (C.).

we maye well prowē a cheke, 612
 but we shall haue the werke.¹
 ytt ys not to be wondrede,
 for thay are not to be nvmbred ;
 hitt ys not one alone 616
 that thus dothe grownt and growne,
 and makethe this pitious² mone ;
 for it ys more then wonder
 to here the infynytte nwmbere 620
 of powre men, that doo showe [leaf 140, back.]
 by resoune hitt most be Sooe,
 thay wysche, and doo connector,³
 that my lordes grasse and protector, 624
 that cheffe ys nowe erector,
 and formost of the reinge
 vnder oure nobell kenge,
 that he wold see redresse 628
 of this most graett excesse ;
 for he ys callyd Dowttlesse
 a man of graett proues,⁴
 and soo dothe bere the fame, 632
 and dothe desyre the same.⁵
 his mynde (thay saye) is good,
 yf all wolde folowe his mode.
 nowe for to sett the frame, 636
 to kepe styll this good name,
 he most delay all excusis,
 and ponysche thesse graett abbusis
 of thesse tynys and new ewsis, 640
 that haue soo many mvsis.
 and frest⁶ and prinsipally
 Suppressē this shamfull ewzere⁷
 commenlye callyd husbandrye. 644
 so⁸ yf there be noe remedye,
 in tyme—and that reight shortly—

¹ neke (C.), which inserts five lines after l. 615, and then begins a fresh Section 11.

“This the poore men saye,
 yf thei hadde yt, thei wold paye,
 Vox populi, vox Dei:
 O most noble kyng,
 Consydre well this thyng!” (C.) from Dyce.

² pitivys, altered to pitious. ³ or connector . . . coniecter (C.), desire.

⁴ prowess (C.).

⁵ MS. fame, as before.

⁶ first (C.).

⁷ vsurye (C.).

⁸ For (C.).

yt wyl brede to a plewryse, 648
 wiche ys a graett innormyte
 to all youre grasis commynaltye;
 for ther is noe smalle nwumber
 but that this fawlt Dothe incumber.¹
 youre powre men thus doo saye, 652
 yf they hade it, they wolde paye.
 vox populi, vox Dei,
 O most nobell kenge, [leaf 141.]
 Consyder well this thyng! 656

10.

Nowe, at youre grasis laysure,
 yf ye well See the sezare
 of all the cheffe treasure— 660
 heped withe-owght mesure—
 of the substanes of youre reme,
 as it were in a Dreme,
 I well make an esteme,
 in the handes of a fewe, 664
 the trewthye you to shewe,
 howe this matter dothe gooe;
 for I wyll not spare
 the troythe to Declare; 668
 for troythe, trewly ment,
 was never yett shente,
 nor never shent shalbe,
 note this texte of me: 672
 yf² a tyme be framed
 for fere somme showld be blamed;
 but it wyll not be shamed;
 hitt ys of Suche a strenghe, 676
 hit wyll over-come at lenghe.
 yf now I shall not fayne,
 the troythe to tell youe playne,
 of thoosse that doo holde 680
 the substanes, and the goolde,
 and the tresure of this reme;
 and shortly to calle,
 all-most they haue all; 684
 att lest, they haue the tradde
 of all that maye be mayde.

¹ C. adds "yt is a wordly wondre."² Yt may (C.).

And frist to declare [leaf 141, back.]
a¹ breffe what they are, 688
to make short rehersall,
as well spyrytuall as temprall :
the laweres and the lawlorde,²
the graett ryve and the recorde,— 692
the Recorde I mene, ys he
that hathe offys, or elles fee,
to serve oure nobull kenge³
in his accomttes and reconnyng 696
of his treasure Surmountyng—
lorde chawncler and chawnclares,
maisteres of mynttes and monyares,
Secundares and Surwayeres, 700
awdateres and Receveeres,
customeres and cowntrolleres,
purvayeres and prowlleres,
marchantes of graett sallys, 704
withe the maisteres of woddsayles,
withe grassyeres and regratteres,
withe mr. wylyames of schepe-maisteres,
and Suche lyke commen⁴ wasteres 708
that of errabell grownd makes pasteres,
and paye-masters, suche as bythe⁵
with Trappes your golden Smythe,⁵
with iij or iiij grett cloytheeres, 712
and the holle lybell of laweres :
withe thesse and there trayne,—
to be breffe and playne,—
of there to⁶ myche gayne 716
that they take for ther payne,
hit ys knowin by certayne stowrys⁷
that they maynetene your grasis warys
by the space of a holle yere— 720
be it good chepe or dere,—
ye, thought⁸ we showlde withstande
bothe france and skottlande,
And yett to leve enowght [leaf 142.]
of money, ware, and stuffe, 725

¹ By a (C.); but *a* may mean *on, in*.

³ ? MS. reнге, kyng (C.).

⁵ These lines are in the margin in a later hand.

⁷ sterres (C.).

² landelorde (C.).

⁴ commonwelthe (C.).

⁶ to to (C.).

⁸ Yea, though; C. reads *Thoughe*.

bothe in cattell and corne,
 to more then they were borne
 by patoromony¹ or blude, 728
 to merett soo mvche gude.
 be-cause thay be soo basse,
 thay welbe nedey and skarsse ;
 for *quod natura dedit*, 732
 frome Ientyll blude they² ledeth ;
 and to forsse a chourlyche best,
nemo attollere potest.
 yett Rather then they wold goo before, 736
 theywolde helpe your grace *with* some-what more,
 for they be thosse that haue the stawre ;
 thosse be they wyll³ warrant ye,
 thowght ye take never a peney 740
 of youre powre *commynalltey* :
 this is trwe vndowtydlye,
 I dare afferme it Sertenly.
 for yf this warlde doo holde, 744
 of forse ye most be bolde
 to bowrowe ther fyne golde ;
 for they haue the stowre,
 your *commones* haue no more. 748
 ye maye it call to lyght,
 for it ys your awne recht,
 yf that your grase haue nede :
 beleve this as youre crede, 752
 the powre men [so]⁴ doo saye,
 yf they hade it, they wold paye
 with a better wyll then thay.
 vox populi, vox Dei : 756
 O most nobell keng,
 Consider well this thing !

11.

O [w]ortheyest protector,
 be [he]reyn⁵ corrector ! 760
 And yow, my lordes all, [leaf 142, back.]
 lett not your oner⁶ apall,
 but knowke be tymes, and call

¹ The first *o* appears to be crossed out ; patrimony (C.).

³ I wyll (MS.) ; wyll (C.). ⁴ so (C.). ⁵ herin (C.).

² them (C.).

⁶ honor (C.).

for thes graett cwsyres¹ all !
 ye knowe the prinsipall : 764
 what nedes more rehearsall ?
 yf yow doo not redresse
 be tymes this covitisnes,
 my hede I wold to gage, 768
 ther welbe² grett owt-rage,
 Suche rage as never was sene
 in any olde manes tyme.
 also, for this perplexsite, 772
 of thes that are most welthé,
 hit were a dede of charite
 to helpe them of ther pluryse :
 hit *commes* by Suche grett fyttes 776
 that it takes [a] waye ther wittes,
 bothe in ther tresure and tellyng,³
 or elles in byeng and selleng.
 yf they of this were eesed, 780
 your grasse showlde be well plesed,
 and thay but lyttell dysesed
 of this covitous dropsye
 that brenges them to this pluryse, 784
 bothe the plwryse and the gowt,
 vncurabell to be holpe [out],⁴
 except your grasse, for petie,
 proved⁵ this forsayd remedie, 788
 as docteres holde opinion,
 bothe ambrosse and tertullyon,
 with the swipstake and the mynyon,
 [The Herte and the Swallowe, 792
 and all the rest that followe,]⁶
 the⁷ gally and the roo
 that soo swyft dothe gooe ;
 Goo,⁸ and that a pasce, 796
 by the herry grace,
 the herry and the Edward :
 god send¹ them all well forward,
 with all the hole fleet ! 800
 whosse cowncell complett
 Sayth it is full mett

¹ vsurers (C.).² wylbe (C.).³ Treasure tellynge (C.).⁴ out (Dyce).⁵ Provyde (C.).⁶ From the Cambridge MS.⁷ Withe the (C.).⁸ too (MS.) ; Goo (C.).

that graett hedes and dyscret
 showld looke well to ther fett.¹ 804
 amen! I saye, so be it!
 as all your *commones* praye
 for youre lonke² helth awaye.
 yf thay hade it, thay wolde paye 808
 with a better wyll then thay.
 vox populi, vox Dei:
 thus doth wrytt, and thus dothe saye,
 with this salme, 'myserere mei.' 812
 o most nobell keng,
 Consyder well this thinge!
 god saue the kenge!

FINIS QUOD VOX POPULI VOX DEI.³

¹ feate (C).

² long (C).

³ finis, quothe Mr. Skelton, Poete Lawriate (C).

L. 703, *Purveyors*.—"The purveyor alloweth for a lamb worth two shylynges, but xij*d*; for a capon worth xij*d*, six pens; and so after that rate: so that after that rate there is not the poorest man that hathe any thyng to sell, but he loseth half in the price, besides tariyng for his money, which somtyme he hathe, after long suyte to the officeres, and great coste suyng for it; and many tymes he never hathe it: so that he is dryven to recover his losses by sellyng deerer to the kynges subjects." *State Paper Office—Domestic—Edw. VI*, vol. v. p. 20. See *Archæologia*, vol. viii, for an interesting article on purveyors. *Russell's 'Kett's Rebellion in Norfolk'*, p. 2, note (4).

Vox Populi was most probably known to Robert Greene. In his *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, 1592, he alludes to some of the subjects of our poem when describing his knight,—whom, like Chaucer, he makes a fine character, and says:—

"this knight is mortall enemy to pride, and so to me [Velvet-Breeches]: he regardeth hospitality, and aimeth at honor with releevyng the poore: you may see, although his landes and revenwes be great, and he able to maintain himself in great bravery, yet he is content with home-spun cloth, and scorneth the pride that is now adaies used among young upstarts: he holdeth not the worth of his gentry to be and consist in velvet breeches, but valeweth true fame by the report of the common sort, who praise him for his vertue, justice, liberality, housekeeping, and almes-deeds. *Vox Populi vox Dei*: his tenants and farmers would, if it might bee possible, make him immortal with their praiers and praises. *He raiseth no rent, racketh no lands, taketh no incombs* [premiums from incoming tenants?], *imposeth no mercilesse fines*, envies not an other, *buyeth no house over his neighbours head*, but respecteth his country, and the commodity [welfare] thereof, as decree as his life. Hee regardeth more to have the needy fed, to have his boord garnished with full platters, then to fumous himselfe with excessive furniture in apparel." (P. 48-9, *Collier's reprint*.)

Appendix to Vox Populi.

The Grievances of the Norfolk Rebels in 1549.

Many of the grievances complained of in *Vox Populi* are so well illustrated by the Petition or List of Grievances drawn up by Kett and the Norfolk Rebels in 1549, that I print the Petition here from the incomplete and charred MS. (Harl. 304, leaf 75) from which Mr. Russell also printed it in his "Kett's Rebellion in Norfolk; being a History of the great civil commotion that occurred at the time of the Reformation, in the reign of Edward VI. Founded on the '*Commoysson in Norfolk, 1549,*' by Nicholas Sotherton; and the '*De Furoribus Norfolkensium*' of Nevylle: and corroborated by extracts from the Privy Council register; documents preserved in the State-Paper, and other Record Offices; the Harleian and other MSS.; and Corporation, town, and Church Records. By the Rev. Frederic William Russell, M.A. &c. &c. With Illustrations. London, Longmans, &c. 1859."

The list of the hundreds and their representatives is imperfect at the beginning.¹ Among the latter is a namesake of the present President of the Reform League, EDMOND BELYS (Beales)*. Our modern reformer seeks his ends by gentler means than his rebel predecessor.

[Harl. MS. 304, leaf 75.]

[the hundred] }	
of [n]orwich }	
the hundred of }	Robert Kett }
ffoureho ² }	Thomas Rolff }
	William Kett }
The hundred of }	Edmond fframyngham }
north grenehowe ³ }	William Tydde }
The hundred of }	Reynold Thurston }
South erpyngham }	Iohn ² wolsy }
the hundred of }	Symond englysshe }
est flegge and }	william pecke }
west flegge }	
The hundred of }	George blomefield }
landryche ⁴ }	william herryson ² }
the hundred of }	Edmond belys* }
Eynsforth ⁵ }	Robert Sendall }

¹ Nevylle says twenty-six hundreds were represented; whereas only twenty-[four] are mentioned in the MS., twenty-[three] in Norfolk, and one from Suffolk. *Russell*, p. 48; and see p. 203-4.

² Forehoe.—*R.* ³ Greenhoe.—*R.* ⁴ Launditch.—*R.* ⁵ Eynesford.—*R.*

the hundred of } humbleyard }	Thomas prycke henry hokekynges
the hundred of } [nor]th erpyngham }	Rychard Bevis } William Dowty }
[th]e hundred } [of T]auerham ¹ }	Thomas Garrod } William petyr }
[the h]undred of } brothercrosse }	Robert mans[. . .] } Robert Ede }
The hundred off } Blowfeld }	Iohn ^o Spregey } Elys hyll }
The hundred off } walsham }	Iohn ^o kytball } Thomas Clerke }
The hundred of } Tunsted }	Iohn ^o herper } Richard lyon ^o }
The hundred of } happyng }	Edward Ioye } Thomas Clocke }
the hundred of } hensted }	william mowe } Thomas hollyng }
the hundred of } holt }	Iohn ^o Bossell valentyn ^o moore
The hundred of } loudon ^o and } knaveryng ² }	Robert lerold } Richard ward }
the hundred of } north grenehowe }	Edward Byrd } Thomas tudenhn ²³ }
the hundred of } metforth ⁴ }	Symond Nevell } william howlyng }
The hundred off } ffrebrygge ⁵ }	william heydon ^o } thomas lacker }
The hundred of } Callowe }	Robert Cottis } Iohn ^o Oxwyk }
[leaf 75, back.] The hundred } of depewade }	william Browne } Symond Sendall }
. } Suff— Co— [?]	. . . . . } Richard wright }

“ We pray *your* grace, that where it is enacted for Inclosyng, that it be not hurtfull to suche as haue enclosed saffren^o groundes,⁶ for they be gretly chargeablye to them, and that ffrome hensforth noman^o shall enclose eny more.

¹ The name of *Taverham* hundred occurs in *Blomefield's Hist. of Norfolk*, (ed. 1809) vol. x. p. 467.

² Loddon and Clavering.—*R.*

³ *ham.* ⁴ *Mitford.*—*R.*

⁵ *Freebridge Lynn.*—*R.*

⁶ See Harrison's chap. 8, bk. 3, on Saffron, *Descr. of England*, p. 232: “In Norfolk and Suffolke they raise but once in seven yeares: but as their saffron is not so fine as that of Cambridgeshire and about Walden, so it will not cake, ting, nor hold colour withall; wherein lieth a great part of the value of this stuff.” (P. 233.)

“We certifie *your* grace, that where as the lordes of ther manours hath byn^o Charged *with* eerten fire rent, the same lordes hath sought meanes to charge ther fire-holders to pay the same rent, contrarye to right.

“We pray *your* grace, that no lord of no manner shall comon^o vppon^o the Comons.

“We pray that prestes frome hensforth shall purchase no londes, neyther fire nor Bond; and the londes that they haue in possession^o may be letten^o to temporall men^o, as they wer in the ffyrst yere of the reign^o of kyng henry the vijth.

“We pray that Rede-ground *and* medowe grounde may be at suche price as they wer in the first yere of kyng henry the vijth.

“We pray that all marshysse that ar holden^o of the kynges maiestie by fire rent or of eny other, may be ageyn^o at the price that they wer In the ffirst yere of kyng henry the vijth.

“We pray that all Busshelles *within your* realme be of on^o seice, that is to sey, to be in mesure viij gallons.

[lf. 76.] “[We] pray that [the parsons] or vicars that be nat able to preche *and* sett forth the woorde of god to hys *parissheners* may be clerely putt from^o hys benyfice, and the *parissheners* there to chose an^o other, or elles the pateron^o or lord of the towne.

“We pray that the paymentes of castillward rent, *and* blanche ferme, and office landes, whiche hath byn^o accostomed to be gathered of the tenamentes, where as we suppose the lordes ought to pay the same to ther balyffes for ther rentes gatheryng, *and* not the tenantes.

“We p[r]ay that noman^o vnder the degre of a knyght or esquier kepe a dowe house, except it hath byn^o of an^o ould aunychent costome.

“We pray that all fireholders *and* copieholders may take the *proffightes* of all comons, *and* ther to comon^o, *and* the lordes not to comon nor take *proffightes* of the same.

“We pray that no ffedorye *within your* sheres shalbe a counseller to eny man^o in his office making, wherby the kyng may be trulye *serued*, so that a man^o beeng of good consyence may be yerely chosyn^o to the same office by the comons of the same sheyre.

“We pray *your* grace to take all libertie of lete into *your* owne handes, wherby all men may quyetly enioye ther comons *with* all *proffightes*.

“We pray that copiehould londes that is onresonable rented, may go as it dyd in the ffirst yere of kyng henry the vij; and that at the deth of a tenante, or of a sale, the same landes to be charged *with* an^o esey ffyne, as a capon^o, or a resonable some of money, ffor a remembrance.

[lf. 76 b.] “[We] pray that no prest [shall be a chaplain residential, steward,] nor no other officer to eny man^o of honor or whorshyppe, but only to be resydent vppon^o ther benefices, wherby ther *parissheners* may be enstructed *with* the lawes of god.

"We pray thatt all bonde men^o may be made ffre,¹ for god made all ffre *with* his precious blode sheddingyng.

"We pray that Ryvers may be ffre *and* comon^o to all men for ffysshing *and* passage.

"We pray that no man^o shalbe put by *your* Eschetour *and* ffeodarie to ffynde eny office, vnles he holdeth of *your* grace in cheyff or capite aboue x^{li} by yere.

"We pray that the pore mariners or ffysshheremen may haue the hole profightes of ther ffysshing^{es}, as purpres, grampes, whalles, or any grett ffysshe so it be not preiudiciall to *your* grace.²

"We pray *that* euery propriatorie parson^o or vicar havyng a benifice of x^{li} or more by yere shall eyther by *them* selues or by some other person^o teche pore mens chyldren^o of ther parisshe the boke called the cathakysme³ *and* the prymer.⁴

"We pray that it be not lawfull to the lordes of eny manner to purchase londes frely, *and* to lett them out ageyn^o by copie of court roll, to ther gret advaunchement, *and* to the vndoing of *your* pore subiectes.

"We pray that no propriatorie parson^o or vicar (in considera-

¹ The time had not yet come for "bonde men" to obtain their freedom; years, many years, of fierce contention and of deadly strife would have to pass away, and many a hard-fought field be won, before this precious boon would be secured to all. The blow thus aimed at the feudal system at present was of no avail; but after the great Puritan struggle, one of the earliest acts [of] Charles II. was to abolish the iniquities and oppressions which had, in the course of time, been grafted upon it . . . 12 *Car. II. c. 24.* *Russell's Kett's Rebellion in Norfolk*, p. 51-2.

² One of the King's prerogatives was, and still is: "The King shall have Wreck of the Sea throughout the Realm, Whales and great Sturgeons taken in the Sea or elsewhere within the Realm, except in certain Places privileged by the King."—17 *Edw. II. stat. 1. c. 11*; or, *The King's Prerogative*.

I am indebted to Chas. John Palmer, Esq., F.S.A., for the following interesting information on this Grievance:

"GREAT YARMOUTH, 1st May, 1859.

*** "Whales, sturgeons, porpoises, dolphins, and other fish, having in them a great or large thickness of fatness,' are called 'Fishes Royal,' and from ancient time have, by right or custom, belonged to the Crown. In 1559, Queen Elizabeth, by charter, made a grant to the town of Yarmouth, of all fishes royal taken between Winterton Ness in Norfolk, and Easton Ness in Suffolk, which grant was confirmed by James I. in 1608, and the town enjoyed the privilege, such as it was, till 1835, when the Municipal Corporation Act abolished all local admiralty jurisdictions.

"A few years since (1857), a whale came on shore at Winterton, and I, as receiver of droits for the Crown, reported the circumstance, and was instructed to assert the Queen's right to the same, which I did, although the parties who had got possession of it were allowed to retain it."—*Russell*. (I take only a few of Mr. Russell's notes.)

³ "A Breife Catechisme and Dialogue betwene the Husbande and hys Wyfe:" also, "The instructeyon of the truthe: wherein he teacheth the unlearned man."—*N. d.*, but published 1545.—R.

⁴ "A goodly prymer in Englysshe, newly corrected and prynted, with

cion of advoydin[g] trobyll *and* sute bet[w]yn^o them *and* ther pore parissshners, whiche they daly do procede *and* attempt,) shall from^o hensforth take for the full contentacion of all the tenthes whiche nowe they do receyue, but viij^d of the noble, in the full discharge of all other tythes.

[lf. 77.] “[We pray that no man u]nder the degre of a [knyght?] shall kepe any conyes vpon^o any of his owne ffehold or copiehold, onles he pale them^o in, so that it shall not be to the comons noysoyus.¹

“We pray that no person^o, of what estate degre or condicion^o he be, shall from hensforth sell the adwardshype of eny chyld; but that the same chyld, if he lyve to his full age, shalbe at his owne chosyng concernyng his mariage, the kynges wardes only except.

“We pray that no manner of person^o havyng a manner of his owne, shall be no other lordes balyf, but only his owne.

“We pray that no lord, knyght, nor gentleman^o, shall haue or take in ferme any spirituall promocion^o.

“We pray your grace to gyve lycens and auctorite by your gracious comysson^o vnder your grett seall, to suche comyssoners as your pore comons hath chosyn^o, or to as many of them as your maiestie *and* your counsell shall apoynt *and* thynke mete, for to redresse *and* refourme all suche good lawes, statutes, proclamacions, *and* all other your procedynges, whiche hath byn^o hydden^o by your Iustices of your peace, Shreues, Escheatoures^o, *and* other your officers from your pore comons, synes the ffirst yere of the reign^o of your noble grandfather kyng henry the seventh.

“We pray that those your officers *that* hath offended your grace *and* your comons, and so provid by the compleynt of your pore comons, do gyue onto those pore men^o so assembled iiij^d euery day so long as they haue remained ther.

We pray that no lorde, knyght, esquier, nor gentleman^o, do g[r]ase nor fede eny bullockes or shepe, if he may spend fforty poundes a yere by his landes, but only for the provicion^o of his howse.

“By me Robert Kett

By me Thomas Aldryche

Thomas Cod.”

certeayne godly meditations and prayers added to the same, very necessarye and profytable for all them that ryghte assuredlye understande not the latine and greke tongues.” *N. d., but published in 1535.—R.*

¹ *I. e.* “to the commons” (evidently here meaning tenants and small farmers) “annoyance or injury.”—*R.* ? “noxious.”

² ? *MS.* It looks like ‘Escheatoza,’ the final *a* ending with a flourish.
Bondmen, p. 149.—On this subject we may note that Harrison in 1577 uses the word of ‘men in bonds,’ and says, “And as for slaues and *boudme*, we haue none, naie, such is the priuilege of our countrie by the especiall grace of God, and bountie of our princes, that if anie come hither from other realms, so soone as they set foot on land, they become so free of condition as their masters, whereby all note of seruile bondage is viterlie remooued from them.”—*Descr. of England*, bk. ii. chap. 5, p. 163, col. 2.

The Ruyn' of A Keam'.

[Harl. MS. 2252, leaf 25.]

BUT for the language, part of this poem might have been written in Wycliffe's time, by a disciple of his who had read his tract against Prelates,¹ and who, while reiterating his master's denunciations against the wolfish herds of God's flock, still desired to proclaim that one faithful shepherd was to be found among the faithless, one true preacher who fed his flock on the sweet herbage of the knowledge of God, plainly declared to every man his faults, and alleged Scripture for every sentence (or opinion). Before the Reformation the poem was written, when prelates sent money for bulls and honour to Rome, when clerics ruled the land, and were bringing it to decay. The chief outward symptom of the prelates' sins that the writer denounces, is their gorgeous apparel, like that of Dukes and Earls of the temporalty (l. 123), or disguised like men in a play (l. 73), rather than the plain cloth that their predecessors used. This sprang from their pride; to feed which they were ruining the realm. Stanza XXVI likens them to the gurgoyles on a wall, which grin and stare, and think all the weight that they do bear:

There hertis in pride ys sette so hye,
 þat noman^o with them^o they thynke may compare.
 Rydyng^o Alone, they loke so solemly
 as gargellis in A wall, whyche gryn^o & stare, 179
 And thynke All the peyse that they do bere:
 So thynkythe the prelattis, Above all men^o
 þat the wysedom^o of thys Realme Restythe all on^o them^o. 182

¹ In the third chapter, [of his Treatise *De Conversatione Ecclesiasticorum* or *of Prelates*,] Wycliffe censures, with great freedom, the gay equipage, the profanity, the gluttony and drunkenness, of many among the prelates, and speaks of their establishments, and their general manners, as proclaiming them members of the "devil's church," rather than of "holy church." Prelates, he writes, "rob the poor liege men of the king by false excommunications, put forth under colour of holy correction, but giving men leave to dwell in sin from year to year, and from one seven years to another seven years, and commonly all their life long, if they pay by year twenty shillings, or something more or less." . . . In the 8th & 9th "chapters the same subject is continued. Prelates are rebuked as men deriving their chief revenue from the sins of the people. Is it because there are so many sins to be confessed, that "the rotten penny" is demanded continually: and by such means "a proud name in the

Roy's *Satire* may well be compared with the *Ruyn'* throughout. Though the ballad—if so it can be fairly called—includes a general lamentation over other people's vices, the prelates' sins are its special theme. In faltering verse it bewails them, and promises punishment for them; and ends with an appeal to all men to pray for our noble king, our gracious queen, and all their progeny.

Though this word *progeny* seems a large term to describe one daughter, yet I believe that the writer of the Ballad referred to the Princess Mary (born 18th February, 1516), and the other expected issue of Henry VIII. and his first Queen, Catherine of Arragon, who seems to have had three miscarriages, and to have borne four children. (*Froude*, i. 104, note.)

So also I assume that lines 34–42,

“hyt ys apar(e)nte to every mannus Iee
 þat spirituall men^o vndowtydly
 dothe Rule þis Realme, now broughte to mysery,

refer to Wolsey's influence, dating especially from Dec. 1515 when he was made Chancellor; and that the many lines against Prelates' richness of apparel (l. 73, 122, etc.) include his well-known magnificence in dress, and all other appointments of house and person. Roy in his *Satire*, though writing principally against Wolsey, takes care to include the rest of the religious, the 'many' of stanza 17 here:—

Moreover there is the Cardinall /
 Of whose pompe to make reherceall /
 It passeth my capacite.
 With stately bissoppes a greate sorte /
 Which kepe a marvelous porte /
 Concernynge worldely royalte.

Prestes also that are seculer /
 With monkes and chanons reguler /
 Abownde so in possession,
 That both in welfare and wede /
 With-oute doute they farre excede /
 The nobles of the region.

(P. 35 of Pickering's reprint.)

(See, as to Wolsey, '*An Impeachment of Wolsey*' in this volume.) The kneeling of the nobles, too, in line 64, was, most likely, to Wolsey. Skelton and others witness it. Line 152 may refer to Wolsey's appointment as Cardinal in 1515, and as papal legate in 1526.

The complaints in the early part of the Ballad about the decay of great households (l. 16), and of archery, while gaming increases (l. 23–5), with other points, agree so well with those of *Now-a-Dayes*, l. 46, 98, 233–4, etc., that one can hardly doubt that both ballads belong to nearly the same time, though *Now-a-Dayes* goes more to the root of the matter than the *Ruyn'*, and may be a little later. The "Sufferance," which the latter, in l. 56, declares "hathe Cawsyd this Realme to decay," is, I suppose, not the suffering and distress of the commons, but the putting up

world, and great householding" are sustained." (*Vaughan's Tracts and Treatises of Wycliffe*, pp. 14–16.)

with the grievances of Henry's rule—looked on as Wolsey's,—the want of a parliament from 1515 (to 1523: there was none again from 1523 to 1530,) and the political and social evils connected with it.

The one famous divine of line 102, who will not incline to the vices of the rest of the Prelates and Clergy, may have been Cuthbert Tunstall or Tonstal, Bishop of Durham, whose first work¹ bears the date of 1518, though his celebrated Sermon before Henry VIII. was not preached till Palm Sunday 1538. Or this divine may, says Professor Brewer, have been Standish, a friar popular both with the commonalty and Henry VIII., and of whom Pace writes to Wolsey on 12th April, 1518. "Pace to Wolsey . . . Has been told to-day that the King will give "Sancte asse to Freier Standyche; wheroff I wolde be ryght sorye, for the goode service he was lyke to do to the churche. Erit tamen difficile huic rei obstare (ut mihi videtur) quia majestas regia illum mihi jampridem laudavit ex doctrina, et omnes isti domini aulici eidem favent de singulari quam navavit opera ad ecclesiam Anglicam subvertendam." Abingdon, 12 April." (*Brewer's Calendar*, vol. 2, Part 2, p. 1263, No. 4074.)² If Standish was the man meant, it must have been before he took part against the Reformers. Roy shows him up (in 1527?) for his treachery about Tyndale's translation of the New Testament, and sketches his character thus:—

Wat. ¶ Who played the parte of Judas?
Jef. ¶ The wholly bisshop of Saynet Asse/
 A poste of Satan's iurisdiction,
 Whom they call Doctour standisshē/

¹ Cuthberti Tonstalli in Laudem Matrimonii Oratio, habita in Sponsalibus Mariae, potentissimi Regis Angliae Henrici Filiae, et Francisci christianissimi Francorum Regis primogeniti. Lond. R. Pynson, 1518, 4to. (*Bohn's Lowndes.*)

² Compare Pace's letter of 14 April 1518 to Wolsey in *Ellis*, 3rd Series, i. 185. Wolsey wanted William Bolton, the Prior of St. Bartholomew's, a great builder, and repairer of buildings, to have the Bishopric, but, says Pace of the King, 'affore the receiptt off your Graces lettres he was myndydde to geve the sayde bushoprycke to a freer, and doith still persevere in the same mynde, sayynge that your Grace doith knowe the sayde freer to be a grete lernydde man and an honest man . . . Hys Grace wolde not name the sayde freer unto me, but itt is surely Standyche: to my greate discomforte, in so muche that I dydde neuyr wryte Lettres in my lyffe more to my displeasor than these: parte for your Graces causes, and parte for the sayde Priors, whoo is more wurthy to have greter promotion than thys, than is the other to be in lyffe.' However, Standish got his Bishopric on 18 April 1518, in opposition to Wolsey's wishes. In the *Original Letters*, 3rd Series, i. 189, Pace says to Wolsey: 'Thys daye His Grace haith yevyn the bushopryche off St. Asaph to Doctour Standyche, and commaundydde me to advertise your Grace theroff, and to desyre the same in hys name to be goodde lorde unto the sayde doctour . . . Ex Wudstokke xvij. Aprilis.' If Sir Hy. Ellis's account of Standish's attack on Erasmus, and his zeal on behalf of Popery (i. 188), be correct, I doubt whether he can be the divine alluded to by our Ballad.

Wone that is nether flesshe nor fische /
 At all tymes a comen lycer.
 He is a bablynge Questionist /
 And a mervelous grett sophist /
 Som tyme a lowsy graye fryer.
 Of stommake he is fearee and bolde /
 In braulynge wordes a very scolde /
 Menglynge vennem with sugre.
 He despyseth the trueth of god /
 Takyng parte rather with falsechod /
 Forto obtayne worldly lucre.
 In carde playinge he is a goode greke /
 And can skylle of post and glyeke¹ /
 Also a payre of dyce to trolle.
 For whordom and fornicacions /
 He maketh many visitacions /
 His Dioces to pill and polle.
 Though he be a stowte divyne /
 Yett a prest to kepe a concubyne /
 He there admitteth wittingly,
 So they paye their yearly tributex /
 Unto his dyvylishe substitutes /
 Official / or commissary.
 To rehearee all his lyvyng /
 God geve it yvell chevyng² /
 Or els some amendment shortly.

(P. 134-5, *Pickering's reprint.*)

If we may bring the date of the Ballad to 1524, the divine meant may have been Tyndal.

But it is possible to assign an earlier date to the Ballad than Henry VIII.'s reign, and Mr. Gairdner is inclined to put it in Henry VII.'s. For, first: in the MS which contains it, it comes before a list of "The Namys of the Knyghts, Cetezens, Barons of the V Ports, and Burgessees, comynge to the Parleamente summonde at Westmynstre one Monday the 17th day of Octobre the 7th yere of the Reygne of Kynge Henry the VIIth" (*Harl. Catal.*), that is, in the year 1491. This list follows the *Ruyn*, and begins in the middle of a page (the front of leaf 28), and looks at first as if it had been taken down at the time. But as an Ordonnance for the Cowpers of London in 22 Hen. VII, A.D. 1506, is given 10 pages before, and is followed by another "Ordynauce copied from the Boke of our Lady of Wol-chyrche-hawe, by the Stocks in Londone for the good rule ofe the same Paryshe: made A.D. 1457," and, as the dates are much mixed by him in other parts of the MS., I think it quite certam that Mr. John Colyn, Citizen and Mercer of the Parish of St. Mary Wolnoth, London, who wrote the later entries, etc., in the MS., copied them from

¹ *Post*, the stakes at cards or dice. *Gleek*, a game of cards, played by three persons with forty-four cards, each hand having twelve, and eight being left for the stock. *To gleek* was a term used in the game for gaining a decided advantage. *To be gleeked* was the contrary. A *gleek* was three of the same cards in one hand together. *Halliwell*. ² thriving.

such documents as he got hold of, quite irrespective of their succession in time. And thus the List of A.D. 1491 following our Ballad, in no way implies that the Ballad was of or before that date. I may say here that the MS consists 1. of certain old pieces, in a Henry VI hand, like the *Lyfe of Ipomydon*, printed by Weber in his *Metrical Romances*, and *Le mort Arthure*, printed by Mr. Ponton for the Roxburghe Club, and by me for Messrs. Macmillan; and 2. a lot of copies of City ordinances—some of which *must* have been copied from earlier documents—Skelton's Poems, a list of Mayors of London reaching over 130 years, etc. etc., all seemingly in the hand of John Colyn, down to A.D. 1533, at least.

Secondly: the internal evidence, though vague, suits better, in some points, Henry VII.'s time than Henry VIII.'s. The *progeny* of the King and Queen is more likely to refer to Henry VII.'s many children, Arthur, Henry, Margaret, etc., than to Henry VIII.'s one daughter. The description of the Queen—

“Owur gracious quene endewed with pete,
By whose good levyng—ye se hyt dayly—
Thys realme ys kepte from all Captyvite,—”

suits better Henry VII.'s queen, Elizabeth of York, the *Lady Bessy*, sung by ballad writers (see *Percy Folio Ballads*, vol. iii. p. 319), than Henry's Catherine of Arragon, whom the people hardly cared for till his injustice to her made them pity her. Again, the allusions to the persons before whom the nobles kneel and crook, are not in the singular, as if Wolsey were meant, but in the plural, as if Cardinal Morton and Bp. Fox (?) of Henry VII.'s time were rather aimed at. Lines 41–2 also say:—

“þat spirituall *men* vndowtydly
dothe Rule þis Realme now browghte to mysery.”

But to this it may be answered, that if Sir Thomas More's opinion of Morton—above, p. 4—is anything like the truth, the Ballad's reproaches do not suit him well; that Sir Reginald Bray, who, as minister with Morton, kept Henry VII.'s rapacity within bounds¹ before Dudley and Empson let it loose, was not a spiritual man; and that if the writer of the Ballad was writing against Wolsey, and dreaded the weight of his hand, the plural form of writing would be a convenient shield.

Further, if it be urged that the breaking up of noblemen's households, and the sale of their estates, mentioned in lines 15–24, suits better than the reign of Henry VIII that of Henry VII, in which the power of disentailing settled estates was sanctioned by statute, and of which Hume says:—

¹ Remember that Sir R. Bray shared with Morton, though unjustly, the imputation of being the *cause* of the King's exactions. *Gairdner.*

“the most important law in its consequences, which was enacted during the reign of Henry, was that by which the nobility and gentry acquired a power of breaking the antient entails, and of alienating their estates.”¹

By means of this law, joined to the beginning luxury and refinements of the age, the great fortunes of the barons were gradually dissipated, and the property of the commons increased in England. It is probable that Henry [VII] foresaw and intended this consequence; because the constant scheme of his policy consisted in depressing the great, and exalting churchmen, lawyers, and men of new families, who were more dependent on him. (*Hist.* iii. 421-2, ed. 1767.)

If, I say, this argument be pressed in favour of the Henry VII date, I answer that the like process was going on in Henry VIII's reign, and with greater speed at the Field-of-the-Cloth-of-Gold time, as noticed above, p. 89-90, and that in Edward VI's days we have Latimer complaining of the *upskips* (p. 114, l. 6 from foot, above) who had skipped up into the places of the old gentry.

Though then there is force, more or less, in these arguments for Henry VII's reign, and specially in that of the Queen and her progeny, on the whole I hold to the time of Henry VIII and Wolsey—say, before 1520—as the probable date of the Ballad.

Instead of side-notes, I add an abstract of the poem:—

(1) Rulers now oppress the commons; (2) the old conquering rulers, noble, big, well-mannered, have gone; (3) nobles leave the country, and crowd the court to dally with ladies, leaving poor men to famish. (4) Jousting and archery are given up for cards and dice; and lands are sold for gaming. (5) Lords who used to fight for their king, now walk about with a boy and a page, in gowns of gold. (6) The ministers of justice who spoke for the common weal are gone, and spiritual men now rule this realm brought to misery. (7) See how the mischievous living of the Romans brought them from wealth to poverty! (8) And I tell you, “Sufferance hath caused this realm to decay!” (9) In old times, men of honour who cared for the poor, died for the common wealth; but now they kneel and crook. (10) For what? To gain the favour of men with untellable vices, (11) whose pride ruins the realm. The spirituality are dressed in new-fashioned array; (12) they live viciously, and oppress poor men to keep up their state. (13) Instead of cloth, as in former days, they are now clad in rich array, (14) they covet advancement, their vainglory is indescribable, (15) they give learned doctors benefices to make them hold their tongues. But there is one preacher whom they cannot silence, (16) who tells every man his faults plainly, and denounces to prelates their abuses; (17) for they are proud, and ride pompously; (18) they live viciously, and dress

¹ 4 Hen. VII., cap. 24. The practice of breaking entails by means of a fine and recovery was introduced in the reign of Edward the 4th; But it was not, properly speaking, law, till the statute of Henry the 7th.; which, by correcting some abuses that attended that practice, gave indirectly a sanction to it.

more like dukes and earls than divines. (19) They get riches by extortion, and all their affection is set on lucre; (20) they live abominably, and do not preach, (21) but ride on mules in gowns of silk, and love to bear rule in great men's houses; (22) and they send money to Rome for bulls and honours. (23) Justice is gone, Truth banished, the Commons are oppressed; (24) Perjury is committed, the Lantern of Light is clean put out; the vicious living of these prelates, no tongue can declare. (25) But God will punish them sooner than they think, because they have so sore disobeyed his commandments. (26) So proud are they, that, riding alone, they think all the wisdom of the realm is in them, just like the staring gargoyles on a wall, which grin, and think they bear all the weight of the building. (27) The realm is full of pomp and vainglory. (28) O God, remember this realm brought to decay by the vices of prelates, (29) vain fools who protect not their flock, but spill their blood, like wolves. (30) Prelates, your sins and avarice shall make you sore repent! (31) Go, little book! Tell to all my mind; defy the vicious; (32) salute all, and ask them not to be discontented with my boldness; (33) I owe it to my country to rebuke the vices of those who are bringing it to nought. (34) Farewell then, best and noblest of realms, whose fame is beginning to pale! May God immortal save thee from utter decay! (35) It were endless for me to recount all the vices of my time. (36) This only I say, Gracious God, remember this realm now turning from wealth to misery! Give us grace to mend our lives; and preserve our noble King (37) and our Queen,—whose good life saves this realm,—and all their progeny.

The former caution—that the curls and lines of the Record types cannot mean more than a final *e*, and probably mean nothing,—holds good for the present poem, and all the others in this volume.

here begynnyth the Sorowfull *complaynte* for the Ruyn of A Realme.

I.

Sythe¹ profounde Sorow My harte ys sore grevyd̄,

Remembrynḡ þis Realme, my natyfe Contre,

with Manyfolde vycis to be destroyed

& fallynḡ in decay—I here & see hyt playnly— 4

By Reason̄ of Rulers þat² hap^e no petye

to oprese the Commons there maters to compas :

owur Comon welthe dekeyeth ; þis ys an hevy Cace! 7

¹ ? for "With": or "sythe" = after.

² ? MS.

II.

Thys Realme in All parties was Countyd pryncipall
 for manly *conquestis* had in grete honour,
 There worthy *actis* shyne the world over All,
 There *personus* were pyghte, none better of stature, 11
 nor none more goodly of there behavoure,
 As these men were whych lately Reyneð;
 But now they be gon; thys Realme ys decayed! 14

III.

Somtyme nobyff men levyd in *per* Contre,
 And kepte grete howsoldis, pore men to socowur;
 But now in the Cowrte they desyre for to be;
 With ladys to daly, thys ys *per* pleasure; 18
 So pore men dayly may famyshe for hunger
 or they com home home on monyth to remayn¹;
 Thys ys the trowthe, as I here Certeyne. 21

IV.

Before thys tyme They lovyd for to Iuste,
 and in shotyng chefeldy they sett *per* mynde;
 But *per* landys & possessyons now sett they moste,
 And at Cardis & dyce ye may them flynde, 25
 These vnhappy vycis do them so blynde:
 pat playnly (I thynke) *perseyve* ye may,
 Thys Realme Begynnythe sore to dekey. 28

V.

Where ben the lordis of valeaunte Corage
 pat Somtyme were wonte to *serve* there kyng?
 now go they dayly with A boy & A page
 in gownus of golde & Ryche Clothyng; 32
 There landis they consume, goodis & All thyng; [leaf 25b.]
 So pat I thynke non Can denye
 Thys Realme decayeth: ye se hyt playnly. 35

VI.

Where be the Rulers & mynesters of Iustyce
 That Sumtyme Spake for the Common wele?
 Now they be gon! Thys mater wyll suffice
 for my purpose, I speke hyt Brevely; 39

¹ Probably an *e* has been cut off by the binder.

hyt ys Apar[e]nte to every mannus Iee
 þat spirituall menⁿ vndowtydly
 dothe Rule þis Realme now browghte to mysery. 42

VII.

I Rede of late the Romans Storye,
 how welthye they were; & þer dystruccionⁿ,
 and how they fylt in extreme povertē:
 whoo Redythe þe boke, hyt makythe mencionⁿ 46
 whate vycis Reyned, & whate was the occasyonⁿ:
 marke well my saying^g, Reporte me not Amys,
 There myschevous levyn^g Browght them to þis. 49

VIII.

The Circumstaunce of þis Story I wyll not expres;
 Whoo fyndythe hym grevyd, he may hyt see;
 Therfor in me Take none vnkyndnes
 Thow þat your vycis be Towchyd playnly, 53
 Whych fyrste beganⁿ Throw your foly;
 ye, þis thyngē opynly I dar well say,
 "Sufferaunce hathe Cawsyd þis Realme to decay." 56

IX.

Worthy menⁿ of honour, levyn^g¹ pore menus helthe,
 Before þis tyme haue takynⁿ grete payne,
 ye, & suffryd dethe, for A Comynⁿ welthe:
 hyt ys of Trowthe, I Rede hyt for certaynⁿ, 60
 And in Story playnly hyt doþ^e Remayne;
 but now in owur dayes none dar speke ne loke;
 they ar all Abasshyd, & glade to knele & Croke. 63

X.

Before whomⁿ knele they, & in whate place?
 Whanⁿ? whye? wherfor? & to whate purpose?
 Trulye for nowhte else But to stonde in grace
 of Suche personus, whose vycis to dysclose, 67
 A Ryghte good Clerke hyt wolde well Apose
 yf he shulde wrete hyt seryowsly,
 With whate myschefe commytted, & with whate Tyr-
 anny. 70

¹ So in MS. ? "lovyng'."

XI.

Thys Realme now decresyth—*perseyve* hyt ye may—[leaf 26.]

By Reason of *per* pride And grete Abusyon.

The spyrytualte ys dysguised lyke men in A play,
And say that hyt ys the new fassyon; 74

And Alas! thys ys A grete Abhomynacion
To see *prelatis* And docturs of diuinite
Thus to be blyndyd with pride & Iniquite! 77

XII.

O vnvyse men, wanderyng in ignorans,
for whose Abusyon ponisshyd be we daylye!
o synfull *prelatis*, destytute of prudens,
your vicious levyng Aperythe playnly! 81

your Reason ys Blyndyd,—noman Can deny,—
pore men to oppres, your honour to purches;
your viciis do Apere in every place! 84

XIII.

Not long tyme passyd hyt hathe byn sene—
who redythe old storys, *perseyve* he may—
That *prelatis* dyd were clothe Ryghte fyne;
But nowe they be Clothyd in Ryche Araye, 88
By whose ensampyll the devyth hathe hys pray.

The Trowthe dothe Apere; yet for my purpose
more of *per* vycis I wyth dysclose. 91

XIV.

To haue Suffyciente, They sette nowght bye,
But Covete in honour hygher to be;
There pride encresyth Aboundantly;
I Can not dyscryve there vayne glory, 95
nor *per* Covetous myndis enfecte with Symony;
no prechyng wyth serue them, ye se hyt playnly;
Thys Realme ys scorgyd for there grete mysery. 98

XV.

Nobyth docturs of lernyng, in seruyce they Retayne—
whoo lyste to be-holde, dayly hyt ys sene—
gevyng them Beneficis *per* Tongis to Refrayne:
yet on *per* ys, A famus devyne, 102
whyche to *per* vycis wyll not encline,
as by hys prechyng *perceyve* ye may,
saying thys Realme begynnythe to decay! 105

XVI.

Whyche laboreth, studyethe, & preschythe¹ daylye,
 fedyn^g menus Sowlys with swete devyne syence,
 and every mannus fawtis declaryng^g playnly,
 Aleggyng^g scripture for every sentence: 109
 þis profounde manⁿ of lernyn^g & sapyens
 Shewith to þe prelat^{is} þer grete Abusyonⁿ;
 Therfor Among^g them he ys had in derisionⁿ. 112

XVII.

Cryste wolde we had many of thys sorte, [leaf 26, back.]
 in levyn^g & prechyn^g fromⁿ vyce vs to gyde;
 þat were to thys Realme grete treasure & comferte;
 But many be Rooty^d so sore in pryde, 116
 Settyng^g there delyte, pomposely to Ryde,
 not for there travell the Comynⁿ welthe to procure,
 But all only for there vngracious pleasure. 119

XVIII.

There vycious lyvyn^g I cannot declare,
 ne yett comprehend^e with my Capassyte,
 for with themⁿ in Apparell nomanⁿ may compare,
 More lyke duk^{is} & Erl^{ys} of the temporalte 123
 Thanⁿ to be docturs of lawe or of devenite;
 And Temporall maters They moste Redres,
 oppressyn^g the Comons, whyche ys grete hevynes. 126

XIX.

dayly, of Ryches to them Commythe Aboundance,
 Som, I thynke clerlye, By playne extorcionⁿ,
 Somⁿ them selfe by Symony Advauce,
 Evyr more gapyn^g after promocionⁿ, 130
 And onⁿ lucre ys sette All þer Affeccion,
 for they may not speke with owte money;
 Ambycionⁿ dothe Reyne, grete pride & mysery! 133

XX.

Whate nedythe me for to dysclose
 There lyfe Abhomynabyll, & consyens so wyde,
 no-thing^g Regardyn^g Ierom^{us} & Ambrose,

¹ MS. "preschyche."

whych evermore prechyd when hyt was nede? 137
 But prechyng from these men ys clerely sett. Asyde,
 So þat I Thynke but fewe of them Can
 Scarsely knowe neythyr god nure man, 140

XXI.

For in gownus of Sylke, & Rydyng on there Muly—
 whoo takethe hede, may evydently See—
 ys there Chefe delyte, And to bere A Rule
 In grete mennus howsys of hye Autoryte, 144
 And of there Councell nere for to be;
 By Reason of whose vycis Thys Realme ys Browghte
 In-to grete Ruyñ, And Almoste to nowghte. 147

XXII.

Fyrste, for there Bullis, To Rome they moste sende
 Certeyñ Sum of money, whyche long hathe byñ vsyd
 But now they Cannot with þat make an ende,
 for thowsandis thedyr goethe, ye may be Asuryd; 151
 Theyre honours to opteyne, owur lawys be Subvertyd
 evyre worse & worse,—ye see hyt playnely—
 Throwe the defaute of the Rulers only. 154

XXIII.

Where ys Astrea, that fayre lady Iustyce? [leaf 27.]
 Where ys the Equyte That Sumtyme Reyned?
 Trowthe ys banysshyd; eche man dothe hyr dyspyce;
 mercye ys put backe & vtterlye Refusyð; 158
 Frawde now dothe Rayne, & dysseyte ys enhaunsyd;
 and vnder colour of faythe And Relygion,
 The Comyns ar put to grete oppressyon. 161

XXIV.

Nowe in thys Realme Commyttyd ys periury,
 And men wrongyd by grete extorcion;
 of Bothe Sortis the Rulers ar blyndyd with folye,
 Sum Currupte by gyfte And Adulacion, 165
 Sum in Synguler welthe Sette Ah there Affeccion;
 But the lanterne of lyghte¹, eche man dothe sey
 ys Clene extyncte, þat makythe vs decay. 168

¹ Cp. "A Lanterne of Light," Harl. MS. 2324.

XXV.

No herte Can thynke, nor tonge declare,
per vycious levynge, I yow Assure ;
 therfor to shewe hytt I wyll not spare,
 Thowe *pat* hyt torne me vnto dyspleasure. 172
 god wyll them ponysshe, & yett *peraventure*
 Sonner then they thynke, by cawse they be necligente,
 & haue dyssobeyed so sore hys commaundment. 175

XXVI.

There hertis in pride ys sette so hye,
pat noman with them they thynke may compare.
 Rydyng Alone they loke so solely
 as gargellis in A waft, whyche grynl & stare, 179
 And thynke All the peyse¹ that they do bere :
 So thynkythe the *prelattis*, Above all men
pat the wysedom of thys Realme Restythe all on them. 182

XXVII.

Whye shuld I not playnlye now expresse
 many *hoer vycis* dayly vsyd ?
 I fere no dyspleasure for *pis* my Besynes,
 becawse *pis* Realme with *wycis* ys Replenished, 186
 with pompe & vayne glorye on every syde ;
 wherfor I Syghe and am Ryghte sory,
 Seynge *pis* Realme so gevynto misery. 189

XXVIII.

o *gloryus* god ! moste hygheste governour !
 Remembyr *pis* Realme, hertely I desyre,
 and owe hyt now thy *graciowus* favour !
 Browght in decay, playnlye hyt dop^e Apere, 193
 by Reason of *per* hertis with vyce sette on Fyre,
 So *pat* p^e *prelattis* haue loste All diuinite,
 And now they Remyne In *vycis* only. 196

XXIX.

o *glorious* folys, so vayne & varyabytt, [leaf 27, back.]
 Regarding all only, your synguler pleasure,
 your fonde desyre ys nothyng semlabytt

¹ Fr. *poids*, peise, weight. *Cotgrave*.

To A good herdman whoo hathe charge & cure 200
of the Flocke ! ye deuoure owte of All measure
the Sympyth lambys, and Cause them to be slayne ;
there Blode to spylle, As wolves ye not Refrayne. 203

XXX.

Whate dothe your Synfull lyfe And tyrannye portente,
your Covetous myndis Edyfyed in golde ?
ye Ryde & goe As to hevyñ ye wold Assende.
Take hede of Crassus, the story trewe & olde ; 207
Rede of dyonisyous, whate of hym ys tolde.
I fere me gretly your Averowus Intente
shall Cawse yow at the laste Ryghte sore to Repente. 210

XXXI.

fiarweñ lytett Boke ! goe, oponñ þis my mynde
To all & every ; loke þat thow fere none.
good vertuus menñ Shall with the no fawte fynde ;
And as for the vicius, deffye them echone, 214
& specially all suche as wolde overgonñ
and trede vndyr fote The commyn welthe, I say,
For these wrechys be they þat make vs to decay. 217

XXXII.

And forther to the I geve in commaundment,
Euery manñ to salute, after hys degre,
desyryngñ themñ not to be dyscontent
Thow thowe enterpryce To Com so boldly, 221
with-owte there lycens, Amongñ themñ sodenly.
perauenture they wyll sey Thow arte but A geste ;
yet pray themñ of the maker To speke þe beste, 224

XXXIII.

Acceptyngñ hys good wyth & hole Intente,
whyche þat he owghte vnto hys natyfe Contre.
for ony manñ to horte, he dothe not Assente,
Thowe Some mennus vycis be Towchyd playnly, 228
By whose yvyll meanus Thys nobytt Realme daylye
Inñ desolacion & Ruynñ ys browghte,
To pouerte, penury, And Almoste to nowghte. 231

XXXIV.

ffarwell, of *Realmus* the nobyllyste & the beste ;
 for I see thy fame begynnythe to Appaſt.
 ffarwell myrthe, Ioye, quietnes, & Reſte !
 now they of *with-owte* no lenger drede p^e ſhaſt, 235
 whan they vnderſtonð how thy welthe dothe faſt.
 wherfor, inmortaſt god, vnto the I pray,
 ſaue þis nobyſt Realme from vttermyste decay ! 238

The Awtur.

XXXV.

Endles truly for me¹ hyt were to wrete [leaf 28.]
 duryng my lyfe of my vicis aſt
 whyche dayly ar vsyd : of them I endyte,
 as playnly Apere, bothe to grete & ſmaſt ; 242
 Reherſe them I Cannot, as they in ordyr faſt ;
 devyde them as ye thynke beſte in your mynde,
 evyr as ye do them in my boke fynde. 245

XXXVI.

Nomore as nowe : But þis on worde I ſey,
 “ o gracious god, moſte full of Clemensy !
 Remembyr thou² þis Realme now ffallyng in decay,
 Tornynge from welthe to extreme myſery ! 249
 here now my prayer, Chefe well of mercy !
 good lorde, gyve vs grace to Amend our levynge,
 & ever more preſerue owur moſte nobyſt kyng !” 252

XXXVII.

Wherfor I Conclude, And ſpeke hyt Brevely :
 “ *Iheſu* preſerue owur famous kyng ſo myghtye,
 owur gracious quene endewed with pete,
 By whose good levynge—ye ſe hyt dayly— 256
 Thys Realme ys kepte from all Captyvite.
 To pray for them bothe, & all per progeny,
 god gyve vs All grace Inceſſantlye ! 259

fynis.

¹ MS. “for me. for me.”² MS. “thys.”

The Image of Ypocresye.

[WRITTEN A.D. 1533.]

THIS is an invective, or satire after the manner of Skelton, by a layman (l. 196-7, 283, 354)—whose mind is not to lie, but to write plainly against hypocrisy (l. 1273-5)—against the whole crew of the Clergy and Religious Orders, and all under them, or connected with them, from the Pope (l. 18 and 762-1157) to the summoner (l. 2019) and bell-ringer (l. 2042). The names of those who come under the writer's lash are too many to be numbered here; the reader must go to the poem itself to count them. The First Part (p. 181) deals with the clergy generally; the Second (p. 200) with Bishops, Popes, and Cardinals, (including a Protest against the excommunication of England in King John's time); the Third (p. 226) with Preachers and Prelates; and the Fourth (p. 240) with Ecclesiastical Officers and their underlings; but mainly with Monks and Friars.

The work with which one is tempted both to compare and contrast this *Image of Ypocresye*, is *The Vision of Piers Ploughman* by William—whether 'of Malvern' or 'Longland.'¹ To compare it in subject, to contrast it in spirit; for in the one the words differ less widely than the other. Though in William's noble poem, he summons all England for judgment before him, and passes sentence on the vices of layman as well as cleric and 'religious,' yet it is on the clergy, monks, and friars,—especially the latter,—that his stern doom falls, his fierce and righteous wrath is spent. Let us hear on this point one well entitled to attention, the gentle and accomplished scholar whom we have lately lost, whose classical training and refined taste did not prevent his doing justice to the homely speech and rugged strength of the author who has never yet received his due meed of honour in England, though Dean Milman's tribute (see below, p. 172) is a pledge that the time for the full rendering of that meed is near.

[Milman's "Hist. of Latin Christianity," vol. ix., 4th edit. 1864. pp. 236, 237.]

"Langland is Antipapal, yet he can admire an ideal Pope, a general

¹ See also the character of *Fals Semblant* in Chaucer's *Romannt of the Rose*, Works, ed. Morris, vol. vi, from p. 187. Compare too Skelton's *Colyn Cloute*.

pacifator, reconciling the Sovereigns of the world to universal amity.¹ It is the actual Pope, the Pope of Avignon or of Rome, levying the wealth of the world to slay mankind, who is the object of his bitterest invective.² The Cardinals he denounces with the same indignant scorn; but chiefly the Cardinal Legate, whom he has seen in England riding in his pride and pomp, with lewdness, rapacity, merciless extortion, insolence in his train³ Above all, his hatred (it might seem that on this all honest English indignation was agreed) is against the Mendicant orders. Of the older monks there is almost total silence. For St. Benedict, for St. Dominic, for St. Francis he has the profoundest reverence.⁴ But it is against their degenerate sons that he arrays his allegorical Host; the Friars furnish every impersonated vice, are foes to every virtue; his bitterest satire, his keenest irony (and these weapons he wields with wonderful poetic force) are against their dissoluteness, their idleness, their pride, their rapacity, their arts, their lies, their hypocrisy, their intrusion into the functions of the Clergy, their delicate attire, their dainty feasts, their magnificent buildings,⁵ even their proud learning; above all their hardness, their pitilessness to the poor, their utter want of charity, which with Langland is the virtue of virtues. Against the Clergy he is hardly less severe;⁶ he sternly condemns their dastardly desertion of their flocks, when during the great plague they crowded to London to live an idle life: that idle life he

¹ "Sithen Prayed to the Pope—have Pity of Holy Church,
And no Grace to Grant—till Good love were
Among all Kind of Kings—over Christian people,
Command all Confessors—that any King thrive,
Enjoin them Peace for their Penance—and Perpetual forgiveness."
(Whitaker's text, modernised.—Skeat.)—p. 85.—M.

² "Simony and Civil go to Rome to put themselves under the Pope's protection.—Passus iii. p. 36. (Whitaker's text: not in Wright's.—Skeat.)

'And God amend the Pope—that Pilleth Holy Church,
And Claimeth by force to be King—to be Keeper over Christendom,
And Counteth not though Christian Men—be Killed and robbed,
And Findeth Folk to Fight,—and Christian blood to spill.'

Compare p. 297.—M. —*Do Best*, Passus 1, p. 389.—M.

³ "The Country is the Curseder,—that Cardinals Come in,
And where they Lie and Linger,—Lechery there reigneth.'

⁴ Pass. v. p. 70. (Whitaker.) —*Wright*, p. 421.—M.

⁵ "He scoffs at those who wish their names to appear in the rich painted windows of the Franciscan churches. The Friar absolves Mede (Bribery):—

'And sithen he seide,
We have a window in werchyng.
Woldestow glaze that gable,
And grave therinne thy name,
Syker sholde thi soul be
Hevene to have.'—*Wright*, p. 46.

There is a full account in 'the Creed' of a spacious and splendid Dominican Convent, very curious. 'The Creed' is of a later date, by another author, an avowed Lollard.—M.

⁶ "He declares that the Clergy shall fall as the Templars had fallen.—*Do Bet.*, (Whitaker) i. p. 297. [Milman's other reference here, to '*Wright*, i. p. 233' is beside the question, as *Clergie* there means learning, literature, the art of writing, etc.—Skeat.]

describes with singular spirit and zest. Yet he seems to recognise the Priesthood as of Divine institution. Against the whole host of officials, pardoners, summoners, Archdeacons, and their functionaries; against lawyers, civil as well as ecclesiastical, he is everywhere fiercely and contemptuously criminatory."

Now,—except that our layman-author of *The Image* does not believe in a Pope or monk of *any* kind (in his own time), and does denounce the Monks almost as strongly as he does the Friars,—the sketch given above may stand for that of the main lines of the present poem. After the general denunciation of the clergy in the First Part,—for the ill means by which they win advancement (l. 71-162), their pride (l. 163-174), their forbiddal of prayers in the vulgar tongue, and the sacramental bread (?) to the laity (l. 177-185), their juggling tricks to get pelf (l. 188-242), their presumption (l. 243-95), their avarice in heaping-up possessions (l. 296-374), their fine dresses and pomp (l. 375-438), their lechery and lust (l. 439-82), their skant hospitality to the poor (l. 514-28), their tyranny (l. 545), and their adultery (l. 567-78), though their tricks are now found out (l. 601-7),—we come to the picture of each Order in the Second, Third, and Fourth Parts. Part II: The BISHOPS are first sketched (l. 615-716), their violence and prosecution contrasted with St. Paul's description (pages 201, 203; lines 628-714) of a bishop as he should be; Christ's poverty on earth contrasted with the Romish bishops' getting money anyhow in order that they may sit in Peter's Chair: everything is sold for silver and gold (l. 717-59). The POPE, the Antichrist of Rome (l. 762), the Sire of Sin (l. 766) the Crocodile (l. 782), the Whore of Babylon (l. 855), the enemy of Christ, the foe of his Cross, and the Devil's holy priest (l. 858): what ills do not spring from him? He eats sin as meat (l. 772); he and his devour towns to fulfill their lust (l. 775-82); they claim authority above the Deity (l. 794), take the Bible for a riddle, and alter its words (l. 806). This Pope sets himself up to grant places in heaven or hell (l. 819-23), and, as his liars say, can command a thousand Angels to convey a man's soul from decay (l. 825-40), provided only that you pay down your money for it (l. 841). Fill his coffers, and you may ask what you will (l. 850). His decrees swarm with lies (l. 866); his yoke is so heavy, that no man may bear it (l. 877). His bulls and his interrogatories feed his foul carcase and papal dignity (l. 895-927); his judges and advocates with all their commissions and proceedings, are just to steal our money (l. 928-1025), O keeper of whores and helper of harlots! *you* the vicar of Christ! Liar, you're the Devil's vicar. Farewell! (l. 1130-57.)

CARDINALS, you are carnal, you are greedy as cormorants (l. 1159-65); you wallow in wealth like hogs in a sty (l. 1174), stuffing your bellies (your god,) with venison and tarts (l. 1175-

9). You sell dispensations (l. 1185), you fornicate with Kate, Maud, and Bess (l. 1192); you rob and extort to gratify your lusts (l. 1194-1204). Wherever you come, the country is the worse for five and ten years afterwards, and men curse you (l. 1205-11). To get money, you sell heaven and hell, and think it a good joke (l. 1237-66). Some BISHOPS do so too; and their pomp and pride are such that they'll take no rebuke from Prince or Duke, and hardly care for a King (l. 1288-1300). The great bloodsucker, the Pope, is their refuge (l. 1304-6), and they oppress countries with their bell, book, and candle (l. 1316), as they did our English king, John (l. 1320), just to make him their underling (l. 1404). These prelates and legates with their shaven pates, conquer all estates of men (l. 1439-43). What a pity that laymen cannot see it (l. 1448)!

Part III. (p. 226) starts with the PREACHERS. Many are Pharisees (l. 1450); some bark like hounds (l. 1457-62), some are blind buzzards (l. 1463-7), some are soft and still (l. 1468), some cry and yell (l. 1470), some hold up yea and nay (l. 1474), some don't know what to say, their wits are so weak (l. 1481). Others pry on books, but don't understand them (l. 1490); they say one thing openly, and another secretly (l. 1494-5). They call true men, heretics (l. 1525), and say—

Away with these Bibles,
For they be but riddles!
And give them Robin Hood,
To read how he stood
In merry green wood,
When he gathered good
Before Noah's flood. (l. 1528-34.)

The Testament was sent to enable them to gather in their rents (l. 1535-7); laymen are but louts, and know nothing about the matter (l. 1540-3), for they are ignorant of Aristotle, and Averroes (l. 1544-54). So we laymen are told by Doctors Bullatus (l. 1555), Dorbellous (l. 1570) Sym Sotus (l. 1573), Bonbardus (l. 1583), Checkmate (l. 1599), and Tom-too-bold¹ (l. 1613) a mockaniste (l. 1625), and an old Papist (l. 1628). Now too we have a knight (Sir Thomas More), with his Apology for the Prelacy (l. 1629-39), his Dialogue (l. 1643) and Debellation (l. 1664), helping these naughty hypocrites with legends of lies (l. 1673-5), brought out of Utopia to the Maid of Kent (l. 1684-5). As this witch helps them by her jugglery (l. 1699), so does More by his tyranny, cruelly causing simple men to die (l. 1703-5). Yes, a man must either recant or stand with his faggot on his neck at Paul's Cross, and suffer execution from the fiery fume (l. 1711-57). I acknowledge that men may and should be punished, when

¹ Mr. G. Waring suggests that Dr. Tom-too-bold is Father Peto. See his note below.

it's done justly (l. 1758-74); but you Papists try to trap and blind men (l. 1789), you are accusers and judges too (l. 1800): it is against all Justice (l. 1803)! The King must change your law, put civil for ecclesiastical, and try clerks as well as laymen (l. 1807-35). PRELATES, you stop those who would preach God's truth (l. 1838-52). I pray God to open to us his word; and then, unless you work you'll get no pay, but lose your places (l. 1853-92). If, however, you will preach the Gospel, then you may keep your benefices; and layman and priest, poor man and lord, shall live together in love (l. 1895-1923). But mind, God's word we must have (l. 1924-34).

Part IV. (p. 240) deals with the Ecclesiastical Officers, and the Religious Orders, and the underlings of each. As in the days of Christ were many sects—Pharisees, Essenes, Sadducees, etc.,—with many hypocrites (l. 1937-52), so now are twenty times more,—Pope, Cardinals, Legates, Archbishops, Bishops, Precentors, Chaplains, Vicars-general, Subdeacons, Provosts, Prebendaries, Summoners, Apparitors, etc. etc. (l. 1957-2021); Inquisitors, worse than Mamelukes, who catch us with their crooks, and burn us and our books (l. 2027-30); Serving Priests, and priests with a cure and a secured living (l. 2036-8); Singers and Bell-ringers, who collect their living with their bags, eat and drink freely, and get drunk with vagabonds (l. 2042-54); Abbots fat and greedy, rank as any bull (l. 2055-9); Priors black and white, with sisters and pretty girls (l. 2060-7); Ministers and Rectors, and a hundred more (l. 2069-77), MONKS, of whom I give you the names of 70 Orders and more (l. 2082-2174), including the Knights of Rhodes, who fight for the faith with dice (l. 2175-8).

Now I come to a mangy matter (l. 2181), the FRIARS, who dwell in hell (l. 2184-5). The first of them is their High Provincial, with Custos and Warden (l. 2191-6), then come father-Prior and Subprior, with all the convent (l. 2197-9), whom I name in lines 2201-84, and then denounce right to the end of the poem, l. 2544. Drone-bees you Friars are (l. 2313), demons devouring us (l. 2328-9), blinding us with bobs (l. 2335), causing woe wherever you resort (l. 2350-3), frightening folk with Purgatory, three miles off Hell, out of which souls cannot come unless a virgin friar say a Trental of Masses, and a Scala Cœli; and so you make us keep your lasses (l. 2356-2412). God knows, you Friars have always set your whole delight

In Lust and Lechery,
In Theft and Treachery,
In lousy Lewdness,
In Sin and Shrewdness, (l. 2419-22.)

You cumber the world (l. 2438). You tell us we must call you Fathers Scraphical and Angelical (l. 2458-9): you, who are

brute and bestial, babes of Belial, the dregs of all dirt, bound to the devil's skirt (l. 2461-7); promiscuous in bedding (l. 2488); bousing and bowling (l. 2519), keeping and catching (l. 2526)! Unless God sends you grace to amend, the Devil 'll take you to his den for ever. And so I make an end (l. 2534-44).

Postscript. The hypocrites say, 'If we could but catch the writer of this Treatise, we wouldn't spare him (l. 2545-56)! The author answers "I am who I am. God is able to make the weak overcome the mighty. You get no more from me (l. 2557-76)."

Thus then the reader will see that the Layman of 1533, like the William of 1362, lashes Pope, Cardinal, Prelate, Monk and Friar; but as he lays on his strokes, he upbraids the culprits in more mocking words, he speaks in a different spirit. What I said of another in 1862¹, I may repeat here of our Layman, "The iron of the evil of sin has not entered his soul so deeply as that of the writer of *Piers Ploughman*,—the noblest of our early poets, even our Dante, as I judge." Of that poet also, Dean Milman wrote in his

"*History of Latin Christianity*," (4th edit. 1864, vol. 9. pp. 234-235).

"It is in his intense absorbing moral feeling that he is beyond his age: with him, outward observances are but hollow shows, mockeries, hypocrisies, without the inward power of religion. It is not so much in his keen cutting satire on all matters of the Church, as in his solemn installation of Reason and Conscience as the guides of the self-directed soul, that he is breaking the yoke of sacerdotal domination: in his constant appeal to the plainest, simplest Scriptural truths, as in themselves the whole of religion, he is a stern reformer."

This 'intense absorbing moral feeling' one cannot claim for the writer of *The Image* in the same degree as for William; but on the other hand we cannot treat our author as a mere mocker or satirist. The man is in earnest; he does desire the Word of God, the bible in the vulgar tongue, for himself and his countrymen; he does loathe the lies that the Religious of his day put forward as God's truth; he does long for full Reformation of abuses, and see that a sweeping revenge for past ill-doings must quickly come, unless amendment be begun at once. We, far off from all these things, may think the words of this man much exaggerated, sound and fury more or less, pooh-pooh them as 'professed satire' etc.; but let us put them beside those of Luther and other men whose earnestness we know; let us put ourselves back into their time, turning our eclecticism and diletantism into their holy zeal; and then let us ask ourselves in how much less measured phrase we should have spoken of those who had long corrupted, were then corrupting, the life-blood of

¹ Robert of Brunne, in *Handlyng Synne*, p. viii.

the world at its source, who were selling heaven and hell, as our writer says, for gold, and making darkness light¹? If, too, we saw our foe all unconscious of the hand that was about to strike him, still glorying in his dominion over us, still in 1532 refacing and beautifying his Bolton Abbey², as if his hold were firm, his reign sure to last, could we have forborne, in wrath though we may have been, to mock at his pretensions, and ridicule his assurance, to mix our metaphors, and say 'Beast and fool, you have trampled on us long enough: we know your brutality, we scorn your wiles; lion as you look, ass you are; the stick to whack you into your shed is now in our hands.'

Sad as it is to think of the noble purpose, the self-denying lives of the early friars—as sketched by Professor Brewer in his *Monumenta Franciscana*—decaying into the corruptions of Henry VIII's reign, yet one cannot but believe that so it was. The piety and zeal of the first professors brought to their order a popularity and wealth that were the ruin of their successors; and from the helper of the poorest in the most miserable dens, the Friar turned into the jolly mate of the well-to-do, the corrupter of purity, the schemer, intriguer, for money and place.

But enough of this. I am obliged however to recur to one point treated in the Introduction to *Nowadays*, the Morality of the Clergy, Monks, and Friars, p. 59–88. Notwithstanding the chain of evidence there contained, notwithstanding the necessities arising from the nature of the case, a friend to whose judgment I am bound to attribute weight, considers the charge of inconti-

¹ "This, as I understand it, was the position of the early protestants. They found the service of God buried in a system where obedience was dissipated into superstition; where sin was expiated by the vicarious virtues of other men; where, instead of leading a life, men were taught that their souls might be saved through masses said for them, at a money rate, by priests whose licentiousness disgraced the nation which endured it; a system in which, amidst all the trickery of the pardons, pilgrimages, indulgences—double-faced as these inventions are, wearing one meaning in the apologies of theologians, and quite another to the multitude who live and suffer under their influence—one plain fact at least is visible. The people substantially learnt that all evils which could touch either their spirits or their bodies, might be escaped by means which resolved themselves, scarcely disguised, into the payment of moneys.

The superstition had lingered long; the time had come when it was to pass away. Those in whom some craving lingered for a Christian life turned to the heart of the matter, to the book which told them who Christ was, and what he was, and finding there that holy example for which they longed, they flung aside, in one noble burst of enthusiastic passion, the disguise which had concealed it from them. They believed in Christ, not in the bowing rood, or the pretended wood of the cross on which he suffered; and when that saintly figure had once been seen—the object of all love, the pattern of all imitation—thenceforward neither form nor ceremony should stand between them and their God." (*Froude*, ii. 36–7.)

² Mr. Hales tells me this.

nence not proven. I do not know what evidence he would require to convince him, and give up the hope of finding or producing it; but just in confirmation of the evidence I have got together, I add two passages from Dean Milman's great work, to the first of which Mr. Hales kindly called my attention.

[From Milman's "*History of Latin Christianity*," 3rd edition, 1864, vol. 8. pp. 356-358.]

"Before the Emperor [Sigismund] left the Council [Basle], he submitted for the consideration of the Fathers the all-important question, the marriage of the clergy. John of Lubeck was to demand in the Emperor's name, in the name of the public morals, the abrogation of their fatal celibacy. John of Lubeck is described as a man of wit, indulging in jests on every occasion. But nothing could be more fearfully serious than the representation on this subject, which John was to lay separately before each deputation, and urge in the strongest manner. After centuries of strife, after all the laws of Hildebrand and his successors, the whole clergy are declared to be living with concubines, in adultery, or worse. They were hated by the whole laity as violating their marriage-beds; confession was become odious. There was strong fear lest the wealth of the clergy should be alienated to their legitimate children; even were it so, better the loss of wealth than of chastity. The Greek Church admitted marriage. The priests of the Old and New Testaments were married. The greater part of the Council were favourable to the change,¹ except only some of the old, whose days of marriage had gone by, and the monks, jealous lest the secular clergy should have privileges denied to themselves. Yet one, a Cardinal, declared in the spirit, almost in the words, of old Paphnutius at Nicæa, that though himself aged, he earnestly desired that wives should be restored to the Priesthood.² The question, as unsuited to the time, was eluded, postponed, dropped."

¹ "Res erat complurimis accepta, sed tempori non convenire."

² "The Cardinal of St. Peter said: 'Quamvis senio gravor, neque mentem habeo ad conjugium, sanctum tamen arbitror, uxores restitui sacerdotibus: quia non est omnibus gratia Dei concessa, ut legi lumborum resistent, ut de Paulo legimus.' There is a very curious passage on this subject in the *Nemus Unionis of Theodoric à Niem* (Tr. vi. c. 35) about the clergy of Norway and Ireland. The Norwegians, both lay and clergy, were great drinkers of ale, and would drink against each other till neither could stand. But in both countries bishops and priests publicly kept their concubines: and when the bishops went on their visitations, the clergy insisted that they should take their own 'amasie' with them, lest they should be tempted by the superior beauty of those of the clergy. If the clergyman had not a 'focaria,' he paid double procurations ('ut prævaricator paternarum traditionum Episcopo visitante proinde procuraciones duplices ministrabat'). The wives (?) of the clergy in Ireland took rank: 'Ac etiam presbyterorum amasie seu uxores in eisdem partibus, statu et gradu in ecclesiâ, in mensis, eundo, sedendo, et stando, cæteris dominabus *etiam militaribus* præponuntur.' The same marriage or concubinage, with the advancement of the children ('ex fædo complexu nati') to benefices, prevailed in Germany, Spain, and Portugal. It must be remembered that this is from Theodoric à Niem. I shall hereafter refer to unanswerable evidence on this repulsive subject from records of Visitations. 'Vicit tamen sententia illorum qui *hoc tempore tantum opus aggrediendum negavere.*' See the whole very curious passage in *Æneas Sylvius, Fea*, p. 55."

[Milman's "*Hist. of Latin Christianity.*" vol. 9. pp. 35-38. 4th edit. 1864.]

"One subject we would willingly decline, but the historian must not shrink from truth, however repulsive. Celibacy, which was the vital energy of the Clergy, was at the same time their fatal, irremediable weakness. One-half, at least a large portion, of human kind could not cease to be a human kind. The universal voice, which arraigns the state of morals, as regards sexual intercourse, among the Clergy, is not that of their enemies only, it is their own. Century after century, we have heard throughout our history the eternal protest of the severer Churchmen, of Popes, of Legates, of Councils. The marriage, or, as it was termed, the concubinage, of the Clergy was the least evil. The example set in high places (to deny the dissoluteness of the Papal Court at Avignon, would be to discard all historical evidence) could not be without frightful influence. The Avignonese Legates bore with them the morals of Avignon. The last strong effort to break the bonds of celibacy at the council of Basle warned but warned in vain. It is the solemn attestation to the state of Germany and the northern kingdoms.¹ Even in his own age, no doubt, Henry Bishop of Liège was a monster of depravity. The frightful revelation of his life is from an admonitory letter of the wise and good Pope Gregory X. His lust was promiscuous. He kept as his concubine a Benedictine Abbess. He had boasted in a public banquet that in twenty-two months he had had fourteen children born. This was not the worst—there was a foul incest, and with nuns. But the most extraordinary part of the whole is that in the letter the Pope seems to contemplate only the repentance of the Prelate, which he urges with the most fervent solemnity. Henry's own prayers, and the intercessory prayers of the virtuous—some such, no doubt, there must be in Liège—are to work the change; and then he is to administer his Pontifical office, so as to be a model of holiness, as he had been of vice, to his subjects. As to suspension, degradation, deposition, there is not a word. The Pope's lenity may have been meant to lure him to the Council of Lyons, where he was persuaded to abdicate his See.² Hardly less repulsive, in some respects more so, as it embraces the Clergy and some of the convents of a whole province, is the disclosure, as undeniable and authentic, of sacerdotal morals, in the Register of the Visitations of Eudes Rigaud, Archbishop of Rouen, from 1248 to 1269.³ We must suppose that only the Clergy of notorious and detected incontinence were presented at the Visitation. The number is sufficiently appalling: probably it

¹ "Look back to vol. viii. p. 457 [*t. i.* 357]. Before the Council of Trent, the Elector of Bavaria declared in a public document, that of 50 clergy very few were not concubinarii.—Sarpi, viii. 7, p. 414. See for Italy references to Justiniani, Patriarch of Venice; S. Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence; Weissenberg, Kirchen Versammlungen, ii. p. 229; again for Germany ii. p. 228."

² "Circa divinum quoque et pontificale officium sic te sedulum et devotum exhibere' 'Subditi.' Henry of Liège was of princely race, of the house of Gueldres, Cousin-German to the Priest-Emperor, William of Holland; he became Bishop when a mere boy. Concilia sub ann. 1274. Hocsemius, Vit. Episcop. Leodens., p. 299."

³ "Registrum Archiep. Rotomagensium, published by M. Bonnin, Rouen, 1846. It is full of other curious and less unedifying matter."

comprehends, without much distinction, the married and concubinarian, as well as looser Clergy. There is one convent of females which might almost have put Boccaccio to the blush. I am bound to confess that the Records of the Visitations from St. Paul's, some of which have been published not without reserve, too fully vindicate the truth of Langland, Chaucer, and the Satirists against the English Clergy and Friars in the fourteenth century.¹ And these Visitations, which take note only of those publicly accused, hardly reached, if they did reach, the lowest and the loosest. Only some of the Monks, none of the Wandering Friars, were amenable to Episcopal or Archidiaconal jurisdiction. Whether we call it by the holier name of marriage, or the more odious one of concubinage, this, the weakness or the sin of the Clergy, could not be committed by the Monks and Friars. They, mostly with less education and less discipline, spread abroad through the world, had far greater temptations, more fatal opportunities. Though they had, no doubt, their Saints, not only Saints, but numberless nameless recluses of admirable piety, unimpeachable holiness, fervent love of God and of man, yet of the profound corruption of this class there can be no doubt. But Latin, Roman Christianity, would not, could not, surrender this palladium of her power."²

Harrison in 1577, when praising the monks for their buildings (*Descr. of England*, bk. ii. chap. 13, p. 193, col. 2.) says:—

Yet herein I will commend sundrie of the monasticall votaries, especiallie monkes, for that they were authors of manie goodlie borowes and endwares,³ neere vnto their dwellings, although otherwise they pretended to be men separated from the world. But alas their couetous mindes one waie in inlarging their reuenues, and carnall intent another, appeered herin too much. For being bold from time to time to visit their tenants, they wrought oft great wickednesse, and made those endwares little better than brodel-houses, especiallie where nunries were farre off, or else no safe accesse vnto them. Bnt what doo I

¹ "Precedents in Criminal Causes edited by Archdeacon Hale, London, 1847. There is enough in these, the Visitations themselves make matters worse. It is curious that much earlier under the reign of K. Stephen, the Dean Ralph de Diceto speaks of the 'focariæ' of the canons. Mr. Froude has published from the Records (in Fraser's Magazine, Feb. 1857) the visitation of a later time, of Archbishop Morton. The great Abbey of St. Alban's was in a state which hardly bears description." [Archd. Hale's book is one of great value for illustrations of the habits of its time.—F. J. F.]

² "The Roman view is thus given in an argument before the Pope by the Cardinal de Carpi:—'Dal matrimonio de' Preti ne seguirà che avendo casa, moglie, e figli, non dipenderanno dal Papa, ma dal suo Principe, e la carità della prole gli farà condescendere ad ogni pregiudizio della Chiesa; cercaranno anco di far i benefici ereditari, ed in brevissimo spazio la Sede Apostolica si restringerà a Roma. Innanzi che fosse istituito il celibato non cavava frutto alcuno la Sede Romana dell' altre città e regioni; per quello e fatta padrona di tanti benefizi, de' quali il matrimonio la priverebbe in breve tempo.'—Sarpi, L. v. Opere, v. ii. p. 77."

³ *Enduware* a small hamlet. *Lincolnshire*. (Halliwell.) A. S.—*ware*, a termination denoting 'Inhabitants, dwellers:—*waru*, the city or country, that is, the inhabitants of a town, city, or country, as a body. *Bosworth*. Cp. *Edge-ware*, etc.

spend my time in the rehearsall of these filthinesses? Would to God the memorie of them might perish with the malefactors!

A sentiment we shall all coincide in when there are no more monks, and when no one doubts the necessity for the Reformation on the ground noted above, as well on other grounds social and political.

The making a fit body of notes to this Poem, coaching up all the details of ecclesiastical dress, customs, law, Religious Orders, etc., so as to bring out properly all the points of the writer, would be a year's work, and require a separate volume. I have already given so much more time to this book than I have any right to do, that I must beg the reader to rest content with what he will find in the notes from Hélyot, Adams, etc., and to work out the rest for himself, if he be of a churchy or ritualistic turn of mind.¹ In the Appendix I have put,—by way of contrast to Part 3 of the *Image*, on the Romish Preachers—a lighter skit on the Non-Preaching Ministers of James I's time from a Harleian MS., not before printed, I believe. If any further illustrations of the words or subjects of the *Image* come in after the sheets of it are 'made up,' they will be added in the Appendix too.

The MS of the Poem is evidently the author's own writing, and is curious from the wide spaces between the lines, of which latter there are sometimes only 7 or 8 in a folio page. The writer intentionally left himself plenty of room for corrections and interlineations, and has made several, as the reader will see in the printed notes. A later hand has also corrected and altered the text here and there, as likewise mentioned in the notes. Over the first page a confounded Peter le Neve who formerly owned the MS² has scribbled a lot of memoranda,³ and prevented our

¹ For the English religious Orders, Stevens's *History of English Monasteries*, 2 vols. folio, supplementary to Dugdale, is (I suppose) the best book. It gives at p. 23-38 of vol. 1, the names of all Monasteries, etc., in England, Wales, and Scotland, with their valuations.

² It belonged to Peter le Neve, Esq. Norroy, at whose sale it was purchased by Mr. West. Thomas Martin of Palgrave was permitted to make a copy of it, which fell into the hands of the late Dr. Farmer of Cambridge [Emmanuel Coll., the friend of Percy &c.] and is now [1819] in the possession of Richard Heber Esq. of Hodnett in Shropshire. It seems to want the beginning, though this cannot be easily ascertained; for the first page has not only suffered much from time, but Mr. le Neve has written several memorandums upon it, and covered some part of the original handwriting. Mr. Hearne made great use of this MS. in his Glossary to Peter Langtoft's Chronicle, where there are some extracts from it. See particularly under the word "wroken," p. 684. See likewise No. 778 of this collection, art. 5 (a letter from Thomas Hearne the Antiquary 'On Skelton and his *Image of Ypocrisy*, a manuscript in Mr. Le Neve's possession'.) *Catalogue of the Lansdowne Manuscripts*, p. 183, p. 174.

³ The whole Transcribd by Tho: Martin [not in *Le Neve's hand*].

Quere if this Poem was not writt by John Skelton poet Laureat in the time of King Henry 8th

reading parts of the text; though the fading of the reddish ink in which the early part of the MS is written is also one cause of the unreadableness of these lines.

The date of the poem is fixed to the end of 1533 or the beginning of 1534, as the *Apology* and the *Debellaeyon* of Sir Thomas More, which were both published in 1533, are mentioned in it (besides earlier works); and The Maid of Kent, Elizabeth Barton, who was beheaded 21 April 1534, is spoken of as still alive:

Nowe from the devill sent, (l. 1686.)
A virgyne ffayre and gent,
That hath our yees blent.

Indeed, as the author's words (l. 1684-5) probably allude to the interview of Sir Thos. More with the Maid of Kent in 1533, at the chapel of the Friars at Sion; and lines 1693-5 "I pray God do so mutche, To fret her on the itche, and open her in tyme!" also imply that her imposition had not been exposed when the *Image* was written, I think we are safe in putting the date of the poem before November 1533, when "the nun, with five priests and three lay gentlemen, her accomplices, were brought before the Star Chamber, and sentenced to do public penance as impostors at St. Paul's Cross. (*Penny Cyclopædia.*) The connecting of Sir Thomas More with The Maid was quite fair on the part of the writer of *The Image*; for though "More at a subsequent time, shortly before his execution, changed his tone, and declared her, in his letter to Cromwell, to be 'a lewd nun' and a hypocrite," yet after his interview with her in 1533, "he thought heaven was

Liber Petir Le Neve Norroy.

plect' (? perlectum)

P: Le Neve Norroy 1: Febr. 1724-5

The Image of Ypocresy, see the last page, against Bishops Canons preists monks & Friers.

a yorkshire [word] childer fol 40

the first part ends fol. 36

2d part begins fol 37 against the pope.

Rome mentioned 46. B. Pope 47 called the sire of synne

King John 83

3d part begins fol 91 against Preachers

the Grudge of Ypocrites 153.

kings grace 116 B.

q who is the Knight describd fol 100 B. Sir Thomas More

the maid of Kent mentioned fol. 104.

his Vtopia mentioned fol. 104

Quere of Mr. M ? for the poem, who saith he hath all or most of Skeltons works

Hereticks to be tryed by the Kings law & the Law of God, not by the bishops law fol. 111: 112

the 4th part of the Image of Ypocresy begins fol. 118 B.

Pope *ibidem*

[*in another hand.*] Johannes Skelton Poeta Laureatus autor Poematis sequentis vt creditur per Petrum Le Neve Norroy A D 1724 possessorem libri.

working ‘some good and great things by her.’” (*ib.*) The two people who worked the Maid were 1. Richard Master, parson of the parish of Adlington in Kent, where she was a servant at an inn, when in 1525 “she began to acquire a local reputation for sanctity and miraculous endowments;” and 2. Dr. Bocking, a monk of Canterbury; these “took her under their direction, and instructed her in the tricks she should play.” (*ib.*) Our author is very bitter against Sir Thomas More, and one cannot wonder at it, for More carried out to its fiery end the law against heretics. As *The Image* says (l. 1708–12), his alternative was ‘Recant or Burn,’ even when the offence was only saying that Clerks were not without spot or wrinkle (l. 1756–7). The writer may perhaps refer to Bilney’s case. At any rate, there is a passage in Mr. Froude’s *History*, ii. 83–5, which comes so pat to lines 1703–1757 of our poem, that I cannot refrain from quoting it:—

“Under Wolsey’s chancellorship the stake had been comparatively idle; he possessed a remarkable power of making recantation easy; and there is, I believe, no instance in which an accused heretic was brought under his immediate cognisance, where he failed to arrange some terms by which submission was made possible. With Wolsey heresy was an error; with More it was a crime. No sooner had the seals changed hands than the Smithfield fires recommenced; and, encouraged by the chancellor, the bishops resolved to obliterate in these edifying spectacles, the recollection of their general infirmities. The crime of the offenders varied; sometimes it was a denial of the corporal presence; more often it was a reflection, too loud to be endured, on the character and habits of the clergy; but whatever it was, the alternative lay only between abjuration, humiliating as ingenuity could make it, or a dreadful death.¹ The hearts of many failed them in the trial; and of all the confessors, those perhaps do not deserve the least compassion, whose weakness betrayed them, who sank and died broken-hearted. Of these silent sufferers history knows nothing. A few, unable to endure the misery of having, as they supposed, denied their Saviour, returned to the danger from which they had fled, and washed out their fall in martyrdom. Latimer has told us the story of his friend Bilney—little Bilney, or Saint Bilney, as he calls him,—his companion at Cambridge, to whom he owed his own conversion.

Bilney, after escaping through Wolsey’s hands in 1527, was again cited in 1529 before the Bishop of London. Three times he refused to recant. He was offered a fourth and last chance. The temptation was too strong, and he fell. For two years he was hopelessly miserable; at length his braver nature prevailed. There was no pardon

¹ DCCLXIX, page 312. “Some one asked whether Sir Thomas More was executed for the gospel’s sake or no? I answered: No, in no wise; he was a cruel tyrant; he was the king’s chief counsellor; a very learned and wise man, doubtless, but he shed the blood of many innocent Christians that confessed the gospel; he tormented them with strange instruments, like a hangman; first, he personally examined them under a green tree, and then cruelly tortured them in prison. At last, he opposed the edict of the King and Kingdom. He was disobedient, and was punished.” (*Luther’s Table-Talk.*)

for a relapsed heretic, and if he was again in the bishop's hands he knew well the fate which awaited him. He told his friends, in language touchingly significant, that 'he would go up to Jerusalem;' and began to preach in the fields. The journey which he had undertaken was not to be a long one. He was heard to say in a sermon, that of his personal knowledge certain things which had been offered in pilgrimage had been given to abandoned women. The priests he affirmed, take away the offerings, and hang them about their women's necks¹; and after that they take them off the women, if they please them not, and hang them again upon the images.² This was Bilney's heresy, or formed the ground of his arrest: he was orthodox on the Mass, and also on the power of the keys; but the secrets of the sacred order were not to be betrayed with impunity. He was seized, and hurried before the Bishop of Norwich; and being found heterodox on the papacy and the mediation of the saints, by the Bishop of Norwich he was sent to the stake."

We have seen that the date of our poem was 1533. As Skelton died on June 21, 1529, the *Image* is of course not his, a fact which the inferiority of its verse to his also testifies. Mr. Dyce printed the poem in his *Skelton* ii. 413, among the "Poems attributed to Skelton," and on the question of authorship says:

"Hearne and others have attributed this remarkable production to Skelton. The poem, however, contains decisive evidence that he was not its author: to say nothing of other passages—the mention of certain writings of Sir Thomas More and of "the mayde of Kent" (Elizabeth Barton) which occurs in the Third Part, would alone be sufficient to prove that it was the composition of some writer posterior to his time."

Mr. Dyce's notes on the text are printed here, and signed D. I only wish he had annotated his 'Poems attributed to Skelton' in the admirably thorough way in which he has done Skelton's own Poems,—the reproach of which to my less careful work I feel whenever I open his second volume.—But as his business was only with the text of these attributed Poems, the reader must be content with such notes as are here: and as it has just struck 3 A.M. and this is the second morning I've heard it, I must really stop notes and talk too.

¹ Compare this with lines 416–25 of *The Image* :—

Ye blisse vs with your bones,
And with your riche ringes,
That quenes and kinges,
At your offringes,
Shall kisse with knelinges;

Which your mynykyns
And mynyon babbes,
Your crosse chambred drabbes,
When masse and all is done,
Shall were at after-noon.

² Fox, vol. iv., p. 649.—*Froude*.

[Lansdowne MS. 794.]

[PART I.—AGAINST THE CLERGY GENERALLY, THEIR HYPOCRISY AND VICES.]

Vpon ¹ [the hipocrysye ?]	[leaf 2.]
of the Cruell C[ler]gy,	
And the pro[u]de prelacy[?],	
that now do looke so hie,	4
as though <i>that</i> by and by	
they wold clymbe & flye	
vp to the Clowdy Skye : ¹	
wher all men may espye, ²	8
by fals hipocrysye	
Thei Long haue Blered the Eye ³	
of all the world well nye ;	
Comytting Apostacie	12
against that verytye	
That thei can not Denye :	
in <i>which</i> how shamlessly	
They do [cavil ⁴] and lye,	16
ther concyens testyfye,	
The poppe[?] Res	
Curtezens ⁵ & [?]	
The Rest of Balam Markes, [?]	20
That be heresyarkes,	[leaf 2, back.]
Which do Comy[t ?] ⁶ ther warkes,	
As one that in the Darke ys,	
And wotes not wher the marke ys,	24
Do take the kites for larkes.	
suche be owr primates,	
Our bisshoppes <i>and</i> prelates,	
[Our par]sons <i>and</i> [curates], ⁷	28

¹ *Vp to the clowdy skye*] Originally “*Vp into the skye.*”—D.

² A line has been struck out between lines 8 and 9.

³ Compare the Pardoner in William's *Vision of Piers Ploughman* :

He bouched them with his brevet, and *blered hire eighen,*

And raughte with his rageman Rynges and broches.

Compare l. 41, below.

(Ed. *Wright*, vol. i. p. 5, l. 147–150.—Skeat.)

⁴ The original word is marked out, and another written over, and rubbed nearly out. I cannot read either.

⁵ Compare ‘*curtisanes*,’ l. 1971.

⁶ ? commend : ep. l. 25.—Skeat.

⁷ *Our parsons and eurates*] This line (now pasted over in the MS. [by some mender of it]) has been obtained from a transcript of the poem made by Thomas Martin of Palgrave.—D.

With other like estates	[leaf 3.]
that were shaven pates ;	
As monkes white <i>and</i> blacke,	
And Channons that cane chatte,	32
Glottons ¹ ffayre and fatte,	
With ffriers of the sacke, ²	
And brothers of the bagg,	36
As nymble as a nagg,	
That cane bothe prate <i>and</i> bragg,	
To make the pulpett wagge	[leaf 3, back.]
with Twenty thousand lyes,	
Do make the blind Eate flies,	40
and ³ blere <i>our</i> symple Eyes,	
To make vs to beleve	
God morowe is god eve ;	
for pleynly to be breve,	44
so nye they do vs dreve,	
That we, to <i>our</i> great greve,	
Must sey that white is blacke,	[leaf 4.]
Or elles they sey we smacke,	48
And smell we wote not what :	
But then beware the Catt ;	
for yf they smell a Ratt,	
they grisely chide <i>and</i> chatt,	52
and, haue him ⁴ by the Iack,	
A fagott for his backe, ⁵	

¹ *Glottons*] Originally "Prelates."—D.

² *Fratres de Sacco*.—Skeat. The name of the *Sac* was given them, because they wore Garments made like Sacs, and therefore some call'd them *Fratres de Sacco*, Friers of the Sac . . . but their true name was *Friers of the Penance of Jesus Christ*. Stevens ii. 271. The Friers of the Sac were extraordinary austere at first; they neither did eat Flesh nor drink Wine. As to their Habit, we have spoken of it before, but it was made like that of the Capueins; they went bare-Leg'd, and had only wooden Sandals on their Feet. *ib.* 272. They established themselves in a Jewish synagogue on the South side of Lothbury, (suppressed A.D. 1291) which Henry III gave them in the 56th year of his reign. 'This Order of Friers gather'd many good Scholars, and multiply'd in Number exceedingly, till after the Council of Lyons, when all Mendicant Orders were suppress'd, excepting only the Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, and Carmelites'. *ib.* 272. These Friers of Penance or of Sackcloth, who first came into England in the year 1257 arriv'd at Oxford in 1262, got a grant of a site there from Henry III, and built a house. Afterwards they enlarged their possessions, were suppressed in 1307; and two years afterwards the King granted their ground and buildings to the Franciscans. *ib.* 273; *Wood's Hist. of Oxford*, p. 111. In our text the term 'ffriers of the sacke' seems intended to include all the Mendicant Orders.

³ *and*] Substituted for "To," when the preceding line was added.—D.

⁴ *him*] Originally "vs."—D. *Jack*, is 'jacket': seize him.

⁵ Compare l. 1731–41.

or, Take¹ him to the Racke,
 And drowne hyme in a sacke, [leaf 4, back.] 57
 Or burne² hyme on [a] stake!
 lo, thus they vndertake
 The trothe false to make!
 Alas, for christ his sake!
 is the sonne-light darke,
 Or ignoraunc[e] a clarke,
 bycawse *that* thei³ hath powre
 To send men to the towre, 64
 the Simple to devowre?⁴
 if they Lyst to Lowre,
 ys Suger therfor Sowre? [leaf 5.] 68
 dothe⁵ five *and* three make ffour?
 As well, I durst be bolde,
 To sey the ffer were colde.
 But yet they worke muche worse,
 when they for blissinge cowrse; 72
 for father friska Jolly,⁶
 And pater pecke a lolly,⁷

¹ *Take*] Originally "haue."—D. ² ? MS. *turne*. ³ Originally "he."

⁴ The bishops might seize them [suspected heretics] on mere suspicion; and the evidence of the most abandoned villains sufficed for their conviction (*Answer of the Bishops*, vol. i. cap. 3). By the Act of Henry V, every officer from the Lord Chancellor to the parish constable, was sworn to seek them out and destroy them; and both bishops and officials had shown no reluctance to execute their duty. Hunted like wild beasts from hiding-place to hiding-place, decimated by the stake, with the certainty that however many years they might be reprieved, their own lives would close at last in the same fiery trial; beset by informers, imprisoned, racked, and scourged; worst of all haunted by their own infirmities, the flesh shrinking before the dread of a death of agony—thus it was that they struggled on,—earning for themselves martyrdom, for us the free England in which we live and breathe. *Froude*, ii. 37–8.

The reader must recollect that Wolsey used the faggots only to be carried on heretics' backs, and burn their books: see *Froude*, ii. 39, 43–4, 70. It was Sir Thomas More who burnt the heretics themselves. *Froude*, ii. 83, quoted above, p. 179.

⁵ *dothe*] Originally "Or."—D.

⁶ Cp. Skelton's 'demy diuines, and Stoicall studiantes, and *friscaiolly* yonkerkyns, moche better bayned than brayned.' *A Replycation*, &c. Works i. 209. Mr. Dyce quotes, *ib.* ii. 230, from the *Interlude of the iiii Elementes*, n. d. 'Synge *fryska Joly* with hey troyly loly.' Sig. B. ii.

⁷ Skelton (*Works*, i. 63, l. 409) calls the bird 'doterell,' 'that folyshe *pek*,' and Mr. Dyce (*ib.* ii. 129) says '*pek* or *peke* seems here to be used by Skelton in the sense of 'contemptible fellow;' so in his *Colyn Cloute*;

'Of sucho *Pater-noster pokes*

All the world spekes.'

Works i. 321. l. 264.

'In *Hormanni Vulgaria* we find: "He is shamefast, but not *pekysshe*. *Verecundus est sine ignauiā.*" Sig. N. i. ed. 1530. See *Peak* in Johnson and Richardson.'

That be all full of folly,	[leaf 5, back.]
Doo ¹ fayne them seem ² holy,	76
For ther monopoly,	
And ther private welthe	
'That they haue take by stelthe ;	
And in the churche they lurke,	80
As ill as any turke,	
so proudely they vsurpe,	
Besyde the spritt of christ,	[leaf 6.]
The office of a pryste	84
in any wise to take,	
As thoughe it were a iape,	
'To Runne in att the Rove ; ³	
for some of them do Prove ⁴	88
'To clyme vpp ere they knowe	
The doore from the wyndowe ;	[leaf 7, back.]
'They may not stope alowe,	
But backe bend as a bowe ;	92
they make an outwarde showe,	
And so forthe one a rowe,	
As dapper as a Crowe,	
And perte as any pye,	96
And lighte as any fly.	
At borde and at table	[leaf 8.]
'They be full servysable,	
Sober and demure,	100
acquayntans to allure,	
wher they may be Sure ⁵	
by any Craft or trayne	
To fyshe for any gayne, ⁶	104

¹ *Doo*] Originally "That."—D.

² *seem*] Is the substitution of a somewhat later hand, the original word being faded: *qy.* "self"?—D.

³ *runne in att the rove*] Originally "runnyng at the masse."—D. To *Rove*, to shoot an arrow for distance, or at a mark, but with an elevation, not point-blank: called also *shooting at rovers*.

With broad arrow, or *roving* shaft,
At markes full fortie score they used to prick or *rove*.

Drayton's Polyolbion, xxvi.—Nares.

⁴ *prove*] Originally *presse*."—D. The back of leaf 6, and the front of leaf 7, are blank.—F.

⁵ *Wher they may be sure*] Followed by a deleted line, now partly illegible,—
" wayte to haue wynyng."—D.

⁶ *To fyshe for any gayne*] Followed by a deleted line which seems to have been,—

"With shotinge [*shoutinge*?—F.] or with singinge."—D.

or wayt for any wyunnyng,— A prestly begynnynge! for many a hyerlinge, With a wilde fyerlinge,	108
whan his credyte is most, ¹ with mikell brag and bost Shall pryck owt as a post, ² Chafy[n]g ³ lyke myne hoste,	112
As hott as any toste, And Ride from cost to cost, And then ⁴ shall Rule <i>the</i> Rost. And some avaunced be	116
for ther Auncente, Throughe ⁵ ther Antiquitye,	[leaf 9.]
Be all innequitye; yett be they called To <i>the</i> Charge of <i>the</i> fald, Because they be balled, And be for bisshopps stalled.	120
And some kepe ther stations In owtwarde straunge natyons, Lernynge invocatyons,	124
And craftye in-Cantatyons; And so by inchantment Gette theyr avauancement.	128
And some by fayned favour for honour or for havour, By voyces boughte <i>and</i> solde, for sylver <i>and</i> for golde, for lande, for Rente or ffee,	132
Or by Authoritye Of menn of hye degree, Or for some qualitee, As many of them bce, for ther Actyvitee,	136
ther practyse and Industrye,	140

¹ A line scratched out, is at the top of the page.

² *Shall pryck, &c.*] The position of this line, and of the next but one, was originally different.—D. A line scratched out, "As whott as any tost (?)" follows l. 111.—F.

³ *Chafyng*] Which seems to be the reading intended, was originally preceded by "Wyll."—D. "Shall pricke out as a post," scratched out, follows l. 112.—F.

⁴ *And then*] Originally "At lenghe."—D.

⁵ Dyce reads "Thoughtc." But *be*, l. 119, may possibly mean *by*.—F.

Sleyght, Craft, *and* knavery,
 in matters of bawdery,
 Or by helpe of kynne,
 An Easy liffe to wynne. 144
 I swere by sainte mary, [leaf 10, back.]
 He that thus dothe cary
 is a mercenary,
 Yea, a sanguinary, 148
 A pastore for to pull
 Of bothe skynne *and* wolle.
 Thoughe christ be the doer,
 They force not of his looer,¹ 152
 They sett therby no stoore; [leaf 11.]
 Ther study is for moore :
 And I tell youe therfore
 That they ther tyme temper 156
 with a provisoo semper
 An other way to enter,
 for love of wordely good,
 Not forcing of² the fflode 160
 Of hyme that bledd the Roode; [leaf 11, back.]
 It is not for ther moode.
 they make Deambulacyons³
 With great ostentations, 164
 And loke for salutations
 On every mannes face,
 As in the merkett place
 To saye, god saue *your* grace ! [leaf 12.]
 Thus in churche *and* chepinge, 169
 Wher they may haue metinge
 With lordes *and* with ladyes,

¹ Or perhaps 'lowr' (lore, doctrine).

² Caring for.—Skeat.

³ *Ambulare* dicitur etiam de episcopo qui lustrando peragrat diocesim suam. *D'Arnis*. Was the de- put on by our author for a *double entendre*? '*Deambulatio*.—*Deambulationes stercorum*, latrinæ, seu loca alia quævis ad exonerandum ventrem, vel potius culinæ emissaria, quibus sordes emittuntur; *lieux d'aisance* ou *égouts* (Acta Sanctorum) *D'Arnis*. '*Esgout* .. a little sinke, channell, or gutter to void filth by.'—*Cotgrave*. The old biographer of St. Swithin, notices how the saint, when he was a bishop, and had to consecrate new churches, avoided all the ordinary pomp of processions, &c.

Whan he halewede enie churche, bost no kipte he non :

Bi nyghte afote mydeliche, he wolde þider gon ;

Aghen him ne kipte he no ringinge, bobance, ne prute,

[Ne] bost of hors ne of squiers, for he tolde þerof lute.

Early English Poems (Philol. Soc. 1862) p. 44, l. 43-6.

To be called Rabyes : ¹	172
Nowe god saue these dadyes, And all ther yonge babyes !	
The holy worde of god	[leaf 12, back.]
Is by these men forbod ;	176
Pater noster <i>and</i> Creede	
They vtterly forbeede	
To be said or songe	
In <i>our</i> vulgar tonge.	180
Ohe lorde ! thou hast great wronge	
Of these that shoulde be trustye,	[leaf 13.]
Whiche sey the breade is musty,	
And with ther lawe vnlusty	184
Make it Rusty <i>and</i> dusty !	
But I do thinke it Rustye	
for lacke of exercyse :	
Wherfore they be vnwise	188
That will the lawe despise,	[leaf 13, back.]
And daylye newe deuyse,	
So Dyvers and so straunge,	
Which ² chaunge <i>and</i> rechaunge	192
Of fastinges <i>and</i> of feestes,	
Of bowes ³ <i>and</i> behestes,	
With many of ther ⁴ iestes,	
As thoughe lay men wer bestes ;	196
As many of vs bee,	[leaf 14.]
That may <i>and</i> will not see,	
Nor ones cast vpp a ^u Eye,	
These Iugglinges to espye ;	200
for this that nowe is vsed	
Is efte ageyne refused,	
Chaunged or mysused,	
That we be still abused :	204
The lawe that seruethe nowe,	[leaf 14, back.]
Ageyne they disalowe.	
Thus forthe <i>and</i> backe, ⁵	
With bryve <i>and</i> with bull	208

¹ Who wilneþ ben wisere of lawe þan lewde freres,
And in multitude of men þen *maysters* y-called.

Pierce the Ploughman's Crede, l. 498.—Skeat.

² *Which*] Qy. "With" ?—D.

³ *bowes*] Qy. "vowes" ?—D. The Alliteration requires 'bowes.'—Skeat.

⁴ *of ther*] Qy. "other" ?—D.

⁵ *backe*] Something wanting here.—D.

They dayly plucke *and* pull,
 And yett be never ffull ;
 for wher one bull makes,
 An other bull forsakes ; [leaf 15.] 213
 The thyrde yett vndertakes
 To alter all of newe :
 Thus none will other sue.
 Wherfore, by swete Iesu, 216
 I thinke they be vntrewe
 That iuggle tyme *and* tyme
 To gett thyne *and* myne ;
 Yea, thoughe the worlde pynne, [leaf 15, back.] 221
 No man wyll they spare,¹
 So they ther pelfe prefarre,
 The lawes to make *and* marre,
 To bynde vs nere *and* farre ; 224
 Wherto may be no barre
 In peace tyme nor in warre ;
 for none ther is that darre [leaf 16.] 228
 Replye ageyne or speake,
 This Daunce of thers to breake ;
 The trouthe it is so weeke :
 They make all men cry creak,²
 Or fry them to a steake,— 232
 Adieu, *Sir huddypeake* !³
 lo, peters barge is leake,
 And redy for to synke ;
 Beware yett least youe drinke ;⁴ [leaf 16, back.] 237
 God dothe not slepe nor wynke,
 But sethe lande *and* brynke ;

¹ *No man wyll they spare*] Originally,—

“They passe not of a sparre.”—D.

² I give in, I recant. “To ery creak,” to be afraid, to desist from any project.—*Hollivell*.

³ *Hoddy-doddy*, a term of contempt. See Kemp’s *Nine Daies Wonder*, p. 21. *Hoddy-peke* is used in a similar sense. See Hawkins, i. 205.—*Halliwell*.

Can he play well at the *huddypeke* ?

Skelton’s *Magnyfycence*, Works i. 263, l. 7.

He sayth, ‘thou *huddypeke*,
 Thy lernynge is to lewde,
 Thy tonge is not well thewde

Why come ye nat to Courte ?—Skelton, ii. 37, l. 326.

Hoddypeke is a common term of contempt or reproach . . and is generally equivalent to ‘fool.’—*Dyce*.

⁴ Drenche, be drowned.—*Skeat*.

And yf ye take the chynke,¹
 I feare me ye will stynke, 240
 And Corrupt your ynctyonⁿ
 With An iniunctyonⁿ;
 Your² pride *and* presumption, [leaf 17.]
 In³ abvsing your functyon, 244
 Will breade a consumtionⁿ,
 And make a resumption,
 To bringe youe to compunctyonⁿ;
 Youre⁴ lawes falsely grounded, 248
 that hath *the* world Surounded,
 By trouthe shalbe Confounded.
 Though ye be lordes digne,
 Ye shoulde no man maligne, [leaf 17, back.]
 But ever be benyngne; 253
 And namely in suche Case
 Wher god his gyfte or grace⁵
 lyst to plante or place: 256
 The poore man, or the Riche,
 Is To his pleasure lyche;
 for christ, *our* derest lorde, [leaf 18.]
 That made the full accorde, 260
 As Scripture dothe Recorde,
 Betwyxt god and man,
 Suppressynge Sattan
 and all his kingdom, whan⁶ 264
 Vponⁿ the holy Roode
 he shadd his blissed bloode,
 As muche for one as other, [leaf 18, back.]
 Exceptinge not his mother, 268
 made every man his brother,
 As many as ther bee
 In faythe *and* charitee.
 But nowe by fals abvsyon, 272
 The Clergy by Collutionⁿ,
 Without good Conclutionⁿ,
 haue brougte vs to Confutionⁿ, [leaf 19.]

¹ ? spring a leak.—Skeat.

² Your] Originally "For."—D.

³ In] Originally "And."—D.

⁴ Youre] Originally "And."—D.

⁵ Wher God his gyfte or grace] Originally,
 "Wher god of his grace."—D.

⁶ And all his kingdom, whan] Originally,
 "At the good tyme whan."—D.

And made An illution ⁿ :	276
By great inyquytie,	
Avaunt them selves to be	
No lesse then godes, yee,	
of equall authorytie ;	280
Whiche, by Ipocrysye,	
to exalt ther dignytie,	
Call vs the leude lay ffee,	
men of temporalitee ;	284
But they pretend to bee	
A people Eternall,	[leaf 19, back.]
of powr Supernall :	
I fere me, infernall ;	288
for they that be carnall,	
Idolaters to Baall,	
And nothings gostely at all,	
Be named spirituall ;	292
for so we must them Calle,	
As we Aye do <i>and</i> shall,	
What happe so ever falle.	
Ther Successyon may not dye,	[leaf 20.]
But lyve eternallye ;	297
for, without question ⁿ ,	
perpetuall Succession ⁿ	
They haue from one to other,	300
As childer of ther mother ;	
Yea, they kepe all in store	
That other hadd afore,	[leaf 20, back.]
And daylye gather more.	304
lo, thus the people rore,	
As on ⁿ a fistred ¹ Sore	
of matter most vnpure,	
<i>that thei</i> ar dryven to indure	308
Tyll god him Self send Cure !	
That as <i>youe</i> be possessors,	
So be yee Successors	
Vnto <i>your</i> predecessors :	312
And yet ye be questors,	
and hoorders vppe of testers ; ²	
ye ³ daylye cache and gather	[leaf 21.]
Of mother and of father,	316

¹ Fyyst, stynk, *Lirida*. Fyistyn, (fyen,) *Cacco, lirido*. Promptorium.

² Sixpences. ³ Ye] Originally "That."—D.

And of no man Rather
 Then of *your* poore brother,
 And of euery other ;
 Yea, all that Comes is gayne ; 320
youe passe of no mans payne,
 Whiche ye all wey reteyne ;
 who ever grudge or playne,
 It may not out agayne ; 324
 Noughte may be Remitted
 That to yone is Commytted ;
 Ye be not so lighte witted.
 The people thinke it true 328
 That ye possessionⁿ sue
 'To haue an^d Easy life, [leaf 22.]
 Without debate or strife,
 To lyve without a wife, 332
 lordely¹ and at Ease,
 Without payne or disease,
 your belly god² to please,
 And worldly welth to haue :³ 336
 Ye do *your* heeades shave,
 To make *youe* sure *and* save [leaf 22, back.]
 in every wind and wave,
 That wolde as sone Rave 340
 As ones to chippe⁴ an heare
 So farre aboue *your* Eare,
 Or suche an^d habite weare,
 With a polled heade, 344
 To fayne *your* selves deade ;
 But for possessions sake [leaf 23.]
 That ye suche Rules take,
 And bynde *youe* to the brake, 348
 That ye maye not forsake

¹ *Lordely*, &c.] On the outer margin of the MS., opposite this verse, are the following lines, partly cut off by the binder ;

“Thes be the knavysh
 knackes that ever w . . .

for Javelles and for J[ackes].”—D.

See *The grudge of ypoerites* at the end of Part IV of the *Image*, l. 2544–8, of which the present lines are only a variation.

² *belly god*, generally ‘he who makes a god of his belly’: here ‘belly which is a man’s god.’

³ *And worldly welth to haue*] Originally “*And* possession to haue.”—D.

⁴ *chippe*] Qy. “clippe?”—D.

Durynge all <i>your</i> lyves :	
So well is he that thrives.	
Thus be youe spirituall ;	352
And yett ye do vs call	[leaf 23, back.]
But lewde <i>and</i> temporall ;	
And that is for that we	
So weake <i>and</i> simple be,	356
To put oure possession ⁿ	
from oure Succession ⁿ	
And heires lyniall,	
Or kynne Collateral,	[leaf 24.]
That be menn temporall, ¹	361
And so from lyne to lyne ;	
for ech man for his tyme	
Sayes, “ while it is myne,	364
I will give while I maye,	
That, when I am away,	
They shall both singe and saye,	[leaf 24, back.]
And for my Soules helthe pray,	368
Tyll it be domes day :”	
So, after this array,—	
Alake and well a way !—	
We oure landes straye,	372
And other goodes decay ;	
Wherat ye laughe and play :	[leaf 25.]
And natheles allwey	
We dayly pay and pay,	376
To haue youe to go gaye	
With wonderfull araye,	
As Dysardes ² in a play.	
God wolde it were imprented,	380
Written ⁿ and indentyd,	
What youe haue invented !	
So great Diversyte	
nowe in <i>your</i> garmentes be,	384

¹ See *Roy's Satire* and the *Proper Dyalogue* on this point, p. 17, 20–3, above.

² *Disar*, an actor. See Collier, i. 50. Generally speaking, the clown . . . ‘A *dizzard* or common vice and jester counterfetting the gestures of any man, and moving his body as him list.’ *Nomenclator*, p. 529. Cf. Welde's *Jamua Linguarum*, 1615, p. 77.—Halliwell. *Fol*: m. A foole; asse, goose, calfe, dotterell, woodcocke; noddie, cokes, goosecap, coxcombe, *dizard*, peagoose, ninnie, naturall, ideot, wisakers.—Cotgrave. Cp. Skelton's ‘In a cote thou can play well the *dysar*.’ *Magnifyeence*, i. 253, and Dyce's note in *Skelton's Works*, ii. 255.

that wonder is to se ;
 Your triple cappe and crowne,
 Curtle, cope, and gowne,
 more worthe then halfe a towne, [leaf 26.]
 With golde *and* perle sett, 389
 And stones well I-ffrett ;
 Ther can be no bett ;
 And for no price ye lett, 392
 how far of they be fett.
 Oh ye kynde of vipers !
 Ye beestly bellyters, [leaf 26, back.]
 With Raynes and cipres,¹ 396
 That hau so many miters !
 And yett ye be but mychers.²
 Yone weere littell hattes,
 Myters, and square Capps, 400
 Decked with flye flappes,
 With many prety knackes,
 like turkes of Tartary,
 Moores, or Men of Moscovye, 404
 Or lyke bugges³ of arraby, [leaf 27.]
 With ouches *and* bosses,
 With staves *and* crosses,
 With pillers and posses,⁴ 408
 With standers *and* banners,
 Without good life or manners :
 Then haue youe gay gloves,
 That with *your* hand moves, [leaf 27, back.]
 wroughte with true-loves,⁵ 413
 And made well, for the nones,
 with golde *and* precious stones :
 Ye blisse vs with *your* bones, 416
 And with *your* Riche ringes,

¹ Clothes of Rennes and Cyprus.—Skeat.

² *Cagueraffe* ; m. A base *micher*, scurvie hagler, lowsie dodger ; or a cruell extortioner, greedie catch-good, rauenous oppresser.—*Colgrave*. *Senaud* : a rich *micher*, a rich man that pretends himselfe to be verie poore.—*Colgrave*.

³ Bugbears, goblins.—*Halliwell*.

⁴ *Posse*, a number of people, no doubt derived from the sheriff's *posse comitatus*.—*Halliwell*. On the pillars, gloves, precious stones, etc., compare Roy's description of Wolsey, in the *Impeachment* poem below, and Dyce's note in *Skolton's Works*, ii. 350.

⁵ Some [women] haue sleeues much shorter, cut vp the arme, and pointed with silke ribbons very gallantly, tied with *true loues knottes* (for so they call them). *Stubbs's Anatomie*, p. 69.

That Quenes <i>and</i> kinges,	[leaf 28.]
At <i>your</i> offringes,	420
Shall kisse with knelinges ;	
Which <i>your</i> mynykyns	
And mynyon ¹ babbes,	
<i>Your</i> closse chambred drabbes, ¹	424
When masse and all is done, ²	[leaf 28, back.]
Shall were at after-none.	
<i>Your</i> Curtells be of sylke,	
with Rochetes white as mylke ; ³	428
<i>Your</i> bootes of righte Sattyne,	
Or velvett Crymosyne ;	
<i>Your</i> shoes wroughte with gold,	
To tredd vpon the molde.	[leaf 29.]
Wandring, as vandals,	433
In sylke <i>and</i> in sandals,	
Ye kepe <i>your</i> holy rules,	
As asses <i>and</i> mules ;	
for on <i>your</i> cloven cules ⁴	436
Will ye never sytt,	
But on a Rich carpett ;	[leaf 29, back.]
And nowe and then a fitt,	440
after the Rule of Bennett,	
with dythmunia vennett,	
a gaye a vott gennett,	
with gill or with Iennytt,	444
wyth Cycely or Sare ;	
yf <i>thei</i> Come wher they are,	
<i>thei</i> Lay one, and not Spare,	
And never look behind them,	448
wher soever they ffynd them ;	
ffor whan that <i>thei</i> be hett,	
and asmodeus ⁵ Grett,	
they take, as ⁶ <i>thei</i> can gett,	
all ⁷ fyshe that comes to Nett,	452

¹ See 'Of the whoring Priests,' in Luther's *Colloquia Mensalia*, translated 1652, p. 332.

² *When masse and all is done*] Followed by a deleted line ;
"The paynes to release."—D.

³ Rochet, a surplys, *rochet*.—Palsgrave. The bishop's rochet is a linen vest worn under a satin robe.—Halliwell.

⁴ *Cul* : m. An arse, bumme, tayle, nockandroe, fundament.—Cotgrave.

⁵ The name of the evil spirit in the Book of Tobit.—Dyce.

⁶ *as*] Originally "that."—D.

⁷ *All*] Originally "All ys."—D.

ffor Lust fyndes no lett¹
 tyll hys poyson be spett;—
 be she fyne or feat,
 be she white or² Iett, 456
 Long or short sett,
 do she Smyle or Skowle,
 be she ffayr or fowle,
 or owgly³ as an owle; 460
 ffor vnderneath a Cowle,
 a Surplyse or an amys,⁴
 Can no man do amys.
 Ye halse them from harmes 464
 With blessinges and charmes,
 While the water warmes, [leaf 30.]
 In your holy armes,
 broging⁵ in ther barmes, 468
 Devoutly to clipe it,
 To Caste her with a tryppyt,
 With, lusty Sir Iohn,⁶ whip it
 Vnderneath your tippitt, 472
 Pretextu pietatis,
 Quam contaminatis
 Sub iugo castitatis, [leaf 30, back.]
 Your Burning heate to Cease, 476

¹ For lust fyndes no lett] Occupies the place of the following three deleted lines;

“be she ffayre or fowle
 for vnderneath an amys
 alyke ther hart is.”—D.

² or] MS. “as.”—D.

³ Or owgly] Over this is the deleted word “blobcheked.”—D.

⁴ A piece of fine linen, of an oblong form, which was formerly worn on the head until the priest arrived before the altar, and then thrown back upon the shoulders.—Way. See *Promptorium*, p. 11, and Halliwell's *Glossary*. *Amice*—properly the first of the six vestments common to the bishop and presbyters. ‘Fyrst do on the amys, than the albe, than the gyrdell, than the manyle, than the stoole, than the chesyble.’—Hormanni *Vulgaria*, sig. E. iiii. ed. 1530. *Dyce's Skelton*, ii. 134.

⁵ Diving, paddling. *To Brog*, a method of catching eels with *broys* or small sticks, which is called *brogging*. *North*.—Halliwell.

⁶ “Sir John” was used regularly for a priest. Compare “A ballad on an incontinent priest” in the Cambridge Univ. Lib. MS. Ff. 5–48, Art. 23, printed in *Reliquie Antique*, i. 1:—

I haue for-sworne hit, whil I life, to wake the well, oy!
 The last tyme I the wel woke,
 Sir John coght me with a croke.
 He made me to swere be bel & boke
 I shuld not tell.

and expell *your* disease,
 Vnder *pretens*¹ of pease,
 The paynes to release
 Of poore sely Sowles, 480
 That hide be in holes
 As hote as any Coles.
 Ye cappes haue, *and* capes, [leaf 31.]
 With many other iapes, 484
 To cover with *your* pates ;
 As hoodes and cowles,
 like horned owles,
 With skapplers² *and* Cootes, 488
 Courtbies³ *and* Copes,
 White knottyd ropes, [leaf 31, back.]
 With other instrumentes,

yet he did me a wel wors turne :
 he leyde my hed a-gayn the burne ;
 He gaf me my mayden hed a spurne,
 And rofe¹ my kell.

Sir John came to oure hows to play :
 ffro euensong tyme til light of the day
 We made as mery as flowres in may ;
 I was be-gyled, ey !

Sir John, he came to *our* hows ;
 He made hit wondrous copious ;
 He seyde that I was gracious
 to bere a childe . ey !

I go with childe, wel I wot ;
 I schreve the fadur that hit gate !
 withouten he fynde hit mylke & pap
 a long while, ey.

‘they repara their churches and chappelles with it [the money got by Church-ales] ; they buie . . . surplices for *Sir Jhon*, and such other necessaries. 1583-5. —*Stubs*, p. 174. ‘The formost was a plain country *Sir John*, or Vicar, that had proclaimed by the redness of his nose he did go oftner into the alehouse then the pulpit.’ 1592.—*R. Greene’s Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, p. 58, Collier’s Reprint. See the context at the end of the ‘Satire on the Non-preaching Ministers’ in the Appendix to the present Poem.

¹ *pretens*] Originally “the bande.”—D.

² *Scapular* or *Scapulary*, a long narrow piece of Stuff, worn by Monks and Nuns over the rest of their Habit, and hanging down from their Shoulders to their Feet.—*Kersey’s Phillips*.

³ Chaucer’s *courtepy*, an over garment. Cotgrave gives ‘*Courtiban* or *Courtibau*. A coat-armour, long cassock, or horseman’s coat, worne by a Prince, or Commander in an armie.’

¹ Mr. Halliwell reads *refe my bell*, but Mr. Bradshaw and I are both clear that *rofe* and *kell* are right.

Straunge habilimentes	492
And wanton ⁿ vestementes,	
and other Implementes,	
As Tyrantes haue in tentes :	
But what therby ment is,	496
Or what they signifye,	
I cane not tell, not I; ¹	[leaf 32.]
nor youe vndowbtedlye	
Can Shew no Reason whic.	500
Ye make it herisy	
And treason to the kinge,	
Yf we speke any thinge	
That is not to your lykynges ;	504
The truth may not be spoken ⁿ ,	
But ye will be wroken.	
Yett marke and note this token ⁿ !	[leaf 32, back.]
Yf gods worde ones open ⁿ ,	508
which wyll er long perdye,	
Then shall we here <i>and</i> se	
In cristianitye,	512
whether youe or we	
The very traytours be.	
But, by the trynite,	
It wonder is to me	[leaf 33.]
To se your charite	516
And hospitalite	
So littell to the poore !	
And yet vpon a hoore	
Ye passe for non expence, ²	520
As thoughte ³ it non offence	
Were in the sighte of god !	[leaf 33, back.]
Youe fray not of his rod ;	
Youe loue your bely Cod !	524
for them that haue no nede,	
Ye dayly feest and fede :	
I thinke it be to dreede	
lest here youe ⁴ haue your mede.	528
Ye drawe and cast lottes,	[leaf 34.]
In hattes <i>and</i> in pottes,	

¹ *not I*] Originally "for why."—D.

² Compare the 4th verse of the extract from Roy, p. 73, above.

³ though.—Skeat.

⁴ *Lest here you*] Originally "*Here lest youe*."—D.

for tottes *and* for quottes,¹ 532
 And blere vs with *your* blottes,
 And with *your* mery poppes :
 Thus youe make vs sottes,
 And play with vs² boopepe, [leaf 34, back.]
 With other gambaldes like, 537
 To pilloure lordes sheepe,
 Your honour for to kepe,
 Vsinge great excesse, 540
 Which I pray god repressse,
 And soone to sende redresse !
 for no man can expresse
 The wo and wretchednesse [leaf 35.]
 Youe on³ oure neckes do lye, 545
 By *your* grett tyrannye,
 Your pride *and* surquedrye,
 That ye do openlye :
 But that youe secretly 548
 practyse pryvylye,
 May not be tolde :—*and* why ?
 lest it be herysye !
 and than by and by 552
 to Make a faggott ffrye !
 for we can not deny,— [leaf 35, back.]
 and trewth³ doth playne dyscrye,
 and all wysemen Espye— 556
 that all *the* falt doth lye⁴
 Vpon⁵ oure owne foly,
 That ye be so iolye ;
 for with oure owne goodes 560
 We fether vppe oure⁵ hoodes.
 Youe sanguinolenty,
 Your mony is so plenty, [leaf 36.]
 That youe make no deynty 564

¹ Cp. Skelton's *Colyn Cloute*, Works i. 332, l. 565.

‘Of pluralytes,
Of tryalytes,

And of *tot* quottes,
They commune lyke sottes’

and in *Why come ye nat to Courte*, Works, ii. 30, l. 126, ‘We shall haue a *tot* quot from the Pope of Rome.’ See l. 1017, below.

² *with vs*] Originally “your.”—D. ³ *treuth*] Originally “the *treuth*.”—D.

⁴ *That all the falt doth lye*] Originally “But *all the falt* do lye.”—D.

⁵ *oure*] Qy. “youre?” but compare lines 575, 577. In the following line, “*sanguinolenty*” should perhaps be printed as Latin,—“*sanguinolenti*.”—D.

Of Twenty pound *and* Twenty,
 So youe may haue entry ;
 And then youe laughe *and* skorne 568
 To se vs were the horne,
 Ridinge here *and* hether,
 Goinge ther *and* thether, [leaf 36, back.]
 Lyke cokold foles¹ to-gether,
 In colde, wynde, *and* in wether, 572
 for woll, for ledd, *and* lether ;
 and yet do not Consydre
 we wer an Oxes fether :²
 'This is a prety bob, 576
 Oure hedes for to gnob³
 With suche a gentill Iob !
 And we oure selves Rob
 Of landes temporall, [leaf 37.]
 And Ivelles great and smalle, 581
 To give youe parte of all
 In almes perpetuall,
 'To make *our* heyres thrall 584
 ffor *you*⁴ hye promotyōn,
 through⁵ *our* blynde devotiōn
 and Small⁶ Intellygens,
 But *that* *our* Conseyens, 588
 [Be] Laden with offens ;
 And *youe* vs so incense,
 when we be going hens,
 To make soch Recompens, 592
 by gyvyng⁷ *yowe*⁸ *our* pens, [leaf 37, back.]
our Land, goodes, and Rentes,

¹ *cokold foles*] Originally "loutes and knaves."—D.

² *We wer an oxes fether*] Originally "And in oure hooede a *fether*."—D.

³ *Oure hedes for to gnob*] Followed by two deleted lines ;

"And make vs soch a lob
 'To vse one lyke a lob."—D.

Knop, a knob or handle ; the woollen tuft on the top of a cap.—Halliwell.

⁴ *For you*] Originally "With."—D. See the extract on p. 20, above.

⁵ *Through*] Originally "With."—D.

⁶ Lines 587–592 are substituted for two deleted lines ;

"To your possessyon
 Without discrecion."—D.

⁷ Lines 593–600 are substituted for three deleted lines ;

"S . . . fonde affection
 'To oure correccion
 Without protection."—D.

⁸ *yowe*] Originally "them."—D.

ffor that¹ holy pretens,
 havynge ffull confydens 596
that be² a Safe Defens :
 So Do we styll Dyspens
 with all Remorse and Sens
 of harty penytens. 600
 This cane not be denyed :
 Your Iugglynge is espied,
 Your mayster is vntyed,
 which is the prince of pride ; 604
 for you on³ neyther syde [leaf 38.]
 Can suffre or abyde⁴
 To here the troth tryed,
 Which ye intend to hide 608
 With vehement⁵ desyre,
 As hote as any ffire.

Thus endeth the first parte of this present treatyse, called
 the Image of Ipocrysy.

[PART II.—AGAINST THE BISHOPS, THE POPE, AND CARDI-
 NALS: WITH A PROTEST AGAINST THE EXCOMMUNICA-
 TION OF ENGLAND IN KING JOHN'S TIME.]

Alake, for christes might, [leaf 39.]
 These thinges go not a-righte ! 613
 Oure lanterns give no lighte ;
 All bisshoppes be not brighte :
 They be so full of Spyte,⁶ 616
 They care not whom they byte ;
 both frend and foo they Smyte
 Wyth Prison, deth, and flighte ;
 So dayly they do fyght 620
 To overturne the Ryght :
 So⁷ we be in the plyte,
 that, losing of owre Sight,
 we know⁸ not black from whyght, 624

that] Originally "an."—D.

² *be*] Originally "to be."—D. "be or," I read it.—E. Broek.

³ *For you on*] Originally "For on."—D.

⁴ *Can suffre or abyde*] Originally "Ye cane here abide."—D.

⁵ *vehement*] Originally "diligent."—D.

⁶ A line is scratched out between 616 and 617 ; and two more lines after
 l. 617.

⁷ *So*] Originally "That."—D.

⁸ *We*] Originally "And."—D.

And be thus¹ blinded quyte,
 We know not² day from nyght. [leaf 39, back.]
 But, by my Syres Soule, 628
 The true Apostell paule
 Wrott, as we may see
 In tyte *and* Tymothe,
 who should a bisshoppe be :
 A man of holy liffe, 632
 the husbonde of one wiffe ;
 That vseth not to strife, [leaf 40.]
 Or strike with sworde or knyff,
 Nor that at any tyme 636
 Suspected is of cryme ;
 But wise and provident,
 Colde and contynent,
 But never vynolent ; 640
 that when he eat³ or drinke, [leaf 40, back.]
 Slepe, awake⁴, or winke,
 Doth styll⁵ on⁶ measure thinke,
 And therof vse a messe 644
 To put a-way excesse,⁶
 kepe⁷ hyme lowe and chast,
 That he make no wast
 By Prodigalite [leaf 41.]
 or Sensualytye, 649
 A waster for to be ;
 But, after his degree,
 with liberallite 652
 kepe hospitallite.
 he must be sadd *and* sage,
 vsinge non outrage,
 But soberly with reason⁸ [leaf 41, back.]
 To spende in tyme *and* season⁸, 657
 And so to kepe his meason⁸.⁸

¹ *And be thus*] Originally "That we be."—D.

² *We know not*] Originally "Not knowing."—After this line is one cut off by the binder.—D.

³ *That when he eat*] Originally "When he shall eat."—D.

⁴ *Slepe, awake*] Originally "Slepe or wake."—D.

⁵ *Doth styll*] Originally "He must."—D. *Measure* means moderation.

⁶ A line scratched out between this and the next line.

⁷ *Kepe*] Before this word stood originally "And," afterwards altered to "To," which is also deleted.—D.

⁸ *Fr. maison*, house. See p. 9, note.

he may in no wise streke, But suffer and be meke,	660
Shamefast and discrete, Temperat, dulce, and swete,	
Not speakinge angerly,	[leaf 42.]
But soft and manerly ;	664
And, in any wise, Be ware of covetyse, The rote of all ill vice.	
he must be liberall,	668
And thanke oure lorde of all ; And, as a heerde his sheepe,	[leaf 42, back.]
his childer must he kepe, And all his family	672
In vertu edyfy, Vnder disciplyne Of holsome doctryne, With dew subiection ⁿ ,	676
That non obiECTION ⁿ	[leaf 43.]
be made vnto his heste, ¹ Of most or of leste ; for thus he doth conclude,	680
As by simylytude, howe he that cane not skill his housholde at his will	
To governe ² , Rule, <i>and</i> teche,	[leaf 43, back.]
Within his power and reach,	685
Oughte to hane no speache Of Cure and diligence, Of suche premynence	688
Within the churche of god. And eke it is forbode That he no novice be,	[leaf 44.]
lest with superbite	692
he do presume to hye, And consequently ffall vnhappely into the frenesy	696

¹ *Be made vnto his heste*] Originally,
"Be made to his hest."
for which was first substituted,

"Made be to his heste ;" —D.

² *To governe*] Originally "Wisely to." —D.

Of pride and of Evyll, ¹	
Lyke Lucyfer, the Devyll; ²	[leaf 44, back.]
for he playnly writes,	
That of these neophites	700
And pevishe proselites,	
Springe vpp ipocrites.	
A bisshoppe eke must haue,	
his honesty to save,	704
Of all men such a name,	[leaf 45.]
That his outwarde fame	
Be clene from any blame,	
Impeched with no shame,	708
To draw all people in,	
They may repent of synne,	
And so ³ he may them wynne,	
That <i>thei</i> fall not vnware ⁴	[leaf 45, back.]
into ⁵ the devils snare.	713
Thus paule, as ye may se,	
Taughte Tyte and tymothe,	
Who should a bisshoppe be.	716
And christ, oure maister dere,	
While he lyved here,	
full poorly did appere,	[leaf 46.]
Mekely borne <i>and</i> bredd;	720
The bare Earth was his bedd,	
for where to hele his headd,	
Or where to lye <i>and</i> rest,	
he had no hole nor nest;	724
But in great poverty	
he lyved soberly,	[leaf 46, back.]
his worde to multiply;	
And thus did Edifye	728
his churche that is so holy,	
Suppressinge Synne <i>and</i> foly:	
But not with friska ioly, ⁶	
As somme do nowe a dayes,	732
That haue so many wayes	[leaf 47.]

¹ *evyll*] Originally "ill."—D. ² *Lyke Lucyfer, the devyll*] Originally, "In Judgement of the devill."—D.

³ *And so*] Originally "For."—D.

⁴ *That thei fall not vnware*] Originally, "Or elles may vnware."—D.

⁵ *Into*] Originally "Fall in."—D.

⁶ See note on l. 73, p. 183, above.

all maner gaynes to Reape, Ther tresures one a heap ¹ to gather and to kepe,	736
By pillinge of his shepe, ² Not forsyng ³ who do wepe, And to his flocke repayre As it were to a ffayre ;	740
To sit in peters chayer With pride and ambition ⁴ , sowyng great sedition ⁵ ;	[leaf 47, back.]
And by superstition Blinde vs with remission ⁶ , By bulles vnder led, To serve both quicke and ded ;	744
And by that way pretend To clyme vpp and ascend That lucifer did discend.	748 [leaf 48.]
I thinke that suche frykars ⁴ Be not christes vickars, But crafty intrycars ⁵ and pryvy purse pykars ; for they that be sekars of stores newe and olde,	752 756
May perceyve and beholde howe euery thinge is solde for Sylver ⁶ and for golde : The craft ⁷ can not be told,	[leaf 48, back.] 760

¹ Lines 635–6 are substituted for two deleted lines ;

“ *To gather and to kepe*
Treasure in a hepe.”—D.

² Laye men say indede
How they take no hede.
Theyr sely shepe to fede,
But plucke away and pull
The fleeces of theyr wull ;
Vnethes they leue a locke
Of wull amonges theyr flocke ;
And as for theyr connyng,
A glommyng and a mummyng,

And make therof a iape ;
They gaspe and they gape
All to haue promocyon,
There is theyr holt deuocyon,
With money, if it wyll hap,
To catche the forked cap :
Forsothe, they are to lewd,
To say so, all beshrewd !

Skelton's *Colyn Cloute*, l. 75–91, *Works*, i. 314.

³ Caring : ‘no force,’ no matter, I don’t care.

⁴ ? From ‘Fryke, or craske, or yn grete helthe, *crassus.*’ Promptorium.
Fryke, 1. fresh, active, lusty ; 2. to go or move hastily.—Halliwell.

⁵ Intriguers.

⁶ *sylver*] Originally “mony.”—D.

⁷ *The craft, &c.*] Originally, “Yf all the chraft were tolde.”—D.

what is and hath bene done
 by antychryst¹ of Rome ;
 for thens² *the* sourdes springe
 of euery naughty thinge, [leaf 49.]
 hide vnder-neth the whynge 765
 Of the Sire of Synne ;
 At whom I will begynn
 Somwhat for to speake, 768
 And playnly to intreate
 Of this farly freake,
 That sitteth in his seat, [leaf 49, back.]
 Devouringe synne as meatte, 772
 Whiche he and his do Eate
 as they may catch and geate :³
 They spare not to devower
 Cyty, towne, and Tower, 776
 Wherat no man may lower ; [leaf 50.]
 for be it swete or sower,
 Or be it good or yll,
 We must be muett still, 780
 the lustes to fulfill
 of that cocodryll,⁴
 which at his⁵ only will
 May ech man⁶ save or spyll. 784
 This wicked man of warr [leaf 50, back.]
 So hault is, that he darr
 (as he lyste)⁷ make and marr,
 his owne lawe to prefarr 788
 Aboute the worde of god !
 it passeth godes forbod
 That ever it should be ;
 A man to clyme so hy, [leaf 51.]
 By Reason⁸ of his see, 793
 To clayme Auctoritye
 Aboute the deyte !

¹ *Antychryst*] Originally "the courte."—D.

² *For thens, &c.*] Originally, "For ther sourdes the springe."—D.
Sourdes, sources, risings.

³ *geate*] Followed by a deleted line ; "Be it by colde or heate."—D.

⁴ *Which at his*] Originally "That his."—D.

⁵ Compare the Spanish *cocodrillo*, a serpent, a Crocodill.—*Minsheu's Per-*
civale.

⁶ *May ech man, &c.*] Originally, "May bothe saue and spill."—D.

⁷ *As he lyste*] Originally "At will to."—D.

it is to hy a bost,	796
And Synne one of the most	
Ageynst the holy gost,	
That is not remissable.	[leaf 51, back.]
for as for the bible,	800
he taketh it for a ridle,	
Or as a lawles lible,	
which, to the hy offence	
of his Conscience,	804
he dare therwith dispence,	
And alter the sentence.	[leaf 52.]
for wher god do[th] prohibitt,	
he doth leve exhibite,	808
and at his ¹ Lust Inhybyte ;	
And wher god doth Commaunde,	
ther he doth Countermaunde ;	
After his owne purpose	812
The ² text to turne and glose,	
like a welshe manes hose, ³	[leaf 52, back.]
or lyk a waxen nose.	
But wyse ⁴ men do suppose	816
That truth shall ⁵ Iudge and trye,	

¹ *And at his, &c.*] Originally, “*And wyll it clere enhybyte.*”—D.

² *test* follows, but was struck out at the time of the first writing.

³ On Skelton's saying to the Bishops (*Colyn Cloute*, l. 774–81, *Works*, i. 341), that if they'd preach good plain sermons (cp. l. 1839, below), their words

.. better shuld remaine	|	That blaber, barke, and blotter,
Amonge the people playne . . .		And make a <i>Walshmans hose</i>
Than a thousande thousande other,		Of the texte and of the glose,

Mr. Dyce notes (*ib.* ii. 289) that Nares's explanation of the phrase is wrong, as the phrase *shipman's hose* here (l. 2442) is equivalent to it, and *that* is rightly explained by Jewel and Wilson: “Hereunto they adde also a Similitude not very agreeable, how the Scriptures be like to a Nose of Waxe, or a *Shipmans Hose*: how thei may be fashioned and plied al manner of waies and serue all mennes turnes.”—Jewel's *Defence of the Apologie*, &c., p. 465, ed. 1567. “And not made as a *shippe-mans hose*, to serue for euery logge.”—Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorike*, p. 102, ed. 1580. Surely *Welshman's hose* (as well as *shipman's*) became proverbial from their pliability, power of being stretched, etc. They are not noticed in the description of the Welshman in *Blew-Cap for me*, Percy Soc. Satirical Songs on Costume, p. 131.

Nares quotes:—

The laws we did interpret, and statutes of the land,
Not truly by the text, but newly by a glose:
And words that were most plaine, when they by us were skan'd,
We turned by construction to a *Welch-man's hose*.

Mirror for Magistrates, p. 278.

⁴ *wyse*] Originally “true.”—D.

⁵ *shall*] Originally “must.”—D.

for lyars can but lye.
 He is so hault and taunt,¹
 That he dare hyme avaunt 820
 All Erthly men to daunt;
 And faynes to give and graunt, [leaf 53.]
 In heaven above, or hell,²
 A Place wherin to dwell, 824
 As all his lyars tell,
 Which he doth dayly sell,
 After his devise,
 if men come to his prise. 828
 it is his marchaundyse;
 for, as ye will demaunde, [leaf 53, back.]
 he can and may Commaunde
 A Thowsande, in A bande, 832
 Of Angells out of heaven,
 To come through the leven,³
 And make all thinge even,
 his biddinges to obey, 836
which beares the greatist swaye,
 Your soules to Convey [leaf 54.]
 frome all decaye
 Out of the fendes wey; 840
 But, provided alwey,
 That ye first mony paye;
 at *the* appointed daye
 ye present it, if ye⁴ maye; 844
 then,⁵ vnder *thi* petycion,
 thou gettest true remysson,⁶
 From synnes *the* absolucion,
 By this his owne Commyssion, 848
 By bryve or els by bull:
 To fill his Coffers full, [leaf 54, back.]
 Ye may Aske what ye wull.
 Alas, ye be to dull 852
 To se this lorde of losse,
 The fo of christes crosse,

¹ *Taunt* : lofty, loftily-masted. *Isle of Wight*.—Halliwell.

² *above or hell*] Originally “*or in hell*.”—D.

³ Lightning, and thence sky. ⁴ MS. present if it.

⁵ *Then*] Originally “*But*.”—D.

⁶ *Thou gettest true remysson*] Originally,
 “*To haue remission*.”—D.

This hoore of babilon And seede of Zabulon, ¹	856
The Enemy of christ,	[leaf 55.]
The devels holy pryst And very antechrist, To revell and to ride,	860
like the prince of pride, That of euery syde Warres the worlde wyde, Whom no streng [t]he may abide—	[leaf 55, baek.]
The devill be his guyde!	865
for loke in his decrees, And ye shall finde out lyes, As thik as swarme of byes,	868
That throughe the worlde flyes, making parsemonyes Of peters patrimonyes,	[leaf 56.]
But great mercymonyes ²	872
Of his seremonyes, To smodder vs with smoke :	
for, when he wilbe wroke, No man may bere his stroke ;	876
So hevy is his yoke, To christes full vnlike,	[leaf 56, baek.]
That saide ‘his yoke is swete, his burthen ⁿ lighte and meete	880
for all men that be meke, To suffer and to bere Without drede or fere :’	
But popes after-warde,	884
That never ³ had Regard	[leaf 57.]
Which ende shoulde go forewarde, haue drawn vs bakwarde,	

¹ *Zabulon*. Altered, for the rhyme's sake, from *zabulus* for *diabolus* in mediæval latinity. See Du Cange. *Zabulus*, often *zabulus*, apud mediævi scriptores pro *Diabolo*. Ex Dorico *Ζάβουλος*: quod à *ζαβαλλειν*, pro *διαβαλλειν*—so *Zabolenus* for *Diabolenus*, *Zacones* for *Diacones*: comp. *jouste* pro *Διωστρα*, *Ζωστρα*. Vide Salmas. ad Capit. l. cit. *Car. du Fresne. Glossar.* (G. Waring.) But see Skelton's *Colyn Cloute*, l. 639-42:—

“But the communalte yow call
Ydolles of Babylon,
De terra Zabulon,
De terra Neptalym.”

² *Mercimonium*, goods, wares, merchandise.

³ *That never*, &c.] Originally “*That haue hadd no regarde*.”—D.

And made the yoke so harde 888
 By false invented lawes,—
 As thoughe lay men were dawes,
 And dome as any stone,—
 With sivile and Canon [leaf 57, back.]
 To serve god and mammon ; 893
 Righte and wronge is one.
 Serche his decretalles
 And bulles papalles, 896
 Et, inter alia,
 loke in his palia
 And Bacchanallia,¹ [leaf 58.]
 With his extravagantes 900
 And wayes vagarantes :
 his lawes arrogantes
 Be made by truwantes,
 That frame his finctions 904
 Into Distinctions
 With cloutes² of clawses, [leaf 58, back.]
 Questyons and Cawses,
 With Sext *and* Clementyn³, 908
 And lawes legantyne :³
 his County pallantyne⁴
 haue coustome colubryne,⁵
 With Codes viperyne 912
 And sectes serpentyne : [leaf 59.]
 Blinde be his stores
 Of interogatores
 and declaratores, 916
 With lapse and relapse,
 A wispe and a waspe,
 A clispe and a claspe,
 And his after⁶ clappes. 920
 for his paragraffes [leaf 59, back.]
 Be no Cosmograffes,⁷

¹ *palia* . . . *Bacchanalia*] It would seem from the context that the right reading is "Palilia."—D. *Palilia* (Lat.) certain Feasts and publick Rejoicings, celebrated among the ancient Romans, April 20, in honour of *Pales* the Goddess of Flocks ; during which they danc'd and leap'd over Fires made with Bean-straw, Bunches of Olive, Pine and Laurel.—*Kersey's Phillips*.

² Patches.—Skeat.

³ Legatine.—Skeat.

⁴ Palatine.—Skeat.

⁵ Serpentine.—Skeat.

⁶ *after*] Originally "*afterwarde*."—D.

⁷ *Cosmographie* ; m. A Cosmographer, or describer of the whole world.—Cotgrave.

But vnhappy graffes
 That wander in the warrayne, 924
 fruteles and barayne,
 To fede that foule Carrayne
 And dignite papall ;
 with Iudges that scrape all, [leaf 60.]
 And doctours that take all, 929
 by lawes absynthyall¹
 And labiryntyall.
 his Tabellions² 932
 Be rebellions ;
 his laweres *and* scribes
 Live only by bribes ; [leaf 60, back.]
 His holy advocates 936
 And Iudges diligates
 Haue robbed all estates,
 By many inventions
 Of sundry suspentions, 940
 Subtile subventions,
 Crafty conventions, [leaf 61.]
 Prevy preventions,
 And euell exemptions ; 944
 So hath his indictions³
 And his interdiction⁴,
 With croked Commyssions,

¹ Like wormwood.

² *Tabellion*, (in ancient Deeds) a Notary Public, or Scrivener, allow'd by authority to engross and register private Contracts and Obligations.—*Kersey's Phillips*. *Tabellion*, qui contractuum et testamentorum instrumenta conscribit. *Tabellion* notaire.—*D'Arnis*.

³ *Indictio*, accusatio, delatio ; *accusation*. (*Inst. Angl.*)—*D'Arnis*.

⁴ Compare the following verses from the Cambridge University Libr. MS., Mm. 3, 12, p. 383, Art. 150 :—

Skeltonicall observations, of Bishops visitations .
 Pretending Reformations . Intending Procurations.
 first sending Interdictions of meaner Jurisdicions,
 Then sending Inhibitions, and granting Inquisitions
 By severall Comissions .
 Of Churches Dilapidations, for want of Reparations ;
 Threatning of Sequestrations, degradations, deprivations ;
 Or of later invention, menacing suspention,
 Awarding of citations for leud mens fornications
 And such abhominations.
 After excommunications, granting absolutions, for sinfull pollutions
 Granting dispensations, and penance commutations.
 After some vacation, yeelding Relaxation
 Of former Interdictions, to euery Jurisdiction.

Colde ¹ Compromyssiions, ²	948
Cursed Conditions,	[leaf 61, br ck.]
hevy traditions,	
Elvishe Inibitions,	
And redy remissions.	952
Then hathe he inductions	
And colde Conductions ; ³	
his expectatyves	
Many a man vnthrives.	[leaf 62.]
By his Constitutions	957
And his sub[s]titutions	
He maketh institutions,	
And taketh restitutions,	960
Sellinge absolutions,	
And other like pollutions :	
His holy Actions	[leaf 62, back.]
Be Satisfactions	964
Of false Compactions :	
He Robbeth all nations	
With his fulminations, ⁴	
And other like vexations ;	968
As with abiurations, ⁵	
Excomuncyations,	[leaf 63.]
Aggravations, ⁶	
Presentations,	972
Sequestrations,	
Deprivations,	

So Reformation pretended,
 But monie intended ;
 Nothing is amended,
 But God is offended ;
 And so ye play is ended.

¹ Colde] Originally "Olde."—D.

² *Compromissio*, Pactum, conventio, fœdus initum et promissum; accord, pacte dont les conditions sont arrêtées et convenues.—D'Arnis.

³ *Conductio* : quod domino solvitur pro securitate rerum exportandum : idem quod *Gnaticum*.—D'Arnis.

⁴ To *Fulminate*, (Lat.) to thunder out; as to *fulminate an Excommunication*.—Kersey's Phillips.

⁵ *Abjuratio*, quoddam juramentum apud Anglos. Quid sit docet Willelmus Stamfordius: *Abjuration est un sercement que homme ou femme preignent, quant ils ont commise felony, et fué à l'Eglise ou cimetoire, pour tuition de leur vies, eslisant plustot perpetuel banissement hors del realme, que à estoiser à le ley, et d'estre trié del félonie*.—D'Arnis.

⁶ *Aggravatio*, repetita et iterata excommunicatio; *excommunication réitérée et lancée avec de plus graves imprécations, lorsqu'une première sentence n'avait pas produit d'effet*.—D'Arnis.

Advocations, ¹	
resignations,	976
Dilapidations,	[leaf 63, back.]
Sustentations, ²	
Adminystrations,	
Approbations,	980
Assignations, ³	
Alterations,	
Narrations,	
Declarations,	[leaf 64.]
Locations, ⁴	985
Collocations,	
Revocations,	
Dispensations,	988
Intimations, ⁵	
legittimations,	
Insinuations, ⁶	[leaf 64, back.]
Pronuntiations, ⁷	992
Demonstrations, ⁸	
Vacations,	
Convocations,	
Deputations,	996
Donations,	
Condonations,	[leaf 65.]
Commynations,	

¹ *Advocatio*, jus præsentandi ordinario aliquem ad beneficium vacans: *droit de présenter le successeur d'un bénéficiaire décédé.*—D'Arnis. *Advocatione Decimarum*, (Lat.) a Writ that lies for the Claim of the fourth Part or upwards of the Tithes that belong to any Church.—*Kersey's Phillips*.

² *Sustentations*] MS. "Sustentions," and originally "Substentions."—D. *Sustentatio*, Alimentarium; *entretien* (Greg. III PP.)—Subsidium, auxilium; *secours, soutien.*—D'Arnis. Reliefe, helpe, aid.—Cotgrave.

³ *Assignationes* apud Fratres prædicatores vocantur fratrum mutationes de conventu in conventum, et superiorum licentiæ propter easdem scripto concessæ.—D'Arnis.

⁴ *Location*, a setting, or letting out to hire.—*Kersey's Phillips*.

⁵ *Intimatio*, denunciatio judiciaria. *Intimation.*—D'Arnis. "*Intimation* . . an Adjournment, Citation, or Summons of a partie in an Appeale, and in cases wherein the Judge proceeds of course to right the plaintife, though the defendand appeare not."—Cotgrave.

⁶ *Insinuatîo*, in acta publica relatio; *enregistrement*; ol. *insinuation.*—D'Arnis. "*Insinuation*, a registering, or entring into a Register booke."—Cotgrave.

⁷ *Pronuntiatîo*, sententia, iudicium; *judgement, sentenee.*—D'Arnis.

⁸ *Demonstratio*, species exactionis, f. eadem q. *Besenagium*, (præstationis species, ea, ut videtur, quæ ex apum alveariis, *besane* dictis, percipitur; ol. *besenage.*)—D'Arnis.

excusations, ¹	1000
Declamations, ²	
visitations,	
Acceptations,	
Arrendations, ³	1004
Publications,	[leaf 65, back.]
Renunttiations,	
fatigations, ⁴	
false fundations,	1008
And dissimulations,	
With like Abbominations	
Of A thowsand fasshions.	
His holy vnions	[leaf 66.]
Be no Communyons ;	1013
His trialitees	
and pluralytyes	
Be full of Qualitees ;	1016
His tottes and quottes ⁵	
Be full of blottes.	
With quibes and quaryes ⁶	
Of inventataries,	[leaf 66, back.]
Of Testamentaries,	1021
And of mortuaries, ⁷	
By sutes of appeales,	
And by his ⁸ ofte repeales,	1024
He oure mony steales.	
I speake not of his sessions,	
nor of his confessions	[leaf 67.]

¹ *Excusations*] Substituted for a word now illegible.—D. (For ‘excusations.’—E. Brock.)

² *Declamatio*, *vocatio in jus*, *calumnia*; *demande en justice*, *action judiciaire*. (Bald.) *Declamatio monetæ*, *ejus prohibitio*; *démonétisation d’une monnaie*.—D’Arnis.

³ *Arrendations*] “Arrentation, from the Spanish *arrendar*, *ad certum redditum dimittere*. The licensing the owner of lands in the forest, to inclose them with a low hedge and small ditch, according to the assise of the forest, under a yearly rent: *saving the arrentations*, is saving a power to give such licenses. *Ordin. Forestæ*, 34 Ed. I. st. 5.”—Jacob’s “Law-Dictionary,” edit. 1797. *Arrendatio*, *datio ad arrendam seu censum annuum*; *action de donner un bien à rente*.—D’Arnis.

⁴ *Fatigatio*, *vexatio*, *molestia*, *præsertim quæ ex litium anfractibus oritur*; *traeasserie*, *embarras* . . *Exactio* (*Form. ret.*)—D’Arnis.

⁵ See note to l. 531, p. 198, above.

⁶ Quips and queries?—Skeat.

⁷ *Mortuary* (Lat.) a Gift left by a Man at his Death, to the Parson of the Parish, to make amends for Tithes not duely paid in his Lifetime.—Kersey’s Phillips.

⁸ *his*] Originally “oure.”—D.

Olde and avricular,	1028
Colde and caniculer; ¹	
Howe the Cubiculer, ²	
In the Capitular,	
With his pylde ³ spitler,	1032
playde the knavyculer	
Vnderneath a ⁴ wall :	[leaf 67, back.]
I may not tell youe all,	
In termes speciall,	1036
Of pardon nor of pall,	
Nor of confessionall;	
for I feare, ⁵ yf he call	
the sentence generall,	1040
I mighte so take a fall,	
And haue his bitter curse, ⁶	[leaf 68.]
And yett be not the wurse,	
Save only in my purse, ⁷	104
Because I shoulde be fayne	
To By my state agayne	
ex leno vell ex lena,	
aut pellice obscena,	1048
Res certe inamena: ⁸	
Papisticorum scena,	[leaf 68, back.]
Malorum semper plena;	
for all the worlde rounde	1052
he falsely doth confounde,	
By lawes made and founde	
by thyr devyse vusownde,	
With no ⁹ steadfast grounde,	1056

¹ Doggish, Doglike. *Les jours caniculaires*, the dog-dayes.—Cotgrave.

² *Cubicular*, fitted for the posture of lying down.—Ash.

³ *pylde*] Originally "*pylde* and."—D. ⁴ *a*] Originally "the."—D.

⁵ *yf*] Originally "leste."—D.

⁶ *curse*] "course" first written, and then cut out by the original writer.—D.

⁷ Compare Chaucer on the Sompnour, in the Prologue of the *Canterbury Tales* :—

And if he foond owher / a good felawe
 He wolde techen hym / to haue noon awe
 In swich caas / of the Ercedeknes curs
 But if a mannes soule / were in his purs
 ffor in his purs / he sholde ynputysshed be
 Purs is the Ercedeknes helle / seyde he "

l. 655-660, Hengwrt MS.

⁸ *inamena*] MS. "*in amena*," the latter word being substituted for one now illegible.—D.

⁹ *no*] Originally "out."—D.

But with fayned visions
 And develyshe devisions, [leaf 69.]
 With basterde religions :
 Thus this cursed elfe, 1060
 To avaunce his pelfe,
 falsely fayne[s] hymeself
 To be *semideus* .
 No, youe asmeodeus ! 1064
 Ye are amoreus, [leaf 69, back.]
 The Sonne of chanaan !
 O thou monstrous man,
 And childe of cursed chan !¹ 1068
 Arte thou halfe god, halfe man ?
 Gup,² leviathan,
 And Sonne of Sattan,
 The worme letaphagus, [leaf 70.]
 And Sire to Symonde magus ! 1073
 O porter Cerberus,
 Thou arte so monstrous,
 Soo made *and* myschevous, 1076
 Proude and surquedrous,³
 And as lecherous
 As heliogabalus [leaf 70, back.]
 Or Sardanapalus ! 1080
 Hatefull vnto god,
 And father of all falsehoode,
 The poyson of prestoode,
 And deth of good knighthoode, 1084
 The Robber of riche men,
 And murderer of meke men, [leaf 71.]
 The turment of true men
 That named be newe men, 1088
 The prince of periury,
 And christes Enemy !
 vnhappy as achab,
 and naughty as nadab, 1092
 As crafty as Caball, [leaf 71, back.]
 And dronken as naball,

¹ Cain.—Skeat.

² Go along with you! Gee up, 'go up! an exclamation addressed to a horse. *Various Dialects.*—Halliwell.

³ Presumptuous, arrogant. From *sur* (*supra*), and *cuidier* (*cogitare*) to think, presume.—Burguy.

The hope of Ismaell, And false Achitofell,	1096
The blissinge of bell, And advocate of hell ; Thou hunter nembroth, ¹	[leaf 72.]
And Iudas Iscarioth, ²	1100
Thou bloody belyall, And Sacrifise of B[a]ll,	
Thou elvishe ipocrite, And naughty neophite,	1104
Thou pevishe proselite, And Synefull Sodymite, ³	
Thou greedy Gomorrite, And galefull ⁴ Gabaonite,	1108
Tho[u] hermofrodite, Thou arte a wicked sprite, A naughty seismatike, ⁵	
And an heritike,	1112
A Beestely Bogorian, ⁶	[leaf 73.]
And devill meridian, The patrone of proctors, And dethe of trewe doctours,	1116
The founder of faytors, And trust of all traytours, The shender of sawes, And breaker of lawes,	[leaf 73, back.]
The Syre of serdoners, And prince of pardoners, The kinge of questors, And rule of regestors,	1121
The Eater of frogges, And maker of goddes, The brother of brothells,	1124
And lorde of all losells, The sturrur of stoores, And keper of hoores With gloriouse gawdes, Amonge trusty bawdes,	[leaf 74.] 1128 1132

¹ Nimrod.—Skeat.² *Iscarioth*] Originally “Scarioth.”—D.³ See the extracts, p. 82-6, above.⁴ *galefull*] Originally “gale.”—D. A.S. *gal*, Ger. *geil*, wanton, lascivious.

—E. Brock.

⁵ Schismatic.⁶ *bogorian*] “bogorane” first written, and cut out by the original writer.—D.

The father of foles,
 And ignoraunce of scoles, [leaf 74, back.]
 The helper of harlettes,
 And Captayne of verlettes, 1136
 The Cloke of all vnthriftes,
 And Captayne of all Caytifes,
 The leader of truwantes,
 And chefe of all Tyrauntes, 1140
 As hinde¹ as an hogge, [leaf 75.]
 And kinde as any dogge,
 The shipwrake of noye :
 christ saue the and Saincte loy !² 1144
 Arte thou the hiest pryst,
 And vicar vnto christ ?
 No, no, I say, thou lvest !
 Thou arte a cursed crekar, [leaf 75, back.]
 A crafty vpp-crepar ! 1149
 Thou arte the devils vicar !
 A pryve³ purse pikar,
 By lawes and by rites, 1152
 for sowles and for sprites :
 O lorde of Ipocrites,
 Nowe shut vpp your wickettes, [leaf 76.]
 And clape to your clickettes !⁴ 1156
 A ! farewell, kinge of cekettes !⁵
 for nowe the tyme falles
 To speake of Cardinalles,⁶
 that⁷ kepe ther holy halles 1160
 With Towres and walles.
 Be they not Carnalles, [leaf 77.]

¹ *hinde*, gentle.—Skeat.

² Compare Chaucer's Prioress :

'Hire gretteste ooth / was but by seint Loy,' l. 120.—*Ellesmere MS.*

³ *A pryve*] Originally "And a."—D.

⁴ . . . and the dore closed,

Keyed and *elicketed*, To kepe thee withouten.

Vision of Piers Plowman, ed. Wright, i. p. 14, l. 3735-8.—Skeat.

⁵ *Grillon de cheminée*, a Cricket. *Il a beaucoup de grillons en la teste*—his head is much troubled ; full of crochets, or of Proclamations. *Les grillons gastent la feste*, Loud bablers are euer offensive at feasts.—*Cotgrave*.

⁶ See Luther's character of them : 'peevish milk-sops, effeminate and unlearned blockheads, who lie lolling in king's courts, among the ladies and women.'—*Table Talk*, p. 219. 'Pope, cardinals, bishops, not a soul of them has read the Bible ; 'tis a book unknown to them. They are a pack of guzzling stuffing wretches, rich, wallowing in wealth and laziness, resting secure in their power, and never for a moment thinking of accomplishing God's will.'—*Ib.* p. 196-7.

⁷ *That*] Originally "And."—D.

and lordes infernales ?	
Yea, gredy Carmalles,	1164
as any Carmarante ;	
With ther Coppentante	
They loke adutante.	
for soth, men say they be	1168
full of iniquite,	
lyvinge in habundance	
of all worldly substance,	[leaf 77, back.]
wherin they lodge <i>and</i> ly,	1172
And wallowe beasteally,	
As hogges ¹ do in a Sty,	
Servinge ther god, ther belly, ²	
with chuettes ³ and with gelly,	1176
with venyson ⁴ and with tartes,	
with confyctes and with fartes, ⁴	
To ease ther holy hartes.	
They take ther stations,	1180
And make dyambulations ⁵	[leaf 78.]
Into all nations,	
for ther visitations,	
Callinge convocations,	1184
Sellinge dispensations,	
Givinge condonacions,	
Makinge permutacions,	
And of excomunycacions	1188
Sell they relaxacions ;	
for they, in ther progresse,	[leaf 78, back.]
with katern, mawde, and besse, ⁶	
will vse full great excesse,	1192

¹ *As hogges, &c.*] Originally, "*As any pigge in sty.*"—D.

² The lay men call them barrelles
Full of glotony
And of hypocrysy,

That counterfaytes and payntes
As they were very sayntes.
Skelton (of Bishops) in *Colyn
Cloute*, l. 919-23, *Works*, i. 346-7.

³ Pieces of chopped-up livers of pigs, hens, etc., or of fish, flavoured, and then fried or baked. See *Babees Book*, p. 287.

⁴ *With confyctes, &c.*] Originally "*And portingale fartes.*"—D.

⁵ See l. 163, p. 186.

⁶ I speke not of the good wyfe,
But of theyr apostles lyfe
Cum ipsis vel illis
Qui manent in villis,
Est uxor vel ancilla,
Welcome Jacke and Gylla!

My prety Petronylla,
And you wyll be stylla,
You shall haue your wylla.
Of suche Paternoster pekes,
All the worlde spekes.
Skelton's *Colyn Cloute*, l. 255-56,
Works, i. 321.

withowt any redresse ;
 and all men they oppresse
 In Syty, Towne, and village ;
 ffrom olde and yong of age 1196
 they robbe¹ and make pyllage,
 thyr lusts for to aswage,
 which they extorte by mighte
 As in the churches righte ; 1200
 They may not lese a fether :
 But god, that lyveth ever,
 Graunt that they never [leaf 79.]
 haue power to Come hether ! 1204
 for wher they ones arive,
 so cleane they do vs shryve,
 thath I swere by my life,
 The Contry ther shall thrive 1208
 Yeres tenn and ffive
 After them² the worse :
 Men³ give them godes curse
 To shute within ther purse ; 1212
 Both lernyd and lewde
 wolde they were beshrewed ; [leaf 79, back.]
 They never mighte come nere
 for to visitt here, 1216
 Altho they haue sotch chere
 As they cann well desyre,
 And as they will requier ;
 for why, it doth appere, 1220
 the hartes ar sett on fyer
 of³ chanon, mvnke, and fryer,
 that daylye dothe aspyre,⁴
 By bulles vnder ledd, 1224
 how they should be fledd.
 It is therfore great skill [leaf 80.]
 that every Iacke and gyll
 performe⁵ the popes will, 1228
 hys⁶ purse and panch to ffill ;

¹ *They robbe, &c.*] Originally "Wher *they* take *pyllage*."—D.

² *them*] Originally "that."—D. ³ *Of*] Originally "By."—D.

⁴ *aspyre*] Followed by a deleted line (inserted above with a slight variation) ; "Thyr hartes ar so on fyer."—D.

⁵ *Performe*] Originally "We do," the preceeding line being an addition.—D.

⁶ *Hys*] Originally "Ther."—D.

for, as I Erst haue tolde,
 there lyves not suche a scolde
 that dare ons be¹ so bold, 1232
 from shorne ne yet from polde,
 Nor² monye, meate, nor golde,
 from soch men³ to withholde,
 Ther favour boughte and solde, 1236
 That take a thowsand ffolde
 More then that Iudas did. [leaf 80, back.]
 The trouth can not be hid,
 for it is playnly kid : 1240
 Iudas for his dispense
 Sold christ for thirty pense,
 And did a foule offence,
 his lorde god so to tray ; 1244
 And they in likewise say,
 After Iudas way,
 What will ye give *and* pay [leaf 81.]
 (As the matter falles,) 1248
 for pardonnes and for palles,
 And for confessionalles ?
 We may have absolucions
 without Restytutyons, 1252
 And at oure owne electionⁿ
 passe without correctionⁿ,
 Besydes christes passionⁿ
 To make satisfactionⁿ. 1256
 We feare for non offence, [leaf 81, back.]
 So they haue recompence :
 By great Audacitees
 They graunt Capacitees ; 1260
 For heavenⁿ and for hell
 They mony take and tell :
 So thus they by and sell,
 And take therof no shame, 1264
 But laughe and haue good game,

¹ *That dare ons be*] Originally "No man *dare be*," the preceding line being an addition.—D.

² *Nor*] Originally "For."—D.

³ *soch men*] Originally "them." This line is followed by three deleted lines (inserted above,—the first two slightly altered) ;

"Mony meat or golde
 But be they shorne or polde
 Ther lyves not suche a scolde."—D.

To all oure soul[e]s bane. [leaf 82.]
 God helpe we be to blame
 Sutch lordes to defame! 1268
 Yett, by the Common fame,
 Some bisshops vse the same,
 In christes holy name
 Soules to sell and bye: 1272
 my mynde is not to lye,
 But to write playnlye
 Ageynst ipocresye [leaf 82, back.]
 In bisshopp or in other, 1276
 Yea, thoughe it were my brother,
 my father or my mother,
 my Syster or my Sonne;
 for, as I haue begonne, 1280
 I will, as I haue donne,
 Disclose the great outrage
 That is in this Image;
 for¹ he that feles the pricke, [leaf 83.]
 and theron groweth sycke, 1285
 May with the gald horse kike;²
 for, as I erst haue said,
 oure bisshops at a brayd³ 1288
 ar growne so sore afrayde,
 And In⁴ the world so wide
 do vse sutch pompe and pride,⁵

¹ For] Originally "And."—D.

² "Let the galled jade wince." *Shakspeare*.—Skeat.

³ Suddenly.

⁴ And in, &c.] Originally,

"In all the all the world wide
 Vse sutch pompe," &c.—D.

⁵ Compare Skelton's striking passage in *Colyn Cloute*, l. 591-636, (Works, ed. Dyce, i. 333-5) on the low-born prelates set up in spiritual dignity:

Farwell benygnyte,	591	To rule bothe kynge and kayser.	
Farwell symplicite,		And yf ye may haue layser,	
Farwell humylyte,		Ye wyll brynge all to nought,	
Farwell good charyte!	594	And that is all your thought.	
Ye are so puffed wyth pryde,		For the lordes temporall,	610
That no man may abyde		Theyr rule is very small,	
Your hygh and lordely lokes.		Almost nothyng at all.	
Ye east vp then your bokes,	598	Men saye howe ye appall	
And vertue is forgotten;		The noble blode royall:	614
For then ye wyll be wroken		In ernest and in game,	
Of euery lyght quarell,		Ye are the lesse to blame,	
And call a lorde a iauell;	602	For lordes of noble blode,	
A knyght a knaue ye make;		If they well vnderstode	618
Ye bost, ye face, ye crake,		How connyng myght them auancee,	
And vpon you ye take	605	They wold pype you another daunce.	

and rule of euery syde, 1292
 That none may them abide :
 Of no¹ prince, lord, nor duke,
 They take will a rebuke ; [leaf 83, back.]
 All lay men they Surmount, 1296
 Makinge non accompte,
 Nor cast no Reckonyng
 Scarcely of a kinge :
 This is a wonder² thinge ; 1300
 They stande so suer *and* fast,
 And be nothinge agast ;³
 for that bloody Iudge
 And mighty Sanguisuge,⁴ [leaf 84.]
 The pope that is so huge, 1305
 Is ever ther refuge ;
 So be the Cardinalles
 Ther suer defence *and* walles, 1308
 With whom they stily stande
 By water and by lande,
 To gett the over hande
 of all the world rounde, 1312
 Wher profit may be founde : [leaf 84, back.]
 They be so many legions,
 That they oppresse regions
 with boke, bell, and candell, 1316
 Any kinge to handell,
 As they haue many one :
 for triall here vpon
 I take of good kinge Iohn, 1320
 Whom by the bitinge

But noble men borne,
 To lerne they haue scorne, 622
 But hunt and blowe an horne,
 Lepe ouer lakes and dykes,
 Set nothyng by polytykes.
 Therefore ye kepe them bace, 626
 And mocke them to theyr face :
 This is a pyteous case,

To you that ouer the whele 629
 Grete lordes must crouche and knele,
 And breyke theyr hose at the kne,
 As dayly men may se,
 And to remembraunce call,
 Fortune so turneth the ball, 634
 And ruleth so ouer all,
 That honour hath a great fall.

With lines 621–5, compare Pace's letter to Colet, in his *De Fructu*, printed in the *Babees Book*, &c., p. xiii. See also the quotation from *Piers Plowmans Crede*, p. xlv of *Babees Book*, on the low-born bishops.

¹ *Of no*, &c.] Originally "Of no prince nor of duke."—D.

² *wonder*] Originally "wonderfull."—D.

³ *agast*] Followed by a deleted line ;

"But fede whilst they do brast."—D.

⁴ Bloodsucker, leech, Lat. *sanguisuga*.

Of ther subtill snytyngē,	[leaf 85.]
ffirst by acytingē,	
And after interditingē,	1324
By fulmyngations	
Of excommunications ;	
for by ther holy poores	
They stored vpp stoores, ¹	1328
and kepte suche stvrre with hores,	
And shut vpp all churchē doores	
for ther princely pleasure,	
(they lyve so owt of measure,) [leaf 85, back.]	
Till they might haue leasure,	1333
Ther lieg lorde and kingē	
So base and lowe to bringē—	
which was a pyttevs thyng—	1336
That he with wepinge yees,	
Bowingē backe and thies,	
And knelingē on his knees,	
must render vpp his fees,	1340
With kingly dignytees,	
Septer, crowne, and landes,	
Into ther holy handes.	[leaf 86.]
Alas ! howe mighte it be	1344
That oure nobilitee	
Could then no better se ?	
for theyrs was the fault	
oure Prelates were so haulte ;	1348
Their strength then was to seke ;	
Ther liege lorde to kepe,	
They durst not fight ne strike ;	
They feared of a gleke,	[leaf 86, back.]
That, no day in the weke,	1353
for any good or Cattell,	
Durst they go to battell,	
Nor entre churchē ne chappell	1356
In syxe or seven yere,	
Before christ to appere,	
And devine seruice here	
In Any hallowed place,	1360
for lacke of ther good grace ;	[leaf 87.]
Ther was no tyme nor space	

vpp stoores] Originally "vpp ther stoores."

To do to god <i>seruice</i> ,	
But as they wolde devise ;	1364
Their lawes be so sinystre,	
That no man durst minystre	
The holy Sacrementes	
Till they hadd ther intentes	1368
Of landes and of rentes,	
By lawes and by lyes ;	[leaf 87, back.]
To inriche ther sees,	
The blind men Eat vpp flees ;	1372
for by ther constitutions	
They toke restitutions	
Of cyties <i>and</i> of castells,	
Of Townes <i>and</i> bastells, ¹	1376
And make ther prince pike wastells, ²	
Till they rang out the belles,	
And did as they wold Elles,	[leaf 88.]
like traytours <i>and</i> rebelles,	1380
As the story telles.	
But Iesu christ hyme self,	
nor his appostells twelffe,	
vnto that cvrsyd elfe	1384
did never teach hym ³ so	
In any wise to .do ;	
for lucre or advayle, ⁴	
ageynst thyr kyng to rayle,	1388
and ⁵ lieg lordē to assayle,	
Within his owne lande	[leaf 88, back.]
To put hym vnder bande,	
And take brede of his hande :	1392
The lorde saue sutch a flock,	
That so could mowe and mock	
To make ther kinge a block,	
And eke ther laughinge stocke !	1396
They blered hym <i>with</i> a lurche,	
And said that he must wurche	
By counsell of the churchē ;	
Wherby they ment nothings	[leaf 89.]
But to wrest <i>and</i> wringe,	1401

¹ *Bastilde* : f. The fortresse or fortification tearmed a bastilion or bastile.—*Cotgrave.*

² *Wastel*, fine bread, cake.

³ *hym*] Originally "them."—D.

⁴ *or advayle*] Originally "or for avyle."—D.

⁵ *And*] Originally "Their."—D.

Only for to bringe Ther liege lorde <i>and</i> kinge To be ther vnderlinge.	1404
Alas! who euer sawe A kinge vnder awe, Ageynst all gods lawe, All righte <i>and</i> consience, for doinge non offence	1408 [leaf 89, back.]
To make sutch recompence? They gave ther lorde a laske, ¹ To purge withall his caske, And putt hym to no taske, But as they wold hyme aske: This was a midday maske, A kinge so to enforce	1412 1416
With pacyence perforce. Take hede therefore, <i>and</i> watche,	[leaf 90.]
All ye that knowe this tatche, Ye make not sutch a matche. loke forth! beware the katche! Ye fall not in the snatche of that vngratiovs pacthe, ² before the rope hym rachte, or tyburne dothe hym strache. ³ but who so ⁴ preache or prate, I warne youe, rathe <i>and</i> late	1420 1424
To loke vpp <i>and</i> awake, That ye do never make Your maister nor your mate	1428 [leaf 90, back.]
to sytt withowt your gate. Take hede, for christes sake, And knowe your owne estate, Or ye be tardy take; yea, lest it be to late To trust on hadd-I-wist	1432 1436
I-masked in a myst,— As good to ly bypist: for these hie primates, Bysshops <i>and</i> prelates,	[leaf 91.]

¹ A laxative.—E. Brock.

² Pacote, patch. The double *c* is often written like *ct*.—Skeat.

³ Cf. the Scotch *rax* in a *raipe*, stretch in a rope.—Skeat.

⁴ *But who so*] Originally "*But who euer*."—D.

And pope-holy legates,¹ 1441
 with ther pilde pates,²
 Dare conquer³ all estates :
 They do but as they will ; 1444
 for, be it good or ill,
 We must be muett still :
 Why lay men can not se,
 It is the more pite ! 1448

Thus endeth the Seconde Parte of this present [leaf 91, back.]
 treatyse called the Image of Ipoeresy.

[PART III.—AGAINST THE PREACHERS AND THEIR DEFENDERS (SIR THOMAS MORE, THE MAID OF KENT, ETC.)]

Of prechers nowe adayes [leaf 92.]
 be many fariseyes,
 That leue the lordes layes,
 And preche ther owne wayes ; 1452
 Wherof nowe of late
 Hathe risen great debate ;
 for some champe *and* chaffe

¹ Mr. Dyce's note in his *Skelton*, ii. 230-1, says that this word occurs several times in Skelton, and also in *Pierce Plowman*. "In Chaucer's *Romaunt of the Rose* is the following description [now cited from Mr. R. Morris's edition vi. 13, l. 413-23]:—

Another thing was don there write,
 That semede lyk an ipocrite,
 And it was elepid *Poope-holy*.
 That ilk is she, that pryvely
 Ne spareth never a wikked dede
 Whan men of hir taken noon hede,

And maketh hir outward precious,
 With pale visage and pitous,
 And semeth a semely creature ;
 But ther nys no mysaventure
 That she ne thenkith in hir corage."

"The original French of the preceding [*Poope-holy*] is . . . *Papelardie* . . . *Le Rom. de la Rose*, vol. i. 15, ed. 1735. Roquefort (*Gloss. de la Langue Romaine*) . . . '*Papelardie*, *papelardise*: Hypocrisie, tromperie, subtilité, mauvaise foi.' See too Du Cange's *Gloss.* in vv. *Papelardia*, *Papelardus*. Compare also Lydgate;

And for *popholy* and *uyce* loke wel aboute.

The prohemy of a marriage, &c. MS. Harl. 372, fol. 51.

and Barelay, *The Ship of Fooles*, fol. 57, ed. 1570—

Ouer sad or proude, disceitfull and *pope holy*.

and the *Interlude of the iiii Elementes*, n. d. ;

For rather than I wolde vse suche foly,
 To pray to study or be *pope holy*,
 I had as lyf be ded.

Sig. B. ii." (*Dyce*.)

² '*Pild*, bald, (*P. Pl. Crede*) 839. See *Pyllyd* in *Prompt. Parv.*; and cf. "*Peel'd priest*" in *Shakesp. I Henry VI*, Act I, sc. 3, l. 30.—*Skeat*.

³ *conquer*] Originally "subdue."—*D*.

As hogges do in draffe, ¹	1456
And some cry out a-pase	
As houndes at a chase,	[leaf 92, back.]
Whiche for lacke of grace	
The playne truthe wold defase,	1460
So busely they barke.	
An other in the darke,	
That is a busarde starke,	
And cane not se the marke,	1464
Wondereth at this warke,	
And therefore taketh carke	
By-cause he is no clarke.	[leaf 93.]
Some be soft and still	1468
As clappes in a mill ;	
And some cry and yell	
As sprites do in hell ;	
Some be here <i>and</i> ther,	1472
And some I wote not wher ;	
Some holde vpp yea <i>and</i> nay,	
And some forsake ther lay ;	
Some be still and stey,	[leaf 93, back.]
And hope to haue a daye ;	1477
Some wote not what to say,	
But dout whether they may	
Abide or rune away ;	1480
Ther wittes be so weake,	
They say they dare not speake,	
They be afrayd of heate.	
Some be sycke and sadd,	1484
for sorrowe almost madd ;	[leaf 94.]
I tell youe veryly,	
Ther wittes be awry,	
They peyne them selves greatly	1488
To haue the trouth go by ;	
Some on bokes dayly pry,	
And yett perceyve not reason whic ;	
Tho some affirme, some do deny,	1492
With nowe a trouth and then a ly,	

¹ . . . *Noli mittere*, man, Margery perles
 Among hogges that han Hawes at wille ;
 Thei doon but dryuele thereon. *Draf* were hem levere
 Than al the precious perree [stones] That in Paradis wexeth.
Vision of Piers Plowman, i. 173, l. 5612–19, ed. Wright.—Skeat.

To say one thing openly, [leaf 94, back.]
 And an^d other prively :
 " Here be but youe and I ; 1496
 Say to me *your* mynd playnlye,
 Is it not open^d heresy ?"
 Thus say they secretly,
 Whisperinge with sorrowe 1500
 That they deny to morowe.
 Ther tales be so dobble,
 That many be in trobble, [leaf 95.]
 And doubt *which* way to take, 1504
 Them selves sure to make.
 A, lorde ! it makes me shake,
 for pyty that I quake !
 They be so colde *and* horse, 1508
 That they haue no forse,¹
 So they be *prefarred*,
 Tho all the rest were marred.
 Thus the people smatter, [leaf 95, back.]
 That dayly talke *and* clatter, 1513
 oure preachers do but flatter,
 To make them selves the fatter,
 And care not thoughe the matter 1516
 Were clerely layde a watter.
 Douse men chatt *and* chide it,
 for they may not abid it ;
 The thomistes wold hide it, 1520
 for littera occidit.³ [leaf 96.]
 Thus these systmatickes,
 And lowsy lunatickes,
 With spurres and prickes 1524
 Call true men heretickes.
 They finger ther fidles,

¹ Care.² But now þe harlottes · han hid thilke rewle,
 And, for þe loue of oure lorde · have leyde hire in water.*Crede*, p. 29, l. 781-2.—Skeat.Compare Chaucer's *letter sleth* in the Friar's mouth :—

I have to-day ben at your chirche at masse,
 And sayd a sermoun after my simple wit,
 Nought al after the text of holy wryt,
 For it is hard for yow, as I suppose,
 And therfor wil I teche yow ay the glose.
 Glosyng is a ful glorious thing certayn,
 For *letter sleth*, so as we clerkes sayn.

Sompnours Tale, l. 17370-6, ed. Wright, p. 82, col. 2.

And cry in quibbles,
 “ Away these bibles, 1528
 for they be but ridles !
 And give hem robyn whode, [leaf 96, back.]
 To red howe he stode
 In mery grene wode,¹ 1532
 when he gathered good
 Before noyes ffloode !”
 for the Testamentes
 To them, they sey, sente is, 1536
 To gather vpp ther rentes,
 After ther intentes :
 Werhy it by them ment is, [leaf 97.]
 That lay men be but lowtes ; 1540
 They may not knowe the Clowtes,
 Nor dispute of the doubttes
 That is in Christes lawe.
 for why, they never sawe 1544
 The bagg nor the bottell
 Of oure Arrestotle,
 nor knowe not the toyes
 Of Doctore averroyes ; [leaf 97, back.]
 It is no play for boyes, 1549
 Neyther for lay men ;
 But only for schole men,
 for they be witty men, 1552
 As wise as any wrenne,
 And holy as an henne.
 for doctoure bullatus,²
 though³ parnm literatus, 1556

¹ *grene wode*] Is obviously the right reading. MS. has merely “grenes.”
 —D.

² *Doctour bullatus* &c. Under these ridiculous names the writer evidently alludes to certain persons, some of whom at least would be the clerics who gathered round Queen Catherine ; and Malepardus (l. 1585) may designate her house at Ampthill. Perhaps Dr. Tom-to-bold stands for Father Peto, who preached the audacious sermon before the King, May 1st, 1532.—G. Waring. For *doctor Bullatus*, compare Skelton's *Colyn Cloute*, l. 797, etc.

But doctour Bullatus,
Parum litteratus,
Dominus doctoratus
 At the brode gatus,
 Doctour Daupatus
 And bachelor *bacheloratus*,
 Dronken as a mouse,

At the ale house
 Taketh his pyllon and his cap
 At the good ale tap,
 For lacke of good wyne ;
 As wyse as Robyn swyne,
 Vnder a notaryes sygne,
 Was made a dyuyne ; &c.

³ *Though*, &c.] This line is added by a comparatively modern hand.—D.

Will brable <i>and</i> prate thus ;	
howe Doctoure pomaunder,	[leaf 98.]
As wise as a gander,	
wotes not wher to wander,	1560
whether to meander,	
or vnto menander ; ¹	
For of Alexander,	
Irrefragable haies, ²	1564
he cane tell many tales,	
of many parke pales,	
Of Butgettes and of males,	[leaf 98, back.]
Of Candy and of Cales,	1568
And of west wales.	
But doctoure dorbellous	
Doth openly tell vs	
howe they by and sell vs :	1572
And doctoure Sym Sotus	
Cann goostely grope vs ;	
for he hathe rad Scotus,	
And so the dawe dotus	[leaf 99.]
Of doctour Subtyles ;	1577
Yea, three hundreth myles,	
With sutch Crafty wyles	
he many men begiles,	1580
That never knewe an vnce	
At full of <i>master</i> Dunce.	
Then doctoure Bonbardus	
Can skill of lombardus ;	1584
he wonnes at malepardus, ³	[leaf 99, back.]
With father festino,	
And Doctoure attamino,	
Dudum de Camino,	1588
With ther consobrinno,	
Capite equino	
Et Corde asinino ;	
hij latent in limo	1592

¹ *Menander*] See note p. 130 [in Dyce's *Skelton*, vol. ii.].—D.

² In school divinity as able | Another Thomas, or at once
As he that hight irrefragable | To name them all, another Dunce.
Hudibras. (G. Waring.)

³ *Malepardus*] The abode of Reynard according to the famous old romance : "reynart had many a dwellyng place, but the castel of *maleperdnys* was the beste and the fastest burgh that he had, ther laye he inne whan he had nede and was in ony drede or fere." Sig. a 8. ed. 1481.—D.

Et in profundo fimo, Cubantes in Culino	[leaf 100.]
Cum Thoma de aquino, Tractantes in ima	1596
De pelle Canina Et lana Caprina.	
Then doctoure chekmate hath his pardoned pate,	1600
A man yll educate ; his harte is indurate,	[leaf 100, back.]
his heade eke edentate ;	1604
his wittes be obfuscate, his braynes obumbrate,	
Oure questions to debate ; for thoughe cam but late,	
his cause is explicate	1608
with termes intricate, I note wherof conflate ;	
And therefore must he make his buil and Antedate.	[leaf 101.]
Then doctour tom-to-bold	1613
Is neyther whote nor colde, Till his Coles be solde ;	
his name may not be tolde	1616
for syluer nor for golde ; But he is sutch a scolde,	
That no play may hym holde (for anger vnbepyst,)	1620
Yf his name were wist ;	[leaf 101, back.]
Ye may Iudge as ye liste ; he is no acquiniste,	
Nor non occanist, ¹	1624
But a mockaniste ; This man may not be myste,	
he is a suer sophiste, And an olde papist.	1628
But nowe we haue a knighte ² That is a man of mighte,	[leaf 102.]
All armed for to fighte,	

¹ *Occanist*] So written, it would seem, for the rhyme ; properly "Occanmist."—D. Tho Terminists or *Occanists*, among whom Luther was (*Table Talk*, p. 235).

² *a knighte*] i. e. Sir Thomas More.—D.

To put the trouthe to flighte	1632
By bowbell pollecy,	
With his poetry	
And his sophestry ;	
To mocke and make a ly,	1636
With quod he and quod I ;	
And his appogye ¹	
Made for the prelacy,	[leaf 102, back.]
Ther hugy pompe and pride	1640
To coloure and to hide ;	
he maketh no nobbes,	
But with his diologges ²	
To prove oure prelates goddes,	1644
And lay men very lobbes, ³	
Betinge they[m] with bobbes,	
And with ther ow[n]e rodde ;	
Thus he taketh payne	[leaf 103.]
To fable and to fayne,	1649
Ther myscheff to mayntayne,	
And to haue them rayne	
Over hill <i>and</i> playne	1652
Yea, over heaven <i>and</i> hell,	
And wher as sprites dwell,	
In purgatorye holles,	
with whote fier <i>and</i> Coles,	1656
To singe for sely soules,	[leaf 103, back.]
With a supplication, ⁴	
And a confutation, ⁵	

¹ The Apogye of Syr Thomas More, Knyght, made by him Anno 1533, after he had geuen ouer Thoffice of Lord Chancellour of Englande. Prynted by W. Rastell, 1533, 16mo. This volume contains 290 leaves, and consists of 50 chapters. In the former 10 he apologises for his writings against Tindall, Barns, &c. and the last 40 are pointed against a Treatise entitled the Pacificer of the Division between the Spirituality & the Temporality.—*Bohn's Lowndes.*

² A Dyaloge of Syr Thomas More, Knyghte; wherin be treatyd divers Matters, as of the Veneration & Worshyp of Ymagys & Relyques, prayyng to Sayntys, and goyng on Pylgrymage, wyth many other thyngys touchyng the pestylent Sect of Luther and Tyndale, by the tone bygone in Saxony, and by the tother laboryd to be brought into England. Lond. (by John Rastell) 1529. fol. *ib.*

³ See *frier lob*, l. 2275.

⁴ The Supplycacyon of Soulys, made by syr Thomas More knyght, councellour to our souerayn lorde the Kyng, and chancellour of his Duchy of Lancaster. Agaynst the Supplycacyon of Beggars. *Sine ulla notâ* [but W. Rastell, *circa* 1530] Folio, black letter, in fours. *Lambeth* (Archbp. Whitgift's copy) *Hazlitt's Handbook.*

⁵ The Confutacyon of Tyndales Answer. Lond. by Wyllyam Rastell

Without replication,	1660
havinge delectation	
To make exclamation,	
By way of Declamation,	
In his debellation, ¹	1664
With a popishe fasshion	
To subvert oure nation :	[leaf 104.]
But this daucok doctoure	
And purgatory proctoure	1668
Waketh nowe for wages,	
And, as a man that rages	
Or over come with ages, ²	
Disputith <i>per</i> ambages,	1672
To helpe these parasites	
And naughty ipocrites,	[leaf 104, back.]
With legendes of lyes,	1676
fayned fantasies,	
And very vanyties,	
Called veryties,	
vnwritten and vnknowen,	
But as they be blowne	1680
from lyer to lyer,	
Inventyd by a ffryer	
In magna Copia,	
Brought out of <i>vtopia</i> ³	[leaf 105.]
vnto the <i>mayde of kent</i> , ⁴	1685
nowe ⁵ from the devill sent,	
A virgyne ffayre and gent,	
That hath our yees blent :	1688
Alas, we be myswent !	
for yf the false intent	
were knowen of this witche,	
It passeth dogg and bitche :	1692
I pray god, do so mutche	[leaf 105, back.]

1532, folio. The Seconde Parte of the Confutacion of Tyndals Answere, in which is also confuted the Chyrche that Tyndale deuyseth, and the Chyrche also that Frere Barns deuyseth, made by Syr Thomas More, Knyght. Lond. by Wylyyam Rastell, folio.—*Bohn's Lowndes.*

¹ *his debellation*] i. e. Sir Thomas More's *Debellacyon of Salem and Byzance.*—D. (Printed by W. Rastell, 1533.)

² *ages*] i. e. age is.—D. Like 'though he,' l. 1607.

³ More's *Utopia* was first printed in 1518.—*Hazlitt.*

⁴ *the mayde of Kent*] i. e. Elizabeth Barton, died 21 April 1534.—D.

⁵ She must have been alive when the poem was written.

To fret her on ⁿ the itche, And open ⁿ her in tyme ! for this manly myne	1696
Is a darke devyne, With his poetry, And her iugglery, By conspiracy	1700
To helpe our prelacy, She by ypocresye,	[leaf 106.]
And he by Tyranny, That causeth cruelly The simple men to dye for fayned herisye :	1704
he saythe that this nody Shall brenne, soule <i>and</i> body,	1708
Or singe his palanody With feare till he pant, To make hym recreante,	[leaf 106, back.]
his sayinges to recante, So as he shalbe skante Able for to loke In writinge or in booke,	1712
That treatithe of the rote Or of the base <i>and</i> fote of ther abhomynation ⁿ :	1716
he vsethe sutche a fasshion ⁿ , To send a man in statio ^{on}	[leaf 107.]
With an ⁿ evill passion ⁿ To his egression ⁿ ,	1721
Before the processio ⁿ Slylye for to stalke,	1724
And solempeny to walke, To here the preacher talke, howe he hath made a balke ; And so the innocent,	1728
for feare to be brent,	[leaf 107, back.]
Must suffer checke <i>and</i> checke, his faccott on his necke, ¹ Not for his life to quecke,	1732
But stande vpp, like a bosse, In sighte at paules crosse,	

¹ See l. 54, and p. 179–80, above.

To the vtter losse
 Of his goode name and fame : 1736
 Thus with great payne *and* shame
 he kepethe men in bandes, [leaf 108.]
 Confiskinge goods and landes,
 And then to hete ther handes 1740
 With faccottes *and* with brandes,
 Or make them be abjure.
 These thinges be in vre :
 Youe leade vs with the lure 1744
 Of *your* persecution
 And cruell execution,
 That the fyry fume [leaf 108, back.]
 Oure lyves shall consume 1748
 By three, by two, and one :
 Men say ye will spare none
 Of hyc nor lowe degre,
 That will be eneme 1752
 To *your* ipocrese,
 Or to *your* god, the bele.
 for who dare speake so felle
 That clerkes should be simple, [leaf 109.]
 Without spott or wrinkell ? 1757
 Yett nathelesse alwey
 I do protest *and* saye,
 And shall do while I may, 1760
 I never will deny,
 But confesse openly,
 That punnysshement should be,
 In every degre, 1764
 Done with equite. [leaf 109, back.]
 when any doth offende,
 Then oughte youe to attende
 To cause hyme to amend, 1768
 A-waytinge tyme *and* place,
 As god may give youe grace,
 To haue hyme fase to fase,
 his fautes to deface, 1772
 With hope to reconcyle hyme ;
 But not for to begile hym, [leaf 110.]
 Or vtterly to revile hyme,
 As thoughe ye wold excile hyme ; 1776
 for then, the trouth to tell,

Men thinke ye do not well.
 Ye call that poore manⁿ wretch,
 As though ye hadd no retche, 1780
 Or havinge no regarde
 whiche ende should go forwarde :
 ye be so sterne and harde, [leaf 110, back.]
 ye rather drawe backwarde, 1784
 Your brother so to blinde,
 To grope and sertche his mynde,
 As though ye were his frinde,
 Some worde to pike *and* finde, 1788
 wherby ye may hyme blinde ;
 with your popishe lawe
 To kepe vs vnder awe,
 By captious storyes [leaf 111.]
 Of Interrogatoryes : 1793
 Thus do ye full vnkindly,
 To feyne your selves frindley,
 And be nothinge but fyndly. 1796
 I tell youe, men be lothe
 To se youe wode and wrothe,
 And then for to be bothe
 Th'Accuser *and* the Iudge ! 1800
 Then farewell all refuge, [leaf 111, back.]
 And welcom sanguisuge !
 when ye be madd and angry,
 And anⁿ expresse enemy, 1804
 it is ageynst all equitye
 Ye shoulde be Iudge and partye !
 Therfore the kinges grace
 Your lawes muste deface ; 1808
 for before his face
 Youe should your playntes bringe, [leaf 112.]
 As to your lorde and kinge
 And Iudge in euery thinge, 1812
 That, by godes worde,
 hathe power of the sworde,
 As kinge and only lorde,
 So scripture doth recorde ; 1816
 for her[e] within his lande
 should be no counterband ;
 But holy at his hande [leaf 112, back.]
 we shoulde all be, *and* stande, 1820

Both clerkes spirituall,
 And lay men temporall.
 But youe make lawe at will,
 The poore to plucke and pill; 1824
 And some that do no yll,
 Your appetites to fill,
 Ye do distroy and kill.
 Lett *godes* worde try them, [leaf 113.]
 And then ye shall not frye them; 1829
 yea, lett the worde of god
 Be euery mannes rode!
 And the *kinges* the lawe 1832
 To kepe them vnder awe,
 To fray the rest with terroure,
 They may reuoke ther erreure!
 And thus, I say agayne, 1836
 The people wolde be fayne [leaf 113, back.]
 Ye prelates wolde take payne
 To preache the gospell playne; [See p. 206, n. 3]
 for otherwise certayne 1840
 Your labour is in vayne;
 for all your crueltie,
 I knowe that you^u and we
 Shall never well agree: 1844
 Ye may in no wise se
 Sutch as disposed be [leaf 114.]
 of ther charitye
 To preach the verytye; 1848
 Ye stope them with decrees,
 And with your veritees
 vn-written, as ye saye;
 Thus ye make them stay: 1852
 But god, that all do may,
 I do desire and pray,
 To open vs the day, [leaf 114, back.]
 which is the very kaye 1856
 of knowledge of his way,
 That ye haue stolen awaye!
 And then, my lordes, *perfay*,
 for all your popishe play, 1860
 not all your gold so gay,
 nor all your riche araye,
 shall serve youe to delaye

But some shall go astraye, [leaf 115.]
 And lerne to swyme or sinke; 1865
 for truly I do thinke,
 ye may well wake or wynke,
 for any meat or drinke 1868
 ye geitt, without ye swynke,
 But that wold make youe wrothe ;
 for, I trowe, ye be lothe
 To do eyther of both, 1872
 That is, *your*-self to cloth [leaf 115, back.]
 with laboure and with sweate
 And faste till youe Eate
 But that youe Erne and geate; 1876
 like verlettes and pages,
 To leve *your* parsonages,
your denns and *your* cages,
 And [live] by dayly wages :¹ 1880
 God blesse vs, and Sainet blase !
 This were a hevye case, [leaf 116.]
 A chaunce of ambesase,²
 To se youe broughte so base, 1884
 To playe without a place.
 now god send better grace !
 And loke ye lerne a-pase
 To tripe in trouthes trace, 1888
 And seke some better chaunce
your selves to avaunce,
 With sise synke³ or synnes ;
 for he laughe[s] that wynnes, 1892
 As ye haue hetherto,
 And may hereafter do.
 yf ye the goppell preche,

¹ "With Wycliffe, with the spiritual Franciscans, Langland ascribes all the evils, social and religious, of the dreary world to the wealth of the Clergy, of the Monks, and the still more incongruous wealth of the Mendicants. With them he asserts the right, the duty, the obligation of the temporal Sovereign to despoil the hierarchy of their corrupting and fatal riches.

"For if Possession be Poison—and imPerfect these make
 The Heads of the Holy Church,
 It were Charity to disCharge them for Holy Church sake,
 And Purge them of the old Poison."

"*Vision of Piers Ploughman*, p. 298."

Milman's Hist. of Latin Christianity, ix. 235 (4th ed. 1864). See the whole passage.

² Two aces on the dice.

³ Five and six on the dice.

As christ hym-self did teche,	1896
And in non other wise	
But after his devise,	
ye may with good advyse	
kepe <i>your</i> benefise	[leaf 117.]
And all <i>your</i> dignite,	1901
without malignite,	
In christes name, for me ;	
I gladely shall agre	1904
It ever may so be.	
But this I say and shall,	
what happ so euer fall,	
I pray and call	1908
The kinge celestiall,	
Ones to give youe grace	
To se his worde haue place ;	
And then within shorte space	1912
we shall perceyve and se	
howe every degre	
hath his Auctorite	
By the lawe of christ,	1916
The lay man and the prest,	
The poore man and the lorde ;	[leaf 118.]
for of that monocorde	
The scripture doth recorde ;	1920
And then with good accorde,	
In love and in concorde	
We shall together holde ;	
or elles ye may be bolde,	1924
for heate or colde,	
Say ye what ye will,	
Yt were as good be still ;	[leaf 118, back.]
for thoughe ye glose and frasc ¹	1928
Till <i>your</i> Eyes dase,	
Men holde it but a mase	
Till godes worde haue place,	
That doth include more grace	1932
Then all Erthly men	
Could ever knowe or ken.	

Thuse endith the thirde parte of this present [leaf 119.]
treatise called the Image of Ypocresye.

¹ Phrase, paraphrase.—Skeat. On *glose* see the bit from Chaucer's *Sompnour's Tale* above, note ³, p. 228.

[PART IV.—AGAINST ALL THE MANY ORDERS OF THE
POPISH CLERGY, MONKS, AND FRIARS.]

Nowe with sondry sectes	[leaf 119, back.]
The world sore infectes,	1936
As in christes dayes	
Amonge the pharisees,	
In clothinge and in names ;	
for some were Rhodyans,	1940
And Samaritans,	
Some were publicanes,	
Some were nazarenes,	
Bisshops and essenens,	[leaf 120.]
preestes and phariscees,	1945
And so of Saducees,	
prophetes and preachers,	
Doctours and teachers,	1948
Tribunes <i>and</i> tribes,	
lawers and scribes,	
Deacons and levytes,	
with many ipocrites.	1952
And so be nowe also,	[leaf 120, back.]
with twenty tymes ¹ mo	
Then were in christes dayes	
Amonge the pharisees :	1956
The pope, whom first they call	
Ther lorde and principall,	
The patriarke withall ;	
And then the Cardinall	1960
with tytles all of pride,	
As legates of the side,	[leaf 121.]
And some be cutt and shorne	
That they be legates borne.	1964
Then Archebisshops bold,	
And bisshops for the folde,	
They metropolitannes,	
And these diocysanyes,	1968
That haue ther suffraganyes	
To blesse the prophanyes.	
Then be ther curtisanes ²	

¹ *tymes*] MS. "tynes."—D.² *Cortesiani*?—Skeat. *Cortesianus*, qui cortem curat, vel colit aut incolit (a° 774). *Regis vel principis aulicus*; *courtisan*. (Bened. XIII. PP.)—D'Arnis.

As ill as arrianes	1972
Or domicianes,	
Riall residentes,	
And prudent presidentes ;	
So be their sensors, ¹	1976
Doughty dispensors,	
Crafty inventors,	
And prevy precentors,	
With chaplaynes of honour	[leaf 122.]
That kepe the popes bower.	1981
Then allmoners and deanes,	
That geit by ther meanes	
The rule of all reames ;	1984
Yett be ther subdeanes,	
With treasurers of trust,	
And chauncelours iniust,	
To scoure of scab and rust,	1988
With vicars generalls,	[leaf 122, back.]
And ther officialles,	
Chanons and chaunters,	
Thait be great avauinters ;	1992
So be ther subchaunters,	
Sextons and Archedeakons,	
Deakons and subdeakons,	
That be ypodeakons,	1996
parsonnes and vicars,	
Surveyors and sikers,	[leaf 123.]
Prevy purse-pikers,	
Provostes and preachers,	2000
Readers and teachers,	
With bachilers and maysters,	
spenders and wasters.	
So be ther proctors,	2004
with many dull doctors,	
Proude prebendaryes,	
Colde Commissaries,	[leaf 123, back.]
Synfull secundaries, ²	2008
Sturdy stipendaries,	
With olde ordinaryes,	

¹ *Courtisan*: m. A Courtier.' (So *Courtisane*: f. A Ladie, Gentlewoman, or waiting-woman of the Court; also (but lesse properly) a curtizan, professed strumpet, famous (or infamous) whore.)—Cotgrave.

² *Censor*, judex, judge.—D'Arnis. ² *Secondary*, a delegate, a substitute.—Ash.

And penytencyaryes, ¹	
That kepe the Sanctuaries.	2012
So be ther notaries,	
And prothonotaries,	
lawers and scribes,	
with many quibibes, ²	[leaf 124.]
Redy regesters,	2017
pardoners and questers,	
Maskers and mummers,	
Deanes and sumners, ³	2020
Apparatoryes ⁴ preste	
To Ride Est and weste.	
Then be ther advocates,	
And <i>parum</i> litterates,	2024
That Eate vpp all Estates,	[leaf 124, back.]
with wylly visitors,	
And crafty inquisitors,	
Worse then mamalokes, ⁵	2028
That catche vs with ther crokes,	
And Brenne vs and oure bokes. ⁶	

¹ *Penitentiary*, one who prescribes the rules and measures of penance.—Ash.

² Quibbles.

³ For the *Sumner*, it bootes me to say little more against him then Chaucer did in his *Canterbury Tales*, who said he was a knave, a briber and a bawd: but leaving that authority, although it be authentic, yet thus much I can say of my selfe, that these drunken drosy sonnes go a tooting abroad (as they themselves term it,) which is, to heare if any man hath got his maid with child, or plaies the good felow with his neighbours wife: if he finde a hole in any mans coate that is of wealth, then he hath his peremtory scitation ready to scite him to the archdeacons or officials court, there to apeere and abide the shame and penalty of the law: the man, perhaps in good credit with his neighbours, loath to bring his name in question, greseth the Sumner in the fist, and then he wipes him out of the booke, and suffers him to get twenty with child, so he keepe him warm in the hand. He hath a saying to wanton wives; and they are his good dames; and as long as they feede him with cheese, bacon, capons, and such od reversiones, they are honest, and they be never so bad: he swears to the official, 'complaints are made upon envy, and the women are of good behaviour.' Tush! what bawdry is it he wil not suffer, so he may have mony and good cheere, and, if he like the wench well, a snatch himselfe; for they know all the whores in a country, and are as lecherous companions as may be. To be breefe, the Sumner lives upon the sins of the people; and out of harlatry gets he all his commodity.—1592. *R. Greene's Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, p. 39-40. Collier's Reprint. The reader should now turn to Chaucer's *Freres Tale*, and read its first 80 lines.

⁴ *Apparitour*, a Messenger that summons Offenders, in an Ecclesiastical or Spiritual Court, and serves the Process of it.—*Kersey's Phillips*.

⁵ Mr. Waring refers to Skelton's *Why come ye nat to Courte*, l. 476, (Dyce, ii. 41.) But this madde Amalecke [Wolsey], | He regardeth lordes
Lyke to a Mamelek, | No more than potshordes.

⁶ See the *Impeachment of Wolsey*, in Part II.

Then be ther annivolors,¹
 And smalle benivolers, 2032
 with chauntry chapleynes,
 Oure ladyes chamberleynes; [leaf 125.]
 And Some be Iesu christes,
 As be oure Servinge pristes, 2036
 And prestes that haue cure,
 which haue ther lyvinge sure;
 with clerkes and Queresters,
 And other smale mynisters, 2040
 As Reders and singers,
 Bodemen and bell-ringers,
 That laboure with ther lippes [leaf 125, back.]
 Ther pittaunce out of pittes, 2044
 with bennet and collet,
 That bere bagg and wallett:
 These wretches be full wely,
 They Eate *and* drinke frely, 2048
 withe salue, stella cely,²
 And ther de profundis;³
 They lye with immundis,³
 And walke with vacabundis,³ [leaf 126.]
 At good ale and at wyne 2053
 As dronke as any swynne.
 Then be ther grosse abbottes,
 That observe ther sabbottes, 2056
 fayer, ffatt, *and* ffull,
 As gredy as a gull,
 And ranke as any bull,
 with priors of like place,⁴ 2060
 Some black and Some white, [leaf 126, back.]
 As channons be and monkes,
 Great lobyes⁵ and lompes,

¹ Receivers of '*Annualia*, a yearly Salary, or Allowance made to a Priest for keeping an Anniversary; or otherwise, for saying continued Masses one Year for the Soul of a deceased Person.'—*Kersey's Phillips. Annovale, Anniversarium, ut Annuale.*—D'Arnis. ² *cali.*—D.

³ The contractions are the same as for the *es* elsewhere.

⁴ *place*] Should perhaps be "plite"—or there may be some omission in the MS. after this line.—D.

⁵ Heremytes on an heep, With hoked staves,
 Wenten to Walsyngham, And hire wenches after,
Grete lobies and lónges, That lothe were to swynke.

Vision of Piers Ploughman, vol. 1, p. 4, l. 105-110, ed. Wright.—Skeat.

'Set these sturdy *lobies* [monks] a-brode in the world, to get them wiues of

with bonhomes¹ and brothers, 2064
 fathers and mothers,
 Sisters and nonnes,
 And littell prety bonnes,
 With lictors and lectors, 2068
 Mynisters and rectors,
 Custos and correctors,
 with papall collectors, [leaf 127.]
 And popishe predagoges,² 2072
 Mockinge mystagoges,³
 In straunge array and robes,
 Within ther sinagoges ;
 With sectes many mo, 2076
 An hundreth in a throo
 I thinke to name by roo,
 As they Come to my mynde, [leaf 127, back.]
 whom, thoughe they be vnkind, 2080
 The lay mens labor finde.
 for some be benedictes,⁴
 with many maledictes ;

their owne, to get their liuing with their laboure in the swete of their faces, according to the commaundement of God, Gene. iij.—*A Supplicacyon for the Beggars*, near the end. 1524-5 A.D.

¹ Following the Augustine rule, with some variations: they had only 2 houses in England.—King. *Boni Homines* . . . Sic dicti fratres ordinis Grandimontensis et Minimi [See l. 2169 here]—D'Arnis. Skelton mentions 'the ancient College of the Bonhommes at Ashridge,' says Mr. Dyce, and 'we may presume that he used sometimes to reside there (*Works* i. xl):

Of the *Bonehoms* of Ashridge besyde Barkamstede,
 That goodly place to Skelton moost kynde,
 Where the sank royall is, Crystes blode so rede,
 Wherevpon he metrefyde after his mynde :
 A pleasaunter place than Ashridge is, harde were to fynde,
 As Skelton rehersith, with wordes few and playne,
 In his distichon made on verses twaine,
Fraxinus in clivo frondetque viret sine rivo,
Non est sub divo similis sine flumine vivo.

[*Side-note* :Nota penuriam aquæ, nam canes ibi hauriunt ex puteo altissimo.]
Garlande of Laurell, l. 1461-9. Skelton's *Works* i. 419.

² *predagoges*] Qy. "pædagogos?"—D.

³ *Mystagogue*, One who interprets divine mysteries; a keeper of church relics.—Ash.

⁴ St. Benedict, the founder of the order, was born at Nursi, a town in the duchy of Spoleto, about the year 480, and died in 543.—*Hélyot*, i. 416. The Order was founded in 516, and introduced into England in 596 by St. Augustine of Canterbury.—King. This is the learned Order of the Romish Church, which is even now publishing the grand series of *Fathers*, &c., of which *Hélyot's Dictionary* forms part.

Some be cluny, ¹	2084
And Some be plumy, ²	
with cistercyences,	
Grandimontences, ³	
Camaldulences, ⁴	[leaf 128.]
premonstratences, ⁵	2089
Theutonycences, ⁶	
Clarrivallences, ⁷	
And basiliences; ⁸	2092
Some be paulines, ⁹	
Some be antonynes, ¹⁰	

¹ *Cluny*. In the 12th century there were nearly 2000 monasteries of this order, in France, Germany, Italy, England, Spain, and the East. It was founded by Bernon, the first abbot of Cluny, in the territory of Maçon, on the river Grosne, about 910 A.D.—*Hélyot, Dict. i.* 1003.

² Feather-cushioned. *Plumecum opus, idem quod Plumarium opus. Plumarium, pulvinus plumis sartus; coussin rempli de plumes.*—D'Arnis.

³ The Order of Grandmont was founded by St. Etienne de Muret (a mountain near Limoges), born 1046, died 8 Feb. 1124. The Augustines claimed the order as one of theirs, but St. Stephen refused to class himself as either canon, monk, or hermit (which he was). The Rule of his Order, written after his death, differs widely from that of the Benedictines.—*Hélyot, Dict. vol. ii.* col. 412.

⁴ Founded by St. Romuald at Camaldoli or Campo-Maldoli, in Italy, in 1012.—*Hélyot, Dict. i.* col. 576, 584.

⁵ An order of Canons Regular, founded by St. Norbert, in Prémontré, above the desert of Vosge, in the forest of Coucy, and province of Champagne, in 1119.—*Hélyot, Dict. iii.* col. 266.

⁶ Teutonic knights of St. Mary of Jerusalem.—King. I suppose this is Hélyot's *Ordre Teutonique*, a religious order of Knights, the origin of which, Pierre de Dusbourg—priest of the order, and the first writer of its history in the shape of a chronicle—refers to the year 1190.—*Hélyot, Dict. iii.* col. 624–5.

⁷ Cistercians, named from the Abbey of Clairvaux.—King. The Abbey of Clairvaux was the third daughter of that of Cîteaux. It was the head of more than 800 monasteries, which were put under it, and had for its first abbot St. Bernard, the propagator of the order of Cîteaux, and who gave his name, in France, to the religious of that order, though he was not the founder of it. The abbey of Clairvaux was founded in 1115, by Thibaut, Count of Champagne, in the diocese of Langres.—*Hélyot, Dict. i.* col. 943.

⁸ Founded in 358 or 361 A.D. by St. Basil-the-Great, Archbishop of Cæsarea, patriarch of the Monks of the East, born about 329 A.D., died 1 Jan. 379.—*Hél.*

⁹ Hélyot gives 4 Orders of Paulines: 1. Under *Notre-Dame de Saint-Paul*, an order of Benedictine Nuns, whose Abbey of St. Paul, a league from Beauvais, was founded by Chilperic, about 580 A.D.—*Hélyot, i.* 1152. 2. *Chevaliers de Saint-Paul*, Knights of the order of St. Peter and St. Paul, founded by Pope Leo X. in 1520.—*Hélyot, i.* 473. Another order of Bethlehemites had, says Matthew Paris, a house in Cambridge, in the street leading to Trumpington, in 1257. 3. *Clercs Réguliers de Saint-Paul*, commonly called *Barnabites*, but whom *Hospinianus . . . nomme les Paulins*. Founded about 1530 A.D. by a nobleman of Cremona, and two of Milan. They had houses in Italy, France, and Germany.—*Hélyot, i.* 360. 4. *Ordre des Erémites de Saint-Paul*.—*Hélyot, iii.* 126.

¹⁰ *Antonynes*. Founded by The Great Saint Anthony, who was born at Koma, near Heraklea, in Upper Egypt, in 251. He founded the monastery

Some be bernardines, ¹	
Some be Celestines, ²	2096
Some be flamynes, ³	[leaf 128, back.]
Some be fuligines, ⁴	
Some be columbines, ⁵	
Some be Gilbertines, ⁶	2100
Some be Disciplines, ⁷	
Some be clarines, ⁸	

of Faioum, which at first consisted of a group of separate cells near Memphis, and which is doubtless the origin of cenobite life. He died at the age of 105 years.—Chambers. Cruched friars named after St. Anthony.—King.

¹ *Bernardines.* Saint Bernard of Clairvaux was born in A.D. 1091; died in 1153. He became a monk of Cîteaux in 1113; and shortly afterwards instituted a new branch of that order, the monks of which are usually called, after him, Bernardines. Saint Bernard was the founder of 160 monasteries. We possess nearly 800 theological books written by him.—Chambers.

² *Celestines.* Peter de Morrone (afterwards Pope Celestine V.) founded this order of hermits, about 1264. They are regarded as a branch of St. Benedict's order; and flourished chiefly in the 13th and 14th centuries: but now they are almost extinct.—Chambers.

³ *Flammineum,* Episcopi mitra; *mitre épiscopale* (*Vet. Gl.*) '*Flaminium,*' Ad episcopum pertinens; *épiscopal.* Flaminium honor, episcopalis dignitas; *épiscopat,* dignité d'évêque. '*Flaminium,*' Sacerdotium, flaminis dignitas; *sacerdoce,* dignité de prêtre. (*Tert.*)—D'Arnis.

⁴ D'Arnis gives only '*Fuligo,* pro *uligo* [moisture, marshy quality of the earth] *Acta Sanctorum.*'

⁵ Named after St. Columba.—King. "L'Ordre de saint-Colomb, que Bède appelle aussi Colomban, était un des plus étendus, car il avait plus de cent abbayes ou monastères qui en dépendaient dans toutes les Iles Britanniques. Ce saint . . . sa mort arriva vers l'an 598. Il se trouve une règle en vers hibernois qu'il avait dictée, et qui fut en usage, non seulement dans l'île de Hi, mais dans les autres monastères d'Écosse qu'il fonda ou qui furent bâtis par ses disciples.—*Hélyot*, ii. 494. *Colomban* (*Ordre de Saint-*), uni à celui de *Saint-Benoit.*—*Hélyot*, i. 1055. St. Columba was born in Leinster about 560 A.D., went to France, and founded the monasteries of Luxeuil, Annegray, and Fontaine, about and after 590 A.D.; then others in Switzerland.—*Ib.*

⁶ *Gilbertines.* The founder of this order (St. Gilbert) was an Englishman, born at Sempringham, Lincolnshire. He also founded an order of nuns after the Benedictine institute; and at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries, his followers and their houses were very numerous.—Chambers. The order was founded A.D. 1148. The rules were a connecting link between the Benedictine and Augustine ones.—King.

⁷ *Disciplina,*—apud monachos est flagellatio, interdum virgæ ipsæ quibus flagellantur; *la discipline, et l'instrument qui sert à la donner.* *Disciplina* crebro etiam pro flagellatione, vel alia pœna, quæ ex decreto iudicis infligitur, usurpatur in leg. Wisig.; *fouet.* '*Disciplinatus,*' Moribus bonis disciplinæ beneficio præditus . . . "Rector hospitalis *disciplinatorum*" (*Acta Sanct.*); ex eo sic dictum quod pauperes in eo instruerentur.—D'Arnis.

⁸ ? *Clarenus* (*Frères Mineurs*). Après les persécutions que l'on suscita aux ermites Célestins pour détruire leur congrégation, le frère Ange de Cordon, étant de retour en Italie, se retira dans la Marche d'Ancône, entre Ascoli et les montagnes de Norsia, près de la rivière de *Clarène*, où, l'an 1302, ayant assemblé quelques disciples, il commença la congrégation des *Clarenus*, qui furent ainsi appelés à cause de cette rivière.—*Hélyot*, i. 963. (They had several monasteries in Italy.)

And many¹ Augustines;²
 Some clarissites,³ 2104
 Some be accolites,⁴
 Some be sklaveinytes,⁵ [leaf 129.]
 Some be nycolites,
 Some be heremytes, 2108
 Some be lazarites,⁶

¹ *And many*] Originally "Some be."—D.

² *Augustines.* Also Augustinians. The religious bodies that bear this name are great in number, though it is doubtful whether St. Augustine ever framed any rule of monastic life; but one was made from his writings, and was adopted by no less than thirty different orders, of which one of the chief was that of the "Canons Regular of St. Augustine." The first house of this order was at Nostell, near Pontefract; the order afterwards possessed about 170 houses in England, and 25 in Scotland.—Chambers.

³ *Clarisses (Religieuses).* Le second ordre de Saint-François est celui des religieuses Clarisses, ainsi appelées du nom de sainte Claire qu'elles reconnaissent pour leur Mère, ayant été la première religieuse de cet ordre, qui comprend non-seulement celles qui font profession de suivre à la lettre, et sans aucune mitigation, la règle que saint François donna à cette sainte, mais aussi celles qui suivent la même règle avec les mitigations et les adoucissements que les souverains pontifes y ont faits. Ce fut l'an 1212 que commença ce second ordre, par le renoncement général que fit cette sainte fille au monde et à toutes ses vanités pour suivre Jésus-Christ pauvre et humilié, à l'exemple de saint François. Elle était de la ville d'Assise, et naquit l'an 1193. *Hélyot*, i. 967-8. en Angleterre . . la principale maison des Clarisses était près d'Aldgate; elle fut bâtie par Blanche, reine de Navarre, et par Edmond, son mari, qui était fils de Henri III, frère d'Edouard 1^{er}, et comte de Lancaster, de Leicester, et de Darby. Ces Clarisses étaient du nombre de celles qu'on appelle Urbanistes. Outre le nom de Clarisses, on leur donnait encore le nom de *Minoreesses*. On appelait leurs couvents *Minories*. Lors de la destruction des monastères, celui des Clarisses dont il s'agit, fut changé en un magasin d'armes. Son nom est resté à la partie de la ville où il était, et on l'a donné aux nouveaux édifices qui s'étendent jusqu'à la campagne (!)—*Hélyot*, ii. 1161. See 'Minoreesses or poor Clares' in Stevens's *History of Monasteries*, i. 159.

⁴ *Acolythus*, proximus hypodiaconatus gradus, ut patet ex synod. Roman. Sylvestri, can. 7, ubi episcopo parere jubetur presbyter, diacono presbytero, diacono hypodiaconus, huic *acolythus*, *acolytho* exorcista, cui lector. Dicti autem *acolythi*, quasi ἀκόλουθοι; sunt enim veluti famuli ecclesiastici, utpote qui vilioribus Ecclesie ministeriis deputantur, ut cereis deferendis.—"*Acoluthi Sedis apostolicæ* octo ordinarii, qui cum Pontifex apud lectum paramenti, et similiter ut in ecclesia celebraturus, et induitur sacris vestibus, circumstant genuflexi, et ornamenta subministrant diaconis, cardinalibus," etc. (*Ceremon.*, lib. III).—D'Arnis. '*Acolytes*, (i.e. Followers) certain inferior Church-Officers in the Primitive Times, who assisted the Priests, Deacons and Sub-Deacons; performing the meaner Offices of lighting the Candles, carrying the Bread and Wine, &c. The Word is still us'd among Roman Catholicicks, for a kind of Under-Deacon or Priest's Attendant, that waits upon him while he says Mass.'—*Kersey's Phillips*, A.D. 1706.

⁵ MS. may be *Sklavemytes*, as the i is not dotted; but the wearers of a *selavine* are meant. '*Sclavina, selavinia*, Vestis longior, sagi militaris instar, Sclavis, ut videtur, familiaris, unde nomen mansit.'—Dufresne. '*Esclavine*: f. as *Esclamme*: f. A long and thicke riding cloake to beare off the raine; a Pilgrim's cloake, or mantle; a cloake for a traueeller.'—Cotgrave.

⁶ *Lazarus*, leprosus, *lépreux*; ol. *lazare, ladre*. (Mon. Angl.) *Lazarum*, locus ubi *lazari* curantur; *hôpital de lépreux, léproserie*.—D'Arnis.

Some be ninivites,	
Some be Iohannytes, ¹	
Some be Iosephites,	2112
Some be Iesuytes, ²	
<i>Servi</i> and <i>servytes</i> , ³	
And Sondry Iacobites, ⁴	[leaf 129, back.]
Then be ther helenytes, ⁵	2116
hierosolymites, ⁶	
Magdalynites, ⁷	
hieronimytes,	
Anacorites,	2120
And Scenobites. ⁸	
So be ther sophrans,	
Constantinopolitanes,	
holy hungarians,	[leaf 130.]
Purgatorians,	2125

¹ Called after St. John of Jerusalem.—King. Also an Arian name for the orthodox.

² *Jesuitains*: m. An Order of White Friars which weare hoods on their heads like women, and shave their beards continually.—Cotgrave. Not the celebrated Society of Jesus, which was not authorized by Pope Paul III. till 1540.

³ *Servytes*. "This order was founded by seven Florentine merchants, who, with the approbation of the Bishop of Florence, renounced the world, and lived together in a religious community on Mount Senar, two leagues from that city. When they first appeared in the *black habit*, given them by the bishop, the very children at the breast cried out,—“See the Servants of the Virgin!” and this miracle determined them to take no other name than that of *Servites*, or ‘Servants of the Virgin.’”—Adams’s *Dictionary of all Religions*, 3rd edit. p. 287.

⁴ *Jacobites*. Members of the Dominican Order were known in France by the name of Jacobins, on account of their chief establishment being situated in the Rue St.-Jacques, Paris.—Chambers. Also a sect of Christians in the East in the sixth and seventh centuries. ‘A Sect of Hereticks set up by one Jacob, a Syrian; they us’d Circumcision, and acknowledg’d but one Nature in Christ.’—Kersey.

⁵ Nuns of the Benedictine Order.—King.

⁶ *Hierosolymites*. The Knights of St. John of Jerusalem; called also “Knights of Rhodes,” and, later, “Knights of Malta.” The order originated in 1048, and was sanctioned by the Pope (Pascal II) in 1113. The Priory at Clerkenwell was their chief abode in England; and the head of this Priory took his seat in the House of Lords, under the style of the First Baron in England.—Chambers. See *line* 2150, “And of St. Johns frarys.”

⁷ *Magdalynites*. An Order of penitent prostitutes founded in the 14th century. Pope Clement VIII ordered that the effects of deceased prostitutes in Rome should be handed over to a house in that city which had been founded by Pope Leo X.—Adams. The *Hieronimytes* were called after Jerome.

⁸ From *κοινο*-common, and *βιο*-life. Of that great Number of solitary Persons which peopled the Deserts, there came two sorts of Monks, of which those who liv’d in Community were call’d *Conobites*; and those who withdrew into greater Solitude, after having liv’d long in Community, and having there learnt to subdue their Passions, retain’d the Name of *Achorites*. *Stevens*, i. 10, § V.

Chalomerians,
 And ambrosians;¹
 Then be ther indianes, 2128
 And escocyanes,
 lucifrans,²
 chartusyanes,³
 collectanes,⁴ 2132
 Capusianes,⁵ [leaf 130, back.]

¹ *Ambrosians.* A religious order founded in Italy, about the time of Pope Gregory II (715–731, A.D.). They took their name from that of their convent, St. Ambrose. They were afterwards united to the Apostolins. There is also a congregation of nuns of the same name, founded in 1403 by three Venetian ladies.—*Adams.*

“The canon of the mass is pieced and patched up out of many lies. The Greeks have it not. When I was in Italy, I saw that they at Milan had no such canon, and when I offered to celebrate mass there, they said to me: *Nos sumus Ambrosiani.* They told me that in former time they had been at debate among themselves, whether they should receive into their Church the book of Ambrose, or that of Gregory, and to that end prayed God by some miracle to decide for them. At night, they laid both the books in the church; in the morning, they found the book of Ambrose altogether whole and unmoved, upon the high altar, but the book of Gregory was torn all in pieces, scattered up and down the church. The same they construed thus: Ambrose should remain at Milan upon the altar, Gregory be scattered about the whole world.”—*Luther's Table-Talk*, xii. p. 223.

² *Lucifrans.* The followers of Lucifer, bishop of Cagliari, in Sardinia, in the fourth century. No mention is made of them after the time of Theodosius the Great.—*Adams.*

³ *Chartusyanes, Carthusians.* This monastic order was founded by St. Bruno and six of his companions at La Chartreuse, in 1086, from which place the order takes its name. The Carthusians appeared in England in 1180–1181. This order was very strict; and the punishment of flagellation was visited on those of its members who broke silence, except on particular days. The Carthusian nuns (first heard of at Salette, on the Rhone, about 1229), however,—although they were guided by the same rules as those of the Carthusian monks,—were allowed (because silence is harder for a woman than a man to bear) more freedom in this respect.—*Chambers.* See Stevens, i. 241.

⁴ ? *Coletans* (Frères Mineurs, *Hélyot*, i. 1044) Franciscans, reformed by the blessed Colette de Corbie who was born at Corbie in Picardy, 13 January, 1380.

⁵ *Capusianes.* Matthew de Bassi, a Franciscan monk, having seen St. Francis represented as wearing the sharp-pointed *Capuehe*, or cowl, obtained the consent of Pope Clement VII. to make it a feature in his dress. In this De Bassi was quickly followed by other monks; but, owing to the persecution which they received from their brother-Franciscans, they were compelled to retreat from place to place. They afterwards formed themselves into a distinct order by the name of Capuchins. In France they were also called Jacobins, owing to their principal establishment in Paris being situated in the Rue St.-Jacques. There is also an order of Capuchin nuns, founded by a noblewoman of the name Maria Laurentia Longa at Naples, in 1538, A.D. “If the emperor would merit immortal praise, he would utterly root out the order of the *Capuchins*, and, for an everlasting remembrance of their abominations, cause their books to remain in safe custody. 'Tis the worst and most poisonous sect. The Augustin and Bernardine friars are no way comparable with these confounded lice.”—*Luther's Table-Talk.*

hispanians, honofrianes, ¹ Gregorianes,	2136
vnprosianes, wincelanes, with ruffianes, ² And with rhodianes. ³	2140
Some be templers, And exemplers,	[leaf 131.]
Some be spitlers, And Some be vitlers,	2144
Some be scapelers, And Some cubiculers, Some be tercyaris, And Some be of St. marys,	2148
Some be hostiaris, And of St. Iohns frarys, ⁴ Some be stellifers, And Some be ensefers,	2152
Some lucifers, ⁵ And Some be crucyfers, Some haue signe of sheres, And Some were shurtes of heres.	2156
Some be of the spone, And Some be crossed to rome ; Some daunce <i>and</i> daly In sophathes valley,	[leaf 132.]
And in the blak alley Wheras it ever darke is, And Some be of St. markis ⁶	2161

¹ Took their name from St. Onuphrius, a Hermit.—King.

² *Ruf* (Chanoines Réguliers de la Congrégation de Saint-).—*Hélyot*, iii. 403. The legend runs that the saint was a friend of Lazarus, and was put out with him to sea. They landed in Provence, where Lazarus was made Bp. of Marseilles and St. Ruf of Avignon. The order was in great esteem in the 12th century, and settled in or near Avignon, till the Albigenses destroyed the church of St. Ruf and his monastery. The order afterwards built abbeys at Valence in Dauphiné.

³ Knights of St. John, possessing the Isle of Rhodes.—King.

⁴ Cf. 'Than cometh the elerkez of *saint John Frary*' (friary, fraternity: there was one such in Clerkenwell) in *God Spede the Plough*, in my *Crede*, p. 70, l. 45.—Skeat.

⁵ See *Lucifrans*, l. 2130, and note.

⁶ Under the head *Marc*, *Hélyot* gives, ii. 888, "Marc (Chevaliers de Saint-). Voyez *Chausse* i.) 879. Des Chevaliers de la Chausse, de l'Etoile d'Or, de Saint-Marc, et du Doge à Venise). *Marc de Florence* (Dominicains de la Con-

Mo then be good clarkes.	2164
Some be mysiricordes, Mighty men and lordes, And Some of godes house That kepe the poore souse,	2168
<i>Minimi</i> ¹ and mymes, And other blak devines, with virgins and vestalles, monkes and monyalles,	2172
that be conventualles like frogges and todes. And Some be of the rhodes, ² Sworde-men and knightes,	2176
That for the [faith] fightes With sise, sinke, and quatter. ³	[leaf 133.]
But nowe never the latter I intend to clatter	2180
Of a mangye matter, That smelles of the smatter, Openly to tell what they do in hell,	2184
Wheras oure ffryers ⁴ dwell, ⁵ everich in his sell,	

grégation de Saint-). Voy. *Lombardie* III. *Mare de Gavoti* (Dominicains de la Congrégation de). Voy. *Lombardie* III. *Mare de Mantoue et du Saint-Esprit* (Chanoines Réguliers de Saint-) a Venise."

¹ *Minimes* (Ordre des), *Hélyot*, ii. 981, founded by St. François de Paule, about 1435 A.D., when he was only 19 years of age. See note ¹, p. 244, above.

² See *Hierosolymites*, l. 2117, and the note on it.

³ 6, 5, 4, on the dice.—Skeat.

⁴ See Skelton's sketch of the Friars, in *Colyn Cloute*, Works, i. 343-5, and 339-40; also the references under *Friars* and *Monks*, in the Parker Society's Index.

⁵ This is where Chaucer also chaffily places the Friars. See the Sompnour's Prologue, l. 25, ii. 258, ed. Morris:—

'Hold up thy tayl, thou Sathanas,' quod he
'Schew forth thyn ars, and let the frere se
'Wher is the nest of freres in this place' [hell].
And er than half a forlong way of space,
Right so as bees swarmen out of an hyve,
Out of the develes ers thay gonne dryve,
Twenty thousand freres on a route,
And thoroughout helle swarmed al aboute,
And comen ageine, as fast as they maye goon,
And in his ers they crepen everichoon.
He clappid his tayl agayn, and lay ful stille.
This frere . . . for fere yit he quook,
So was the develes ers yit in his mynde,
That is his heritage of verray kynde.

The phane and the prophane,	[leaf 133, back.]
The croked and the lame,	2188
The mad, the wild, and tame,	
every one by name.	
The formest of them all	
Is ther generall ;	2192
And the next they call	
Ther hic provincyall,	
With Costos and wardyn ⁿ	
That lye next the Gardeyn ⁿ ;	[leaf 134.]
Then oure father prior,	2197
with his subprior	
That with the Covent Comes	
To gather vpp the Cromes ;	2200
Then oure fryer douche	
Goeth by a crouche,	
And slouthfull ffryer slouche	
That bereth Iudas pouche ;	2204
Then ffryer domynike	[leaf 134, back.]
And ffryer demonyke,	
ffryer Cordiler ¹	

¹ *Cordelier* : m. A Grey Frier (of the Order of S. Francis), a Cordelier. *Monnoye de Cordelier*, Thankses, or a Benedicitee, (for Grey Friars are to carry no money about them). *Cordeliere* : f. A Grey Friars girdle (made of a peece of a rope full of equally-distant knots).—Cotgrave.

What, wold Fraunces, our friar,	|	So madde a <i>cordylar</i> ,
Be such a false lyar,		So madde a murmurar.'

Skelton's *Duke of Albany*, l. 373-6, *Works*, ii. 79.

Compare *The Romaunt of the Rose*, l. 7445-7470, *Chaucer's Works*, ed. Morris, vi. 227 :—

And False-semblant had he sene also,
 But he knewe nat that he was false . . .
 For Semblant was so slye wrought,
 That falsenesse he ne espyede nought.
 But haddest thou knowen hym beforne,
 Thow woldest on a boke have sworne
 (Whan thou hym saugh in thylke array)
 That he, that whylome was so gaye,
 And of the daunce Joly Rolyn ;
 Was tho become a *Jacobyn*. (l. 2209.)
 But sothly, what-so men hym calle,
Frere preachours (l. 2219) bene goode men alle ;
 Her order wyckedly they beren
 Such *Minstreles*, yf they weren.
 So bene *Augustyns* (l. 2210), and *Cordylers* (l. 2207)
 And *Carnes* (l. 2213), and eke *Sacked Freres* (l. 2227)
 And alle freres shodde and bare
 (Though some of hem bene great and square,)

And ffryer bordiler, ¹	2208
ffryer Iacobine,	
ffryer Augustyne, ²	
And ffryer incubyne, ³	
and ffryer Succubine, ⁴	2212
ffryer carmelyte ⁵	
And ffryer hermelite,	
ffryer mynorite ⁶	[leaf 135.]
and ffryer ipocrite,	2216
ffrier ffranciscane ⁷	
And ffrier damiane,	
ffrier precher	
And ffrier lecher,	2220
ffrier crusifer	
And ffrier lusifer,	
ffrier purcifer	
And ffrier furcifer,	[leaf 135, back.]
ffrier ferdifer	2225
And ffrier merdifer,	
ffryer sacheler	
And ffryer bacheler,	2228
ffryer cloysterer	
And ffrier floysterer, ⁸	
ffrier pallax ⁹	

Ful holy men, as I hem deme ;
 Everyche of hem wolde good man seme.
 But shalt thou never of apparence
 Sene conclude good consequence
 In none argument, ywys,
 If existence al fayled is.

¹ *Bordelier*: m. A wench, whoore-munger, whoore-hunter, haunter of bawdie houses.—*Cotgrave*.

² On 'Augustin Fryers, or Eremites of St. Augustin, their Original, their first coming into England, and the Monasteries of them in England,' see *Stevens*, ii. 214–29.

³ *Incubus*, the Night-Mare, a disease that oppresses People in their sleep. Also a Devil that has Carnal Knowledge of a Woman, under the shape of a Man.—*Kersey's Phillips*.

⁴ *Succubus* (Lat.) a Devil that takes a Woman's shape to lie with a Man.—*Kersey*.

⁵ See *Stevens*, ii. 153–185.

⁶ The [Minorite,] Franciscan and [= or] grey friars came up under the emperor Frederick II, at the time St. Elizabeth was canonized, in the year 1207.—*Luther's Table-Talk*, p. 213.

⁷ See *Stevens*, i. 89–125, ii. 1.

⁸ *Floysterer*, skittish, boyish.—*Halliwell*.

⁹ *Pallax*, dolosus, fallax, in Gloss. Isid. ad quas recte Grævius: lege, ut habent Excerpta, *Pallax* Constantiensis: *Pellax*, dolosus, fallax. Hinc apud Festum, *pellicator*, qui pellicit in fraudem.—*Henschel's Dufresne*.

And ffrier fallax, ¹	2232
ffrier fugax ²	[leaf 136.]
And ffrier nugax, ³	
ffrier rapax ⁴	
And ffrier capax, ⁵	2236
ffrier lendax ⁶	
And ffrier mendax, ⁷	
ffrier vorax ⁸	
And ffrier nycticorax, ⁹	2240
ffryer Iapax, ¹⁰	
ffrier furdere ¹¹	
And ffrier murderer,	[leaf 136, back.]
ffrier tottiface ¹²	2244
And ffrier sottiface, ¹³	
ffrier pottiface ¹³	
And frier pockyface, ¹⁴	
ffrier trottapace	2248
And ffrier topiace, ¹⁵	
ffrier futton ¹⁶	
And ffrier glotton ¹⁶ ,	
ffrier Galiard ¹⁷	[leaf 137.]
And ffrier paliard, ¹⁸	2253

¹ *fallax*, deceitful.—White and Riddell.

² Apt to flee, fleeing, shunning, avoiding.—ib.

³ *Nugax*, having or prone to *nugæ* (Jokes, jests, idle speeches, trifles, trumpery, nonsense), hence, Jestng, trifling, frivolous.—ib.

⁴ *rapax*, grasping, greedy of plunder, rapacious.—ib.

⁵ *Capax*, great, capacious.—ib.

⁶ I can only find '*Lendax*, Tarmus, (tarmes) *vermis in lardo*, Johanni de Janua, *Vert de Lart*, in Glossis Sangerm.—Henschel's *Dufresne*.

⁷ *mendax*, given or prone to lying, a liar.—White and Riddell.

⁸ *vorax*, swallowing greedily, devouring, ravenous, voracious.—ib.

⁹ *Nycticorax*] MS. "Necticorax."—D. Night raven.—Skeat.

¹⁰ ? *iapex*, velox, in Gloss. Sangerman. MS. num. 501 An *Iapyx*, ventus spirans ex Iapygia seu Apulia. Gr. *ιδρυξ ανεμος* . . . Henschel's *Dufresne*. But I suppose it's the English *jape*, mock, trick, latinized.

¹¹ ? *furor* I steal: *furtum* theft.

¹² Cf. Spenser's *Fairy Queene*, bk. vi, Mutabilitie, st. 39.—Skeat.

¹³ *Goffe*, Dull, sottish, doltish, lumpish, blockish, heauie-headed, grosse-tted, sodden-brained.—Cotgrave.

¹⁴ *Fossetteux*, full of little pits, pockars, or pock-holes.—Cotgrave.

¹⁵ ? skulker. *Tappice*, to hide. 'The spider is a *tapist*,' quoted in Nares. e *tapissement* in Cotgrave.

¹⁶ *Foutre*, to leacher. *Foutu* . . a scoundrell, a fellow of small accompt.—Cotgrave.

¹⁷ Fr. *gaillard*, Lustie, liuelie; frolicke, buxome, cheerefull, blithe, iocond, pleasant, gamesome . . . also, rash, or somewhat vndiscreet, by too much iollitie.—Cotgrave.

¹⁸ *Paillard*: m. A lecher, wencher, whoremonger, whorehunter: also a knave, rascall, varlet, scoundrell, filthie fellow.—Cotgrave.

ffrier goliard¹
 And ffrier foliard,²
 ffrier goddard³ 2256
 And ffrier foddard,⁴
 ffrier ballard⁵
 And ffrier skallard,
 ffrier crowsy⁶ 2260
 And ffrier lowsy, [leaf 137, back.]
 ffrier sloboll
 And ffrier bloboll,⁷
 ffrier toddypoll⁸ 2264
 And ffrier noddypoll,⁹
 ffrier flaphole

He tryhumfythe, he trumpythe, he turnythe all vp and downe,
 With 'skyrregalyard, prowde *palyard*, vaunteperler, ye prate!"

Skelton (on Wolsey, in) *Speke, Parrot*. l. 427; *Works*, ii. 21.

and again of the Duke of Albany, *Works*, ii. 73, l. 167—

We set nat a myght	Suche a starke cowarde,
By suche a cowarde knyght,	Suche a proude pultrowne,
Suche a proude <i>palyarde</i> ,	Suche a foule coystrowne,
Suche a skyrkaliarde,	Suche a doutty dagswayne.

¹ goliardeys. Chaucer.—Skeat.

² *Folier*. To playe the foole, doe like an asse, behaue himself like an ideot.
 —Cotgrave.

³ *Godde, vne lasche godde*. A sloathfull hylding (A low person, Halliwell: An idle jade, Kennett.) *Goddon*: m. a filthie glutton or swiller; one that hath a vile wide swallow.—Cotgrave.

⁴ ? Lump of Lead. *Fodder, or Fother of Lead*, a Weight of Lead containing Eight Pigs, every Pig 23½ stone . . 2000 Pound-Weight.—*Kersey's Phillips*.

⁵ 'The wei-betere, the *ballart*.' Names of the Hare, in *Reliq. Antiq.* i. 133.

⁶ ? *Crowse* or *cruse*, *potte* (*crowce* or *erwee*) *Amula*, Promptorium.

⁷ 'Blowbole, *yuroigne*.—Palsgrave's *Lesclaireissement de la Lang. Fr.*, 1530, fol. xx. (Table of Subst.). 'To blowe in a bowle, and for to pill a platter,' etc. Barclay's *First Egloge*, sig. A iiiii. ed. 1570.

Farewell Peter *blowbowle* I may wel call thee.

Enterlude of Kyng Daryus, 1565, sig. B.—Dyce's *Skelton*, ii. 98.

Colyne Blowbols Testament, mentioned by Mr. Dyce as in MS., has been since printed by Mr. Halliwell in his *Nugæ Antiquæ*.

⁸ Skelton says of Wolsey and his Council (*Why come ye nat to Courte*; *Works*, ii. 46–7, l. 647–51)—

He is so fyers and fell,	He grynnes and he gapis
He rayles and he ratis,	As it were iack napis.
He calleth them <i>doddypatis</i> .	

⁹ A noddie or noddie-peake . . *guilmin*, (Sherwood) *Guilmin*: m. A noddie, ninnie, coxe, ideot.—Cotgrave.

For that no man shulde se,	Nor of theyr sely soules,
Nor rede in any scrolles,	Nor of some wytles pates,
Of theyr dronken nolles,	Of dyuers great estates
Nor of theyr <i>noddy polles</i> ,	As well as other men.

Skelton (of Prelates) in *Colyne Cloute*, l. 1242–9. *Works*, i. 359.

And ffrier claphole,
 ffrier kispott 2268
 And ffrier pispott,
 ffrier chipchop¹ [leaf 138.]
 And ffrier likpott,²
 ffrier clatterer 2272
 And ffrier fflatterer,
 ffrier bib, ffrier bob,
 ffrier lib,³ ffrier lob,⁴
 ffrier fear, ffrier fonde, 2276
 ffrier beare, ffrier bonde,
 ffrier rooke, ffrier py,⁵
 ffrier flooke,⁶ ffrier flye, [leaf 138, back.]
 ffrier spitt, ffrier spy, 2280
 ffrier lik, ffrier ly,
 with ffrier we-he⁷
 found by the trinityte,
 And frier fandigo, 2284
 With an hundred mo
 Could I name by ro,
 Ne were for losse of tyme,

¹ The sweet Italian, and the *chip-chop* Dutch . . .
 With our outlandish *chip-chop* gibrish gabbling.

*Taylor (the Water-Poet)'s Worke*s, 1630, p. 27.—*Wheatley's Diet.*

² Lykpot fyngyr, *Index. Promptorium*. A Lykpotte, *index, demonstrativus*. *Catholicon Ang.*—*ib.*

³ *lib*, to geld.

⁴ *Lourdant* . . a lowt, *lob*, *luske*, boore, clowne, churle, clusterfist.—*Cotgrave*.

⁵ *Freres of the Pye, Pied Friars*. Compare what the Minorite, Franciscan, or Gray Friar, says of the Carmelites or White Friars in *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede*, p. 3, l. 64–6, ed. Skeat:—

Sikerli y can nouyt fynden · who hem first founded,
 But þe foles foundeden hem-self · *freres of the Pye*,
 And maken hem mendynauns · & marre þe puple.

On which Mr. Skeat says, p. 35, 'These [*freres of the Pye*] would appear to be not very different from the Carmelites: they were called *Pied Friars* from their dress being a mixture of black and white, like a magpie.

'With an O and an I, fuerunt *Pyed Freres*,
 Quomodo mutati sunt, rogo dicat Pers.'

Polit. Poems, i. 262, ed. T. Wright.

⁶ *Flook, fluke*, a flat insect which breeds in the livers of sheep and other quadrupeds, when in bad condition. Loth. S. B. (Also, a diarrhoea, and a flounder, or other flat-fish.)—*Jamieson*.

⁷ Compare (says Mr. Skeat) WILLIAM on the beggers in the *Vision*, ed. Wright, p. 144, l. 4664–9:—

Manye of yow ne wedde nocht The womman that ye with deale,
 But as wilde beestes with '*wehce!*' Worthen uppe, and werchen,
 And bryngen forth barnes, That bastardes men calleth.

To make to longe a Ryme.	[leaf 139.]
O squalidi laudati,	2289
fedi ¹ effeminati,	
falsi falsati,	
fuci fucati, ²	2292
Culi caccati, ³	
Balbi braccati, ⁴	
Mimi mardati, ⁵	
Lerui leruati, ⁶	2296
Crassi cathaphi, ⁷	[leaf 139, back.]
Calvi cucullati, ⁸	
Curvi curvati,	
Skurvi knavati,	2300
Spurci spoliati, ⁹	
hirci ¹⁰ armati,	
vagi ¹¹ devastati,	
Devij debellati,	2304
Surdi sustentati,	
Squalidi laudati,	[leaf 140.]
Tardi terminati,	
Mali subligati,	2308
Inpij coniurati,	
Profusi profugi,	
Lapsi lubrici, ¹²	
Et parum pudici!	2312
Oth ¹³ ye drane bees,	
Ye bloody fleshe flees,	
Ye spitefull spittle spyes,	[leaf 140, back.]
And grounde of herisees,	2316
That dayly without sweat	
Do but drinke and Eate,	

¹ *foedus*, adj. foul, filthy, abominable.

² Painted pretences, deceits, or drones.

³ Shitten arses.

⁴ *Balbus*, stammering, stuttering; *bracatus*, having breeches.

⁵ t. i. "merdati."—D. Turded farces, bedunged humbugs.

⁶ *Larvi larvati*] The line ought properly to be "Larvæ larvata."—D.

⁷ *cathaphi*] Qy. "cataphagi" (voraces)?—D.

⁸ Cowled baldheads: (?) meant for 'bald cuckolders.'

⁹ *Spureus*, filthy, dirty.

¹⁰ *hircus*, he-goat.

¹¹ *vagus*, strolling about, roving, vagrant.

¹² *lubricus*, slippery.

¹³ Och!—Skeat. Compare again the *Crede* :—

And ryght as dranes doþ nought . but drynkeþ vp þe huny,

Whan been wiþe her bysynesse . han brought it to hepe,

Right so fareþ freres . wiþ folke opon erþe ;

þey freten vp þe furste-froyt . & falsliche lybbeþ.

Pierce the Ploughman's Crede, p. 27, l. 726–8, ed. Skeat.

And murther, meat *and* meat,
 vt fures *et* latrones! 2320
 Ye be incubiones,¹
 But no spadones,²
 Ye haue *your* culiones;³
 Ye be histriones, [leaf 141.]
 Beastely ballatrones,⁴ 2325
 Grandes thrassones,⁵
 Magni nebulones,⁶
 And cacademones, 2328
 That [eat] vs fleshe and bones
 With teeth more harde then stones.
 Youe make hevy mones,
 As it were for the nones, 2332
 With great and grevous grones, [leaf 141, back.]
 By sightes and by sobbes
 To blinde vs with bobbes.
 Oh ye false faytours, 2336
 Youe theves be, and tratours,
 The devils dayly wayters!
 Oh mesell mendicantes,⁷

¹ *incubiones*] Properly "incubones."—D.

² *Spado*, a castrated person, a eunuch.—White and Riddell.

³ *Cullions*, the Testicles or Stones.—Kersey.

⁴ *Balatro*, *-onis*, lit. a babbler; hence, a jester, one who makes sport, a buffoon (it seems to have designated a class of tragic actors, perhaps a harlequin, jester, jack-pudding, or something similar). *Ballator*, a dancer.—Andrews.

⁵ *Thraso*, *-onis*, *Θράσω* nomen gloriosi militis apud *Terent.* in *Eun.* a *θράσος*, insolentia, jactantia, audacia.—*Bailey's Forcellini.* *Θράσω*, to trouble, disquiet.

⁶ *Nebulo*, a paltry worthless fellow, an idle rascal, a sorry wretch.—Andrews. *Nebulo*, a paltry, worthless, fellow; an idle rascal, a sorry wretch.—White and Riddell. Whom did Andrews copy from? He has been often copied.

⁷ Compare the happy irony of Chaucer's account of 'we mendeaunts, we freres,' by the Friar in *The Sompnoours Tale*, ed. Morris, ii. 265–6. See also *Luther's Table-Talk*, p. 213, N^o cccclxxxvi.—

"If the pope should seek to suppress the mendicant friars, he would find fine sport; he has made them fat, and cherished them in his bosom, and assigned them the greatest and most powerful princes for protectors. If he should attempt to abolish them, they would all combine and instigate the princes against him; for many kings and princes, and the emperor himself, have friars for confessors. The friars were the pope's columns, they carried him as the rats carry their king; I was our Lord God's quicksilver, which he threw into the fishpond; that is, which he cast among the friars.

"A friar is evil every way, whether in the monastery or out of it. For as Aristotle gives an example touching fire, that burns whether it be in Ethiopia or in Germany, even so is it likewise with the friars. Nature is not changed by any circumstances of time or place."

And mangy obseruauntes!¹ 2340
 Ye be vagarantes!
 As persers pennytrantes,² [leaf 142.]
 Of mischef mynistrantes,
 In pillinge postulantes, 2344
 In preachinge petulantes,
 Of many sicophantes,³
 That gather, as do Antes,
 In places wher ye go; 2348
 With in principio⁴
 Runnyng to *and* ffro,
 Ye cause mikle woo [leaf 142, back.]
 With hie and with loo; 2352
 Wher youe do resorte,
 Ye fayne and make reporte

¹ And yet, amongst other, we may not forgete
 The poore *obseruauntes* that been so holy:
 They muste amongis vs have corne or mete.

God spede the Plough, l. 57-9, in Skeat's *Crede*, p. 71.

'Observants, a branch of the Franciscan order, otherwise called *Recollects*.'
 Imperial Dict.—*ib.* p. 75. Skelton says in *Colyū Cloute*, l. 745-9; *Works*, i. 340,

Or els yf we may
 Get a frere graye,
 Or els of the order

Vpon Greneweche border,
 Called *Obseruaunce*.

The Minorites or Observant Friars of the order of St. Francis had a piece of ground which adjoined the palace at Greenwich. They were much favoured by Katherine, queen of Henry VIII; and the King suppressed their whole order throughout England for taking her part. The convent at Greenwich was dissolved in 1534. Mary reinstated it, and Elizabeth suppressed it.—*Dyce*, ii. 288, quoting *Lyson's Environs of London*, iv. 464, ed. 1796.

² Compare WILLIAM in the *Vision*, l. 14601-4, ed. Wright, vol. ii, p. 445, on the Friar who got into a Lord's house as doctor to him and his Lady too, and 'salvede sooure wommen til some were with childe':—

'What hattestow? I praye thee; Hele noght thi name.'

'Certes,' seide his felawe, 'Sire *Penetrans domos*.'—Skeat.

³ *Of many sycophantes*] Perhaps "many" should be "mony." The proper form is "sycophantæ."—D.

⁴ So Chaucer, of the Friar, *General Prologue*, l. 253-5, Ellesmere MS.

ffor thogh a wydwe hadde noght a sho,
 So plesaunt was his *In principio*,
 Yet wolde he haue a ferthyng er he wente.

Tyrwhitt's doubt (iv. 200) whether it refers to the beginning of St. John, or of Genesis, or to some passage in the conclusion of the Mass, is set at rest by 'Friars. . they said *In principio erat Verbum*, from house to house,' 3 *Tyndale*, 62 (*Parker Soc. Index*). Tyrwhitt also refers to l. 15169 in *The Nonnes Prestes Tale*:—

. . . al so siker as *In principio*,
 'Mulier est hominis confusio.'
 Madame, the sentence of this Latin is,
 'Womman is mannes joye and mannes blis.'

Of that youe never harde,
 To make foles a-ferde 2356
 With visions and dremes,¹
 howe they do in hevens,
 And in other remes
 Be-yonde the great stremes [leaf 143.]
 Of Tyger and of gange, 2361
 Where tame devils range,
 And in the black grange,
 Thre myle out of hell, 2364
 Where sely Sowles dwell,
 In paynes wher they lye,
 howe they lament and cry
 Vnto youe, holy lyars, 2368
 And false flatteringe ffriers, [leaf 143, back.]
 for dirige and masses ;
 Wherwith, like very asses,
 We maynteynⁿ youe and your lasses ; 2372
 But in especiall
 ye say, the sowles call
 for the great trentall ;²
 for some sely Sowles 2376
 So depe ly in holes
 Of ffier and brennyng Coles,³ [leaf 144.]

¹ *dremes*] I suspect the author wrote "*surveys*," and that "*dremes*," a gloss on the word, crept by mistake into the text.—D.

² See the poem *Trentalle Sancti Gregorii* in my *Political, Religious, and Love Poems* (E. E. T. Soc. 1866) p. 87. The 30 Masses were to be sung, 3 on each of the 10 chief Feasts, Christmas, the Circumcision, Mary's Purification, the Annunciation, Christ's Resurrection, his Ascension, Pentecost, Trinity Sunday, Mary's Assumption, her Nativity.

³ Compare Chaucer's living picture of the Friar in *The Sompnour's Tale*. Note the touch (ed. Morris, ii. 262),

*And fro the bench he drove away the cat,
 And layd adoun his potent and his hat,
 And cek his scrip, and sat him soft adoun ;*

also his kissing and flattering Thomas's wife, and her gratified vanity and mock humility, 'Ye, God amend defautes, Sir,' quod sche. Is *this* a translation of a foreign original (p. 68, above)? Why, bless my soul, Chaucer saw it all in England with his own eyes, and makes us see it too. But I'm getting away from souls frying in Purgatory, and Trentals. This friar in Holdernesse

Had preched at a chirch in his manere,
 And specially aboven every thing
 Excited he the poepul in his preching
 To *trentals*, and to yive for Goddis sake [to Friars, not Monks] . . .
 '*Trentals*, sayd he, 'delyuereth fro penaunce,
 Her frendes soules, as wel eld as yonge ;
 Ye, whanne that thay hastily ben songe [by a Friar, not a Priest] . . .

That top and tayle is hid ;
 for whom to pray and bid, 2380
 Thens to haue them rid,
 ye thinke it but a foly ;
 Althoughe the masse be holy,
 The fendes be wyly : 2384
 Till masse of scala cely,¹
 At Bathe or at Ely
 Be by a ffrier saide, [leaf 144, back.]
 That is a virgine mayde, 2388
 These sowles may not away,
 As all yo^w ffriers say.
 So trowe I without doubt
 These sowles shall never out ; 2392
 for it is rara avis ;
 Ye be so many knaves !
 I swere, by crosses ten,
 That fewe be honest men ! [leaf 145.]
 So many of youe be 2397
 Full of skurrilite,
 That throughly to be sought
 The multitude is noughte : 2400
 Ye be nothings Denty ;
 Ye Come among vs plenty
 By coples in a peire,
 As sprites in the heire, 2404
 Or dogges in the ffayre ; [leaf 145, back.]
 Where yo^w do repayre,
 Ye ever ride *and* rune,
 As swifte as any gune, 2408
 With nowe to go and Come,
 As motes in the Sonne,
 To shrive my lady nonne,
 With humlery hum, 2412
 Dominus vobiscum !²

Delyverith out anon,' quod he, 'the soules.
 Ful hard it is, with fleischhok or with oules
 To ben y-clawed, or brend, o[the]r i-bake ;
 Now speed yow hastily, for Cristes sake.' (ed. Morris, ii. 260.)

¹ On the chapel *Scala Celi* at Rome, see *Pol. Rel. and Love Poems*, p. 118,
 158, p. xxvi, and *Stacions of Rome*, p. xi, p. 5, l. 118.

² 'Deus hie' quod he, 'O Thomas, frend, good day !'
 Sayde this frere al curteysly and softe.

God knoweth all and Some,	[leaf 146.]
what is and hath bene done,	
Syns the world begone,	2416
Of russett, gray, and white, ¹	
That sett ther hole delighte	
In lust and lechery,	
In thefte and trecherey,	2420
In lowsy lewdenes,	
In Synne and shrodenes,	
In crokednes acurst,	[leaf 146, back.]
Of all people the worste,	2424
Marmosettes <i>and</i> apes,	
That with your pild pates	
Mock vs with your iapes.	
Ye holy caterpillers !	2428
Ye helpe your well-willers	
With prayers <i>and</i> psalmes,	
To deuoure the Almes	
That christians should give	[leaf 147.]
To meyntheyne and releve	2433
The people poore and nedy ; ²	
But youe be gredy,	
And so great a number,	2436
That, like the ffier of thunder,	
The worlde ye incomber :	
But hereof do I wonder,	
howe ye preache in prose,	2440
And shape therto a glose,	[leaf 147, back.]
Like a shipmans hose, ³	
To fayne your-sc[l]ves ded,	
Whiche nathelasse be fed,	2444
And Dayly Eate oure bred	
That ye amonge vs beg,	
And gett it spite of oure hede.	
It wonder is to me,	2448

¹ *russett*: ? the Black Friars (Dominicans or Jacobins). The Augustine Friars also wore black. *Gray*: the Minorites or Franciscans. *White*: the Carmelites or White Friars.

² Compare *A Supplicacyon for the Beggars*, 1524-5 A.D. near the end, "Tye these holy idell theues [monks] to the eartes, to be whipped naked about euery market towne til they will fall to laboure, that they by their importunate begging, take not away the almesse that the good christen people wold giue vnto vs sore, impotent, miserable people, your bedemen."

³ Cp. the Welshman's hose, p. 206, l. 814, note ³, above (Skcat); and on *glose*, p. 228, note ² on l. 1521, above; also p. 239, l. 1928.

howe ye maye fathers be,
 Your sede to multiply, [leaf 148.]
 But yf yo^w be incuby,¹
 That gender gobolynes. 2452
 Be we not bobolynes,
 sutch lesinges to beleve,
 whiche ye amonge vs dry [ve] ?
 Because ye do vs shrive, 2456
 Ye² say we must youe call
 fathers Seraphicall
 And angelicall, [leaf 148, back.]
 That be fantastical, 2460
 Brute and bestiall,³
 Yea, Diabolicall,
 The babes of beliall,
 The Sacrifise of ba[a]ll, 2464
 The dregges of all durte,
 fast bounde and girte
 vnder the devils skyrte ;
 for pater priapus, [leaf 149.]
 And frater polpatus, 2469
 with doctor dulpatus,⁴
 Suffultus fullatus,⁵
 pappus paraliticus, 2472
 And pastour improvidus,
 Be false and frivolus,
 proude and pestiferous,
 pold and pediculous,⁶ 2476

¹ t. i. *incubi*.—D. See note to l. 2211.

² Ye] MS. "We."—D.

³ Some are *insufficientes*,
 Some *parum sapientes*,
 Some *nihil intelligentes*,

Some *valde negligentes*,
 Some *nullum sensum habentes*,
 But **BESTIAL** and vntaught.

Skelton's *Colyn Cloute*, l. 225–30, *Works*, ii. 319–20.

⁴ Compare Skelton's *Dawpatus* in the note to l. 1555 above, and this from *Doctour Double Ale*, l. 46–50 in *Early Popular Poetry*, iii. 305:—

They folowe perlowes [perilous] lechis,
 And doctours dulpatis,
 That falsely to them pratis,
 And bring them to the gates
 Of hell and vtter derkenes.

⁵ *fullatus*] Qy. "fulcratus?"—D.

⁶ full of lice. See my *Babees Book*, p. 209. 'Pediculus other whyle do byte me by the backe': A. Borde, of the Irishe man. 'A Lowse highte *Pediculus* / and is a worme of the skynne, and hath that name of *Pedibus*, the fete / as Isi[dore] saith, li. xii. And greueth more in the skynne with the fete and with crepyng / than he doth with bytyng.—*Trevisa's Bartholomeus*, ed. 1535, lf. CCCLXIII.

Ranke and ridiculous,	[leaf 149, back.]
Madd and meticulous,	
Ever invidious,	
never religious,	2480
In preachinge prestigious,	
In walkinge prodigious,	
In talkinge sedicious,	
In doctrine parnicious,	2484
haute and ambicious,	
ffonde and supersticious,	[leaf 150.]
In lodginge prostibulus,	
In beddinge promiscuous,	2488
In Councells myschevous,	
In musters monstrous,	
In skulkinge insidicious,	
vnchast and lecherous,	2492
In excesse outragious,	
As sicknesse contagious, ¹	
The wurst kind of Edders,	[leaf 150, back.]
And stronge sturdy beggers :	2496
Wher one stande and teaches,	
An ^d other prate and preches,	
Like holy horseleches.	
So this rusty rable	2500
At bourd and at table	
Shall fayne and fable,	
With bible and with bable,	
To make all thinge stable,	[leaf 151.]
By lowrynge and by lokinge,	2505
By powrynge and by potinge,	
By standinge and by stopinge,	
By handinge and by ffotinge,	2508
By Corsy and by Crokinge,	
With their owne pelf promotinge,	
With ther Eyes alweyes totinge	
Wher they may haue shotinge	2512
Ther and here ageyne :	[leaf 151, back.]
Thus the people seyne, ²	
with wordes true and playne,	
howe they Iest and ioll	2516

¹ *contagious.*] MS. "contragious."—D.

² *seyne*] Originally "sey," but altered by the original writer.—D.

with ther nody poll,	
with rownyng and rollinge,	
with bowsinge and bollinge,	
with lillinge and lollinge, ¹	2520
with knyllinge and knollinge,	
with tillinge ² and tollinge,	[leaf 152.]
with shavinge and pollinge,	
with snyppinge and snatchinge,	2524
with itching and cratching,	
with kepinge and katchinge,	
with wepinge and watchinge,	
with takinge <i>and</i> tatchinge,	2528
with peltinge and patchinge,	
with findinge and fatchinge,	
with scriblinge and scratchinge,	
with ynkinge and blatchinge;	[leaf 152, back.]
That no man can matche them,	2533
Till the Devill fatche them,	
And so to go together	
vnto their denne for ever,	2536
wher hens as they never	
hereafter shall dissever,	
But dy Eternally,	
'That lyve so carnally;	2540
for that wilbe ther Ende,	[leaf 153.]
But yf god them sende	
his Grace here to amend:	
And thus I make an Ende.	2544

Thus endeth the ffourthe and last parte of this
treatise called the Image of ypocresy.

[leaf 154.] The grudge of ypocrites conceyved ageynst the
Auctor of this treatise.

These be as knappishe knackes
As ever man made
for Javells³ and for iackes,
A Iym-iam⁴ for a iade. 2548

¹ To *lill* out the tongue as a dog that is weary.—Florio. *Loll*, to dandle, fondle.—See *Wedgwood's Dict.*

² Enticing.

³ *Javell*, a worthless fellow.—Halliwell.

⁴ *Jymiam*, a knickknack. *Jim*, slender, neat, elegant.—Halliwell.

well were we, yf we wist
 what a wight he were
 That sturred vpp this myst,
 To do vs all this dere ! 2552

Oh, yf we could attayne hym,
 he mighte be fast and sure
 we should not spare to payne hym,
 while we mighte indure ! 2556

The Answer of the Auctour.

Ego sum qui sum,
 my name may not be told ;
 but where ye go or come,
 ye may not be to bold : 2560

for I am, is, and was, [leaf 154, back.]
 And ever truste to be,
 neyther more nor las
 Then asketh charite. 2564

This longe tale to tell
 hathe made me almost horse :
 I trowe and knowe right well
 that god is full of force, 2568

And able make the dome
 And defe men heare and speake,
 And stronge men overcome
 By feble men and weke : 2572

So thus I say my name is ;
 ye geit no more of me,
 Because I wilbe Blameles,
 And live in charite. 2576

Thuse endith this boke called the [leaf 155.]
 Image of ypocresye.

Appendix to Image of Ypocresye.

(See p. 177, l. 15.)

A Satire on the non-preaching Ministers of James I's time.

THIS is a satirical Petition to James I by the lovers of 'good fellowship' among the Clergy,—those who were called by squires 'Madd priestes, odd priestes, Doctor Merriman, Vicar of Hell,' etc.—to put down the new rage for preaching, the new earnest preachers all over the land, and the Universities that sent them forth; and, instead of adding to the old monthly or quarterly sermon, to turn that into one sermon a year: this, instead of the preaching and catechising that goes on 'in such a fearful manner' as it now does. Also these non-preaching parsons pray that the Justices of the Peace will see Alehouses set up near to churches, and their number increased in dry towns. Here unluckily the Petition breaks off. It is printed in this volume as a contrast to Part III of *The Image of Ypocresye* (p. 226), on the Preachers, that Pre-Reformation and Post- may be compared.

[Harl. MS. 791.]

[leaf 66.] THE HUMBLE PETITION OF THE VNPREACHABLE MINNISTERS OF ENGLAND.

Most mighty Prince, now the heate of all other Suppliauntes is well quenched, Wee (that haue long beene dumbe and silent, and yet can say litle,) haue resolued to sett downe our homely Petition to *your Maiestie*, trusting that allthoug[h] wee tremble to come neere *your Royall person*, because they say *your grace* is admirable learned, yet that somebody or other, will bestow the tendering of it to *your graces handes*, in the behalfe of vs, A Company of most wretchles subiectes, that serue in *your graces dominions* vnder the Coulor and Countenaunce of Ministers. Alas! our good leige king, what shall become of vs, who in *your gracious Sisters*¹ dayes lined allwayes in feare, though not greatly hurte, and now much more haue occasion to be disquieted, seeing we are dayly more hunted, rated and threatned, by our fellow Ministers, and Sermon-sicke people of all sortes, then ever heretofore. Shall there never be any Iniunction made to stopp theire mouthes, that call vs, being men and Christians, Dumb Dogges, Idolls, vnsauory salt, Asses yoked with Oxen, Cloudes without Rayne, pittes without water, spottes and blurrs (insteade of starres,) blinde guides, and a thousand such wicked

¹ : Queen Elizabeth.

names? Why? what a mischeife! (god forgiue vs for being in Choller!) would they haue all the Min[i]sters preachers? That were, as though the Christ-cr[o]sse rowe¹ should be all vowellles, and neuer a Mute amongst them. Let them take this for their learneing, that in a Common-wealth of Cardes, there must be some other besides kinges and queenes of the same Colour, though not of the same quallity, or else we should haue poore pastime: An evident prooffe, that there ought to be some good fellowes, as good schollars, in the Ministry, as wee suppose; and yet (alas!) of all handes, wee are sought to be shoffled out, and discarded, which cannot chuse but greiue vs, that faine would liue att ease, howsoever we face it out in Companie; and soe much greater is our greife, because neither in the old nor New-Testament, nor in the old nor new booke of Common prayer, nor from the Parliament or Conuocation-house, can we heare of any Iott, tittle, or sound of Comfort to serue our turnes; which, nevertheless, would not trouble vs soe much, but that we are betrayed of our greatest favorites, who make vs Levites to helpe the preistes for a shifte, intending (as farr as we can gather out of the meaneing of the worde,) That if any one of vs haue a good Liueing, we shalbe ready to leaue, and to betake vs to other occupations, when a fitt Pulpitt-mate is offered to take the chardge: for meere neede they make vs but tollerable Inconueniences, and necessarye mischeifes, to supply their small liueinges, or leaueinges, rather vnsufficient to finde preaching² Ministers, or till the Church be furnished with learned labourers from the Vniuersities, whose fruitfull ofspring now seemes to threaten our vtter Ruine and fynall ouerthrow. what shall we say, where shall we complaine? our Comfortes or Counteuance haue this fiew and forty yeares decayed and bene in a flux; and now (without some speedy Remedy,) are alltogether att the last cast. Shall we complaine to the Bisshoppes and Fathers of the Church, who then will not acknowledg vs for their legitimate sonnes? or if for feare of some quare impedit, or by some letters of Commendac[i]ons from other our hyred freindes, they haue some tymes benee induced to bestow a Creation or a blessing vpon vs, which make accompt, we are faine with Iacob or Esau (wee doe not very well remember whither,) to steale, soe shall we finde none [of] them all deale like a father indeede, and cast a good liueing vpon any of vs that haue benee still-borne, and bred vpp in silence. we may vnderstand their good-willes towardes vs, by their in-

¹ The alphabet. A cross stood before the 'A.'

In your *erosse-rowe* nor *Christ-erosse* you spede,
Your Pater-noster, your Ave, nor your Crede.

Skelton's Works, ed. Dyce, i. 133.

² MS. preachinge preaching.

quiryces made of our seuerall abileties [leaf 66, back.] and sufficiency, our degrees in learneing, our paines in preaching, by inforcing some of vs to entertaine sufficient men, and mantaine them as snakes in our bosomes to hisse against vs. In *which* buisines we, forsooth, might not be beleiued our selues, nor our licenses that we procured to shaddow vs for not preaching, but the Church-wardens, and other our enemy preachers, were to enquire and informe against vs; *which* had cleane killed our heartes, but that here and there one of our dumbe fellowes were dropped in-to Commission by chauce, whose report we hope will be fauorable towardes vs, for their owne sakes; and yet can they be but poore Aduocates for vs, as long as the Bishops be flatt opposites to our Ignorance and Taciturnity. Shall we leaue them, and implore the ayde and countenance of greate Councillors and Noble-men? Noe, they will not dishonor themselues with the patronage of an vnpreachable Chaplayne, though otherwise he shall be sett out with very fitt properties, As a furred gowne and a faire bearde, to attend them for a dumb shew very sufficiently. Shall we, like poore Snakes, resort to the Iudges, and Lawyers of the Land? Nay! they are growne soe precise and preacher-like in their Carriage, and soe full of their captious deuinity, that we darr scarce pronounce our ordinarye Legit vt Cliricus before them, but even as the new Nicholas-Clarkes¹ reade their Necke-verse,² with feare to be tript and turned over. What then? shall we come home, and shroud ourselues vnder the gentlemen of the Contry, our auncient freindes and acquaintaunce? surely they and their Ladyes in moste places are growne such disputers, and soe loue-sicke after preaching, that the Devill a bare Reader and a good fellow doe they care for. Nay, even some of those gentlemen that had wonte to make good sport with vs, att whose tables wee haue played the Ieasters, in whose houses att Christmas some of vs haue serued for as good as Maisters of Misrule, with whome we haue beene in greate request, and Companions, for Tables, Cardes, Bowles, and Dice, who had wonte to giue vs many sweete wordes and familier names, as Madd preistes, Odd preistes, doctour Merri-man, Vicar of Hell, and such like, as pleased vs well, and now, forsooth, looke awry vpon vs with ruffull Countenaunces, as though they were sorye³ for their foremer estates, and ours present, and darr not make sporte with vs because we carry the

¹ *Nicholas, Saint.* The patron of scholars, being a learned bishop, but more particularly of school-boys, as he was remarkable for very early piety But a very different person was also called *St. Nicholas*, now inverted into *Old Nick* . . . it was clearly the latter who gave a name to *St. Nicholas Clerks*, when used to signify thieves, highwaymen, and the like.—*Nares*.

² *Neck-verse.* The verse read by a malefactor to entitle him to benefit of clergy, and therefore eventually to save his life. Generally the first verse of the 51st Psalm.—*Nares*.

³ MS. soryh.

names of Ministers, nor yet delight in our company, because wee be noe preachers. To whome then shall we impart our greife? to our honest neighboures, the midle and meaner sorte? alas! they haue cleane renounced vs, except some good fellowes, and trow Troyans, still that loue an Inch of Ale better then an Ell of a Sermon, or such as haueing a good penniworth of their Temporall Tythes, care not how badd their spirituall teaching be, and whereas we had one greate comfort in our fellow Ministers, that some of them being schollers, suffered the preacher licensed rather to stepp into a paternoster-Rowe, then to vex and trouble the pulpit, beeing as much rated for ydlenes, as wee for ydle Ministers, they haue raysed vpp themselues since *your Maiesties* approach, and preach vnumercifully, in leauing the whole shame of loytering vppon vs, that had wonte to beare it the better for their company and example. But what? doe we blame these, when our brethren and fellow Ignorantes are asshamed of vs, and forsaken our fellowship? some, for feare of an afterclapp, haue betaken themselues to a Night-capp, as though they had beene hugh preachers and studentes; and some, worse then these, are turned halfe Puritaines, and with their short winges of witt and learneing are flowne into the pulpitt, and there crowe against Dumb Dogges, evill and ydle Ministers, praying (oh horrible!) in greate length against themselues, and vs vnlearned and vnpreaching Ministers; how can this hold long, being thus deided? In these our manifold distresses and distractions, we flye to the high Alter of *your owne Maiestic*, with small hope to be protected vnder the same against the shame and contempt that is due vnto vs, yet *your Maiestic* may be pleased somewhat to vaile [*leaf 67.] vs from being vtterly in *reproch and with *your Royall Target* of grace; for indeede we deserue nothinge, onely grace must keepe vs from miscarryeing now, and this must be by some of these meanes following, or not att all.

Firstly, *your Maiestic* must provide that schooles and vniuersities may not be in such request as now they are; seeing that from them, as from a fountaine, the whole Land is overflowed with preachers and lecturers that we beare small good will vnto; soe may wee (bare Lecturers) perhapps (ah that *your Maiestic* would say Amen!) keepe safe our present liueinges, that is, as long as we liue,—which is a thing wee desire more then heauenly matter,—and that when our places are made voyde, none of breede or quallity may enter them, except some honest Recusant chauce to be patron, who will surely presente some still fellow (like our selues) that will not bay att his *Master*, but like a Dogg in a Manger, [not] onely not fill the Pulpitt himselve, but keepe it emptie from others, that the people may not be madd with too much learneing; or except some egregius Cormorant proue patron, who for many cares not to make the Devill his maister.

2. *Your Maiestie* must be good to *Nonresidentes* and pluralistes, not putting them out of their warme nestes of ease, nor hindring them of their pleasure and perambulacions; for vnder winges of some of those that haue double liueinges and single learneinge, we may be shaddowed and hid in our kind of service, being allwayes sure of a cure,¹ which else we shall misse of; and indeede, many Cures and litle cares is the best nursery of such Church-steruers as we bare Readers are.

3. *Your Maiestie* must see, (but it is doubtte we speake too late), that noe reconciliacion be made betweene the Protestants and Puritaines in this Realme; but that either pursue other, with bitter and rayleing Invectiues in the Pulpitt and att the Presse; for soe by faction we may become some body, who in action are nobody: but espetially, lett them iarr about thinges indifferent, and be att noe consent about preaching, reading, and praying; that a Devorse being made betweene these most necessary exercises, as well as betweene the mindes of the Cleargy, our Bowes may carry somewhat; and we that haue not the Currante of preaching, nor any currancy of Learning, may be reputed of force, or plaine legiable facility, as other grand studentes and graduates, for their predicable actiuity and furniture in schooles and Pulpitt. but alas! wee heare that *your Maiestie* hath endeoured to plante an inviolable vnion betweene the learned of the land, whereby the Gospell, runing with an [un]interrupted currante and vniforme Consent, must needes in short tyme be wracke of our vnlearned generacion: but who can helpe it, and yet who is sory for it?

4. *Your graces* example in Countenaunceing workey day sermons, which we tell yow trewly doe terrife vs very much, must not hould, if we shall stand; rather, let the Old monethly sermons, and quarterly, be abated, then² more added; and lett them be abridged into some one handsome sermon att the most, which, well cunned, will serue a minister of our makeing,—one that hath a sound memory,—all his life-tyme, to pronounce (by the helpe of his paper) once a yeare, every Christmas Day, or soe. Allsoe [if] *your graces* subiectes, haueing their teeth sett on edge with this preaching and Cattechiseing in such fearefull manner as is prescrib'd allready, should hunger after that which wee haue not for them, wee humbly craue that the Iustices of the peace in every County may not be soe striete as they are against victuallers and good fellowshipp, but rather to aduance Alehouses nere to Churches, increaseing the number of them in dry townes, accordinge to the laudable example of some Burgamaster[s] in Corporations, who with one and the same hand, sendeing abroad the streames of Iustice and good fellowshipp, shew their care for

¹ MS. care.

² than.

many new created Alehouses, who, as by Sluces, doe water the Allyes and streetes of their Townes: (but espetically) our desire is, that there [MS. breaks off.]

With the foregoing we may compare Robert Greene's description of the country vicar of 1592, in his *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, p. 58-9 of Collier's reprint:—

“As these were going away in a snuff for beeing thus plainly taunted, we might see a made merry crue come leaping over the field, as frolickly as if they ought not al the world two pence; and drawing more nearer, we might perceive that either bottle-ale or beere had made a fray with them, for the lifting of their feet shewed the lightness of their head. The foremost was a plain country Sir John, or Vicar, that had proclaimed by the redness of his nose he did go oftner into the alehouse then the pulpit; and him I asked what they were, and whether they were going? . . . ‘Marry,’ (quoth Sir John) . . . know, these al are my parishioners, and we have beene drinkinge with a poore man, and spending our monye with him, a neighbour of ours that hath lost a cow. Nowe for our names and trades: this is a Smith, the second a Weaver, the third a Miller, the fourth a Cooke, the fifth a Carpenter, the sixt a Glover, the seaventh a Pedler, the eight a Tinker, the ninth a Waterberer, the tenth a Husbandman, the eleventh a Diar, and the twelfth a Sailor, and I their Vicar.’ . . . ‘You are a little to breefe,’ *quod* Cloth-breeches. ‘Are you not some puritane, M. Parson, or some fellow that raiseth up new scismes and heresies amongst your people?’ ‘A plague on them all,’ quoth [he,] ‘Sir! for the world was never in quiet, devotion, [or] neighbourhoode, nor hospitality never flourished in this land, since such upstart boies and shittle-witted fooles became of the ministry. I cannot tel; they preach faith, faith, and say, “doing of almes is papistry;” but they have taught so long *Fides solam justificat*, that they have preached good workes out of our parish: a poore man shal as soone breake his neck as his fast at a rich mans doore. For, my frend, I am indeede none of the best schollers; yet I can read an Homily every Sunday and holyday, and keepe company with my neighbours, and goe to the ale-house with them; and if they be fallen out, spende my money to make them friends: and on the Sundaies sometime, if goodfellowship call me away, I say both morning and evening praier at once, and so let them have a whole afternoone to play in. This is my life: I spend my living with my parishioners; I seek to do al good, and I offer no man harm.’ ‘Well’ (*quod* Cloth-breeches), I warrant thou art an honest Vicar; and therefore stand by; thou shalt be one of the quest’ [or jury to try the cause between Clothbreeches and Velvetbreeches].

In the Introduction I ought to have referred more particularly to Skelton's *Colyn Cloute*, Works, ed. Dyce, i. 311-360. That poem no doubt suggested *The Image*, which may almost be called an expansion and generalizing of part of Skelton's work. Mr. G. Waring also reminds me that *Doctour Double Ale*, reprinted in *Early Popular Poetry*, iii. 247-391¹ may be mentioned in connection with the *Image*. This poem (which is of course later than the *Image*) is a capital sketch of Hary George (l. 280) a bowising curate who, in early Reformation times, keeps his old Popish beliefs. His having the cobbler's boy turned out of church for daring to tell him he had read a wrong gospel, is a bit from the life. The old tippler wo'n't give up his faith that he, of a cake, his Maker may make (p. 317, l. 324-30; ch. p. 258-9) and he trusts to see some of these boasting Reformation fellows baked in Smithfield at a stake (p. 314, l. 228-31).

On the state of the Scotch clergy, etc., see Sir David Lyndsay's *Satyre on the Three Estaitis* (E. E. Text Soc. 1869).

L. 231, *cry creake*.

Thy mellyng is but moekyng;	|	Gyue it vp, and cry eke,
Thou mayst giue vp thy cooking,	|	Lyke an huddypeke.

Skelton's *Duke of Albany*, l. 298-301, *Works*, ii. 77.

P. 195, l. 471, *Sir John*, p. 214, l. 1023, 1038, *Auricular Confession*. Cp. this from Brinklow's *Lamentacion of a Christen against the Citie of London*, ed. 1545.

Ys not your aurycular confessyon also abhomynable? Yes, and that one of the moste fylthyest thynges vsed vppon earth, as hath playnlye appered by the feates of your chaplaynes in diuerse places of Englonde of late, and some within thys two yeares. I coulde name the prestes and the places also: but I will passe it ouer with sylence, trustinge in the Lorde, the hygher powers shall ones se the mischefe that commeth therof and redresse it. What an abhomynacyon is it that I shulde go poure out my vyces in the care of an vnlearned buzarde, and specyally for a woman, whereby Syr Johan knoweth where to be sped. Yea if she will not graunt to hym, he will not shame to threaten her to open her vice, and so for feare she must agree to his abhomynable desire.

L. 561-78, *Priests cuckolding laymen*.

They saye ye leade euyll lyves	|	True wedlocke to confounde.
With other mennes wyues,	|	Thus do they rayle and raue,
And wyll none of your owne;	|	Callyng euery priest knaue
And so your sede is sowne	|	That loueth messe to saye,
In other mennes grounde,	|	And after, ydle all daye.

A Pore Helpe, l. 84-94. *Early Pop. Poetry*, iii. 256.

The poem, a half satirical 'defence of mother holy kyrke' should be read. Who can the 'noble clarke' of l. 209 be, who wrote the 'balad in ryme' against the Reformers before Myles Huggard? To the question on p. 249, was the *Pore Helpe* by William Roy? I answer most certainly not.

¹ Every reader who has the volume should cut out the editor's [y-wis] p. 309, l. 107, and read 'wyfes' as two syllables: compare *beades*, p. 265, l. 367, rhyming with *read-is*. In line 297 'perse' is for 'per se', like 'A per se A.'

L. 1871-80, *Seizure of Church-property by the King*. Brinklow advised this too in his *Lamentacion*, and provided for the distribution of the proceeds, thus:—

God geve the Kynge an hert to take that wycked Mammone from you, as he maye ryghtfullye do with the consent of the commones, by acte of Parliament, so that it maye be disposed to Godes glorye and the commone welthe. As to take hym selfe a porcyon for a knowledge of obeyeaunce, and for the mayntaynyng of his estate. The rest pollytyquely to be put vnto a commone welthe. Fyrst distributed amonge all the townes in England, in sommes accordyng to the quantyte and nombre of the occupyars, where moste neade is. And all the townes to be bounde to the Kynge, that his grace maye have the money at his neade to serue hym. And also a pollytyque waye taken for prouysion for the pore in euery towne, with some parte to the maryages of yonge parsons that lacke frendes. Wages there are ynoughe, who so lusteth to studye for them.

L. 1625, *A Mockaniste*. Sir Thomas More was called *Mr. Mocke* by Tyndale: *Works* (Parker Society) iii. 79.

“I would have hereto put my name, good reader, but I know well that thou regardest not who writeth, but what is written: thou esteemest the word of the verity, and not of the author. And as for *M. Mocke*,¹ whom the verity most offendeth, and doth but mock it out when he cannot soil it, he knoweth my name well enough. For the devil, his guardian as himself saith, cometh every day into purgatory, (if there be any day at all), with his enmious and envious ‘laughter, gnashing his teeth and grinning,’ telling the proctor, with his pope’s prisoners, whatsoever is here done or written against them, both his person and name too.”—From “*The Supper of the Lord*” in *Tyndale’s Works*, iii. pp. 267, 268 (Parker Society).

L. 1668, *Purgatory Proctoure*. This is Tyndale’s name for Sir T. More.

In his “*Practice of Prelates*” A.D. 1530 (2 *Tyndale’s Works*, ii. 297) Tyndale says:—“Moreover the PROCTOR OF PURGATORY saith in his Dialogue, ‘Quoth I, and quoth he, and quoth your friend’” A side-note has been added in Day’s reprint, edited by Foxe in the reign of Elizabeth—“This is Sir Thomas More.” Mr. Walter (the Parker-Society editor) adds the following note to the passage:—“Tyndale calls Sir Thomas More *The proctor of purgatory*, in allusion to his controversial treatise entitled ‘The supplication of souls,’ which More composed in the form of an address ‘To all good christen people’ from their ‘late acquaintance, kindred, spouses, companions, playfellows, and friends—now poor prisoners, the silly souls in *purgatory*.’ But the ‘Dialogue of Sir Thomas More’ is another work, and is kept up by a repetition of ‘Quoth I and quoth he’”

L. 2322, *spadones*.

And for my soule ryng many a mery pele
In Venus temple, and eke in hir chapell,
And also in many another holy stede
Where *Spado* may not helpe women at ther nede.

Colyn Blowbols Testament, in *Nugæ Poeticæ*, p. 3.

¹ So in the original edition printed at Nornburg; but in all later editions *Mocke* has been changed to *More*.

Against the Blaspheming English Lutherans, and the Poisonous Dragon Luther.¹

[WRITTEN IN 1525-6 A.D.]

INTRODUCTION.

A CHANGE of subject. We have heard the Lutheran or Reformer against the Romanist; let us hear the Romanist against the Lutheran, and set his charges against those which the author of *The Image of Ypocresye* brings against the Pope and his Papist underlings. What Lutheran sins correspond to the Popish?—to the pride, lust, vice, and rapacity, that made men curse priest, monk, and friar; to the selling heaven and hell for gold, the corrupting the purity of the layman's home, that we have seen so vigorously denounced in the last poem? Why,—I. there is the vice most abhorrent to God, *Heresy*, which sprang from the Devil (l. 19-24).—A poisonous Dragon has stung many of God's people (l. 25-30); a Dragon worse than Cerberus or Hydra (l. 37-42), Colcas or the Python (l. 43-8), Medusa (l. 49) or the Basilisk (l. 55). His name is Luther, and his den is in Germany (l. 73-8); his soul sinks to Hell, where his brood is bred (l. 83-90). Near London is a cave, where his disciples magnify him (l. 97-102). II. God's church is derided, his Sacraments set at nought, his Priesthood despised (l. 103-8). III. Fasting, Prayers, Oblation, Pilgrimage, and good Deeds, are ridiculed (l. 109-14). IV. Almsgiving is said to be needless, Faith alone needful (l. 115-20). V. The Power of Peter's Successors is denied (l. 121-6). VI. Religion is barked at, and Saints not honoured (l. 133-8). VII. Singing and Divine Service are called 'Howling and Bearbaiting' (l. 139-144). VIII. Priests crossing themselves are called Jugglers; and watered Beer is thought as good as Holy Water (l. 145-50). IX. Holy Oil is no better than butter; and men (without license) marry within the Pro-

¹ The title is mine, taken from the text.

hibited Degrees (l. 151-6). X. Confession is held unnecessary; Friars may marry Nuns; License is called Liberty (l. 157-62). XI. Purgatory is called a Fable (l. 163-8). XII. Other Errors and newfangled Inventions are about (l. 169-74).

This is the sum and substance of the Indictment. And no one can fail to notice how slight a thing it is, how superficial, and far from the life, as compared with the charges of the *Image* against the Papists.

The writer next calls on Henry to search through his realm, and put down these schismatics (l. 175-80), who seek to destroy God's church (l. 181-6). Like Sir Thomas More in his *Supplicacyon*, the author instances the excesses of the peasants in Germany (l. 187-98), and the terrible judgment of God on them by pestilence, famine, and battle (l. 199-204); and he appeals to *Rex, Defensor Fidei* to expel the heresy from his realm (l. 205-222, l. 235-40). If Henry does not, God will strike the Heretics and their King (l. 223-8). With an adjuration to England to be true to the doctrine of Augustine (l. 247-67), and a second call on Henry to chase 'thes blasphemying Lutherions' out of his dominions, and thus become God's dear Darling (l. 268-76), the poem ends.

Wishing to get some passages from Luther's Works in illustration of the epithets that the poem says were applied to the Popish ceremonies, etc., I sent a proof to the greatest admirer of Luther whom I know, my most fiercely earnest friend, a man most worthy of respect; and received the following answer.—

" December 9, 1868.

" My dear Furnivall,

" I don't know that if I had time I should care to illustrate the blasphemous rot you have sent me,—but anyhow I have not.

" I think, however, you make a complete mistake if you fancy that the ranting lying blackguard who wrote the doggrel, (not worth the paper it is printed on,) ever read one line of Luther, or cared in the slightest degree to quote one word from him. As to Luther, passionately fond of music as he was, ever having called 'divine service with harmony' 'howling' or 'bear-baiting,' it is simply preposterous; so as to kinship of blood being no impediment to marriage. It is barely possible that some of the early so-called 'Lutherions' in England may have used some of the expressions mentioned, but it would be paying the fellow far too great a compliment to search out for proof.

" My dear fellow, how can you spend your time over such infernal rubbish, as if there were no better work in the world to do? Old filth and trash is not the less filth and trash because it is old.

Yours ———."

A shower-bath of this kind is always invigorating. It takes

away your breath for the moment; then comes a pleasant glow of conviction that History *is* worth studying, and its many sides all needful to be seen, as well as the one which suits your own opinions or tastes; you scrub yourself with the bath-towel of Antiquity, and go on your way refreshed.

Unluckily I have not had time to look through any work of Luther's but his Table-Talk, translated; but there, sure enough, was the *howling* (l. 141) I wanted, used of the singing of psalms in monasteries, which the Papist writer of our poem no doubt considered to be "Deuyne servyce with armonye of songe and other melody." Thus speaks, or is reported, the great Reformer:—

Prayer¹ in Popedom is mere tongue-threshing; not prayer, but a work of obedience. Thence a confused sea of *Hore Canonice*, the HOWLING and babbling in cells and monasteries, where they read and SING the psalms and collects, without any spiritual devotion, understanding neither the words, sentences, nor meaning.—*Luther's Table-Talk*, p. 157. (Hazlitt's translation. Bohn.)

It is quite true that Luther loved Music, and that he has a fine passage about it in his Table-Talk (see the chap. lxxviii, Of Musick, in *D. Mart. Lutheri Colloquia Mensalia*, translated 1652, p. 500); but then doubtless it was Protestant Music, hymns in the mother-tongue sung by a whole congregation, — *Ein fester Burg ist unser Gott*,—when the heart and understanding mind went along with the voice. Popish music was 'howling,' as Popish prayer was 'tongue-threshing.' And so some of it was, no doubt. God forbid that we should think all of it was.

On Fasting (l. 109 of our poem), and Purgatory (l. 163), Luther speaks thus in his Table-Talk:—

The Popish *fasting* is right murder, whereby many people have been destroyed, observing the fasts strictly, and, chiefly, by eating one sort of food, so that nature's strength thereby is wholly weakened.—*Luther's Table-Talk*, p. 222.

As for *purgatory*, no place in Scripture makes mention thereof, neither must we any way allow it; for it darkens and undervalues the grace, benefit, and merits of our blessed sweet Saviour Christ Jesus. Augustin, Ambrose, and Jerome held nothing at all of purgatory. Gregory, being in the night-time deceived by a vision, taught something of purgatory, whereas God openly commanded that we should search out and inquire nothing of spirits, but of Moses and the prophets. Therefore we must not admit Gregory's opinion on this point. . . .—*Luther's Table-Talk*, p. 226.

If the *oblation* of l. 111 of our poem may be taken in its general sense of 'offering,' as I suppose it may fairly be, and not confined to the "blessed *oblacion* of the holy masse," as in Rich-

¹ Good *prays* ys but idleness (l. 110 of our poem.)

ardson's quotation from *Sir T. More's Workes*, p. 338, then we may take the following extract from Luther upon it, because the passage illustrates the complaints in *The Supplicacyon for the Beggars*.

“That God will punish the Papists abominably.

“Luther upon the third Chap. of the Prophet *Joël*.

“This also is one of the Papists sins; they rend and tear from their people, monie, wealth, and what els is costly, and therewith they trim and adorn their Idols, whenas with such goods, Schools, Pulpits and poor people ought to bee founded, furnished and preserved; But therewith lazie, nastie and filthie Swine are fed and fatted, and not onely that, but also the same is wasted and used to the trimming and adorning of abominable Idolatrie, and to destroye godliness, and the true service of God. They remain stiff-neckedly in their hardned hate against God's Word, and our true Christian Religion; therefore they have nothing els to expect, then the recompence of the Law which *Tyre* and *Zidon* found and had before the revealing of the Gospel. *Ezechiel* highly extolleth *Tyre*, in that shee was mightie, but could not divert the deserved punishment: for shee was lamentably devastated, insomuch that shee laie waste seventie whole years: But far a harder punishment and horrible misfortune will com upon the Papists.”—From p. 538 of Luther's *Colloquia Mensalia*, trans. by Capt. H. Bell, 1652.

Few readers will doubt that names as strong as the Papist poet gives, were applied by English Reformers to the Romish doctrines and ceremonies. By way of sample, I take from the Index to the Parker Society's volumes, part of the entries under Fasting (l. 109 of our ballad), Mass (l. 111), and Purgatory (l. 163); and for the other subjects refer the reader to the same volume:—

Fasting.—The Popish manner of fasting, 2 *Becon* 533, &c.; 2 *Tyndale* 124; this was wicked, 2 *Becon* 542; it rose of custom or superstition, *ib.* 535-6; Popish superstitious fasting, *Pilkington* 559, 1 *Tyndale* 90; its vanity, *Select Poetry* (ed. Farr, 1845) 281; the fondness of the Papists in their fastings, 2 *Becon* 536, &c.

Mass.—[See the title in the *Parker Soc. Index*, p. 524, col. 2, p. 525, col. 1, foot;] it is the invention and ordinance of man, 1 *Coverdale* 531; 2 *Hooper* 32; set up by Antichrist, 3 *Becon* 523; the sacrifice of Antichrist, 2 *Hooper* 32; the device and doctrine of the devil, 2 *Bradford*, 312; 1 *Cranmer* 422; 1 *Latimer* 411; a delusion, *Ridley* 409; the blindness of Papists in celebrating it, 2 *Hooper* 392; its sinfulness, 3 *Becon* 207; to be abhorred of all good men, *ib.* 257; a monster of lies, *ib.* 263; sacrilegious, 2 *Hooper* 508; horrible and blasphemous, 2 *Becon* 448, 2 *Bradford* 231, 1 *Cranmer* 348, 1 *Fulke* 241, 1 *Latimer* 445, *Ridley* 52, *Sandys* 43; masses are blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits, *Rogers* 299-301; the mass is a foul abomination, 1 *Latimer* 237; abominable and idolatrous, *Bale* 171, 215, 235, 236, 3 *Becon* 253, 264, 267, 270, 274, 275, 278, 1 *Bradford* 280, 392, 2 *Bradford* 44, 48, 141, 227, 317, 318, 1 *Cranmer* 229, 349, 350, 2 *Cranmer* 172, 1 *Hooper* 152, 311, 312, 2 *Hooper* 395, 451, 518, 589, 610, 1 *Jewel* 10-13, 2 *Lati-*

mer 440, *Ridley*, 401, 409, 1 *Tyndale* 248, 2 *Tyndale* 217, 220; it makes the creature into the Creator, *Ridley* 51; it is a fellowship with devils, 2 *Bradford* 334, 3 *Becon* 352; the table of devils, 3 *Becon* 352, *Philpot* 250; the sacrifice of the devil, *Calphill*, 231, 2 *Fulke*, 166!

Purgatory.—(*P. Soc. Index*, p. 648, col. 1.), a tale concerning it, 1 *Latimer* 36; it is a falsehood, *ib.* 426, 550; a folly found out by man, 2 *Hooper* 31; a place of the Papist's devising, 3 *Becon* 129, 523, 1 *Cranmer* 353; rise of the doctrine, 2 *Tyndale* 162, 163; the doctrine condemned, 2 *Becon* 175, 1 *Bradford* 49, 372, 588, 3 *Bullinger* 389, 390, 2 *Cranmer* 182, 2 *Latimer* 191; the Pope's Purgatory is needless, 3 *Tyndale* 142, 143; the opinion of it is vain and dangerous, *Sandys* 162, 163; it is a most pestilent ill, 1 *Hooper* 566; its use in the mystery of iniquity, 2 *Jewel* 912; evils arising from the doctrine, 1 *Hooper* 567; purgatory devoureth all things, 1 *Tyndale* 244; it is a source of wealth to the clergy, *ib.* 244, 303, 318, 2 *Tyndale* 162; Purgatory pickpurse, 2 *Bradford* 292, 2 *Coverdale* 270, 1 *Latimer* 36, 50, 71, 1 *Tyndale* 342; Purgatory-rakers censured, 3 *Becon* 119; the doctrine prevents men from confiding in God, 2 *Tyndale* 159; it is contumelious to Christ, 1 *Cranmer* 349, 2 *Cranmer* 181; it causes men to fear death, *Pilkington* 321; they who fear Purgatory cannot but utterly abhor death, 3 *Tyndale* 281; in providing for purgatory some forget hell, 2 *Latimer* 339; provision for it has brought thousands to hell, and caused much evil upon earth, *ib.* 363.

On the question of Marriage within the prohibited degrees, l. 154-6 of our ballad, we must remember, first, that 'co-sponsors were termed by Papists spiritual kindred, and forbidden to intermarry, *Bale* 537, *Rogers* 262, 336, 1 *Tyndale* 245' (*Parker Soc. Index*), which the Reformers of course thought nonsense; and that, secondly, some of them did raise questions about the Prohibited Degrees, as 'marriage of brother with sister, regarded by Tyndale as not absolutely unlawful in all cases, 2 *Tyndale* 331; of a brother and sister-german, *Parker* 353; on marriage with a brother's widow, 2 *Latimer* 333, 340; Tyndale's argument that such marriage is not unlawful 2 *Tyndale* 323, etc.; marriage between uncles and nieces, whether utterly forbidden *ib.* 331.' *Parker Soc. Index*.

As to the date of the poem,—it was after Wolsey's orders to all the bishops of England, on the 14th of May, 1521, to seize all heretical books, or books containing Martin Luther's errors; after Henry's "fiery letter to Louis of Bavaria, denouncing 'this fire which hath been kindled by Luther, and fanned by the art of the devil;' and calling upon Louis, as a good Christian, to exterminate Luther and burn both him and his books;" after Henry's own book against Luther and in defence of the Seven Sacraments; after Leo X, in honour of that book, had, late in 1521, dubbed its author, Rex '*Defensor Fidei*,'—as the ballad says, 'a name of hygh report;'—after, lastly, the peasants' war in Germany, of the Anabaptists under Muuzer in 1524 (see lines 187-203). The question is, how long after? I propose one year,—or two at the most: "behold what care of late came to Germany" (line 188-9),—as in 1525, says Mr. Froude (*History*, ii. 31):—

Tyndal saw Luther, and under his immediate direction translated the Gospels and Epistles while at Wittenberg. Thence he returned to Antwerp, and settling there under the privileges of the city, he was joined by Joy, who shared his great work with him. Young Frith from Cambridge, came to him also, and Barnes and Lambert, and many others of whom no written record remains, to concert a common scheme of action.

In Antwerp, under the care of these men, was established the printing-press, by which books were supplied, to accomplish for the teaching of England what Luther and Melancthon were accomplishing for Germany. Tyndal's Testament was first printed, then translations of the best German books, reprints of Wicliffe's tracts or original commentaries: such volumes as the people most required were here multiplied as fast as the press could produce them. And for the dissemination of these precious writings, the brave London protestants dared, at the hazard of their lives, to form themselves into an organized association.

[The reader should turn to Mr. Froude's History, and refresh himself with the noble pages following.]

With this passage compare the 17th and 36th stanzas of our ballad:—

XVII.

Speecially yn this realme thei have
fownd out such a cave,
not far from London cytye,
wher Luther thei do magnifye,
his falshed thei do ratifye:
which to here ys now great pitye . . .

XXXVI.

for that thei teche, thei penne
full cruditely to all men;
all redy hath tawght . . .

The cap fits: doesn't it? Compare also the portion of Lee's letter of Dec. 2, 1525, that Mr. Froude quotes (modernizing it) from III *Ellis* ii. 74-6. 'Edward Lee, afterwards Archbishop of York, then King's Almoner, and on a mission into Spain, wrote from Bourdeaux to warn Henry:—

Please it your Highnesse moreover to undrestand that I ame certainlie enformed, as I passed in this contree, that an Englishman, your subject, at the sollicitacion and instance of Luther, with whome he is, hathe translated the Newe Testament in-to English, and within fewe dayes entendethe to arrive with the same emprinted in England. I neede not to advertise your Grace what infection and daunger maye ensue heerbie, if it be not withstonded. This is the next [= nighest] way to fulfill your Realme with Lutherians. For all Luthers perverse opinions bee grownded vpon bare words of Scriptur, not well taken ne vndrestonded, wiche your Grace hathe opened in sondrie places of your royall Booke. All our forfadres, governors of the Church of England, hathe with all diligence forbed and exchued publication of Englishe bibles, as apperethe in Constitutions provinciall of the Church of England. Nowe, Sir, as God hathe endued your Grace with Christen

courage to sett forthe the standard against thies Philiste[n]es, and to venquish them, so I doubt not but that he will assist your Grace to prosecute and performe the same; that is, to vndre-treade them that they shall not nowe againe lift vppe their hedds, wiche they endeavor nowe by meanes of Englishe Bibles. They knowe what hurte such-books hath doone in your Realme in tymes passed.

Hidretoo, blessed bee God, your Realme is save from infection of Luthers sect, as for so mutche, that althrough anye peradventur bee seeretlie blotted within, yet for fear of your royall Majestie, wiche hathe drawn his swerd in Gods cause, they dar not openlie avowe. Wherfor I can not doubt but that your noble Grace will valiauntlie maignetaine that you have so noble begonne.

This realme of Fraunce hathe been somewhat tooched with this sect, in-so-mutche that it hath entred amongs the Doctors of Parisse, wherof some bee in prison, some fled, some called *in judicium*. The bisshoppe also of Meulx, called Melden, is summoned for that cause, for he suffered Luthers perverse opinions to bee præched in his diocese. Faber also, a man hidertoo noted of excellent good lief and lernyng is called among them, but somme saye heer for displeasur, wiche I can well think. The Parliament of Parisse hathe had mutche business to re-press this Sect. And yet, blessed be God, your noble Realme is yet unblotted. Wherfor lest any dawnger myght ensue, if thies Books scereathe shold be browght in, I thowght [it] my duetie to advertise your Grace therof, consideringe that it toochethe your highe honor, and the wealthe and integrite of the Christen fayeth with-in your Realme; wiche can not long endure if thies Bookes maye comme in!¹ The Holie Gost evermor assist your noble Grace. At Burdeaulx, the second daye of Decembr.

I have nothing more to say, except that the writer of the ballad, when thinking that the Lutherans could not sail against the wind (l. 244-5) then blowing, forgot that it was the nature of wind to change.

[Lambeth MS. 159, leaf 268, back.]

A lytle treatyse confowndyng the great hereses *that* raygne now a dayes, & repynyng agaynst *the* order of holy church: anymatyng good people to contynew in *the* constancy of fayth.

I.

God speaketh.

O man, recorde

I am *thi* lorde,

which ruyth ryth & sore *thi* synn;

I moue the to ryse

in manyfold wyse;

to loue the I can not blynn,

6

¹ A good prophecy.

II.

Syth I immortall,—
with my father eternall
raygneynġ in trinite,—
 myne enymyes to oppress,
 came Down *with gladness,*
from care to make the fre. 12

III.

When I loue the,
 whi louest *thou not me?*
 & I so tru a frynd!
 vertu to refuse,
 al vyces to p̄ruse;
 thus art *thou greatly vnkynnd!* 18

IV.

But among al synn
that thou lyuyst yn,
 On vyce abhoreth me most;
that ys, heresi vntrewe,
that from the Deuyll grewe,
 thou folowest *with brag & bost.* 24

V.

A *poysonus* Dragon
 hath infected my region,
 of whom *yong serpentes* hath sprongġ,
 his venemous inflations
 hath *infectid* many nations,
 & moch of my people hath stongġ. 30

VI.

No Dragon of nature, [lf. 268 bk., col. 2.]
 nor *serpent feture,*
 to hym may be compared;
 Hys *qualytyes* be so,
 that where he ryde or go,
 He enflameth fyre inward. 36

VII.

His breath ys more *contagious*
then the three-hedded cerberus

that kept black Pluteus chayne,
 or the nyne-hedded idra
 that kept the water of larna¹
 which hercules slew with Payne. 42

VIII.

Or colcas, the fyers Dragon,²
 which the victorious Iason
 subdued for the golden flyce,
 or the virolent python
 which ouyde Doth treat on,
 ne was of so ardent malyce. 48

IX.

Nor medusa the dangerous,
 & of nature so monstrous,
 whos syglit myght no man abyde,
 tyff thescus dyd her wownde,
 A-slepe as he her fownde,
 as stories do not hide. 54

X.

The basilyske³ without fayle,
 nor the venom of tirus tayle,
 wherwith great golyadys son
 his father Did mortifi,⁴
 By the means of fals sorcery
 and infection of the poyson. 60

XI.

Now, these poysons & many mo [lf. 269, col. 1.]
 that in worne both crepe & go,
 ye may fynd, by naturaff sense,
 this enmyfull best,
 this Deuelyshe noysom gest,
 excedyth yn hy Dyfference. 66

¹ Lerna, near Argos.

² The golden fleece was 'in the possession of king Aetes in Colchis, and was guarded by an ever-watchful dragon.'—*Dict. of Biogr.* ed. Smith.

³ *Basilisk*, a kind of Serpent, otherwise call'd a Cockatrice, having a white spot on the Head, as it were a diadem or Crown: She drives away all other Serpents with her hissing; neither does she roll up in Folds as others do, but bears her body vpright to the Middle. This Serpent is said to destroy Living-creatures, Fruits, &c., by her infectious Breath, to burn Herbs and to break Stones.—*Kersey's Phillips*.

⁴ What story does this refer to?

XII.

for this belleaff I here mene,
 passith aff nature clene,
 so sore infectid ys his case ;
 His complexion ys so wylde,
 He corruptith both man & childe
 which he neuer saw in the face. 72

XIII.

what ys *this* Dragons name ?
 Luther, fuff off shame !
 in germany ys his Denne :
 there he swellyth, he blowyth,
 he burnyth, he glowyth
 agaynst aff tru chrysten men. 78

XIV.

not far ffrom his nose-thrylls
 the venome owt his mouth prylls.¹
 O lord ! how hideous ys his vapore !
 to heauen his breath stynckyth,
 to heff his soule synckythe,
 so detestable ys his nature ! 84

XV.

His byrdes be without sheff, [lf. 269, col. 2.]
 which noryshyd are in heff
 among infernall progeny.
 now are *thei* flowne about ;
 my people stonde in Dout,
 so strong ys there company. 90

XVI.

In flaunders & in almayne,
 & in my litle bryttayne,
 fuff sore infect *thei the* ayere :
 with false ipocrisi
 & corruption of Heresi
 my flock begynneth to appayere. 96

¹ ? our *purls*. 'To *Purl*. Du. *borreten* to bubble, to spring as water ; G. *perlen* to bubble, Sw. *porla* to simmer, bubble, &c. *Purl* a fall head over heels ; It. *pirlare* to twirl, *pirlo* a top. O. E. *prylle* (a *pirle*—Med.), or whyrlegygge.'—*Promptorium* : in *Wedgwood*.

XVII.

Specyally yn this realm *thei* haue
 fownd owt such a caue,
 not farr from london cytye,
 wher luther *thei* Do magnifye,
 His falshed *thei* Do ratifye :
 which to here ys now great pitye. 102

XVIII.

My church ys yn derision,
 & almost in *confusion*,
 my sacramentes sett at nowght.
 Presthoode ys dispisid,
 tru fayght ys clene disgisid,
 & heresy sett a-lofte. 108

XIX.

fastyng ys but folyshnes,
 Good prayrs ys but idlenes ;
 oblation, *supersticion* *thei* cast.
 pilgremage ys but folly,
 be hit neuer so holly ;
 Good Dedes vnder foote Dothe fall. 114

XX.

To work almes dede, [lf. 269 bk., col. 1.]
thei cownt it no nede,
 but *only* to stonde to there faythe ;
 but fayth ys ded in dede,
 wher good workes can no spede,
 As Iames my *seruant* saythe. 120

XXI.

There power & auctorite
 to *peter* & his posterite,
 which I did my self avow,
 abrogat *thei* wold ;
 there malice ys so bold !
 but agaynst the streme *thei* row. 126

XXII.

quodcunque ligaueris,
 et quodcunque solueris,

these wordes in my gospell be ;
 not by me¹ yn speciall,
 but spoken there in generall
 to peter & his posterite.

132

XXIII.

thei bark at religion,
 thei spurn at devotion ;
 my sayntes not honored be :
 laudetur dominus
 in sanctis eius :
 thus dauid techethe the.

138

XXIV.

Deuyne seruyce with armonye
 of songe & other melodye :
 ' Howlyng ' thei ytt call,
 ' bearebaytyng & Busseyng,²
 fox-halowyng & husseyng :'³
 thus rayle thei at you aff.

[lf. 269 bk., col. 1.]

144

XXV.

When my prestes with devotion
 crosses makithe, sayng the canon ;
 to a Iuggler thei hym compare.
 Asshis or hurthe, sand or salt ;
 water halowed, or myxt with malt ;
 which of them, thei Do not care.

150

XXVI.

With holy oyle anoynted thei be,
 or els with butter smered ; let vs se,
 make thei ony difference ?
 naye, parde ! also in mariage,
 be she neuer so nyhg in parentage,
 wed her wyll thei without licence.

156

¹ ? MS. The word—3 strokes and an e—may be *ine* or *ne*, for [o]ne, taking the third stroke as part of the e.

² ? *Buss*, to butt or strike with the head. Florio has *Aceffare*, to *busse* or *beake* as a hog doth.—*Hallivell*. Kiss, the general meaning of *buss*, does not suit here.

³ Swiss *huss*, Magyar *usz, uszu!* cries used in setting on a dog, Du. *hussen*, *huschen*, Magyar *usztani, husztani*, to incite, set on to attack. N. *hussa* to chase with noise and outcry. See Harass. Hurry.—Wedgwood's *English Etymology*, under *Hussar*.

XXVII.

Thei say *that* confession ys not necessary ;
 fryars *with* nones may weff mary ;
 mans law ys but a vanyte :
 no superior nor obedience ;
 agaynst mysdoers say¹ no violence :
 this call thei christen libertye. 162

XXVIII.

My prison of purgatory [lf. 270, col. 1.]
which declareth my mercy,
 as a meane to cum to my blysse :
 thei call *this* thyng fantasticall
 as a fable poeticall.
 se how blynd there opinion ys ! 168

XXIX.

these errowrs condemnable,
with other mo reprobable,
 these lutherions Dispersithe about.
with cloked intentions
 & new fangly inventions
 thei multipli there rowt. 174

XXX.

O noble Henry,
 thou Prince of high progeny,
 make serch thorow thy realme !
 this scysmatick collection,
 subDew by correction ;
 for, shame to *the* thei Dreame. 180

XXXI.

my church *thei* wold destroy
with ther deuelyshe tyrranny,
 (so perilous ys ther entent,).
with wrynches & wyles,
with frawdcs & *with* gyles :
 thus priuely haue *thei* ment. 186

XXXII.

Alas ! beware ! [lf. 270, col. 2.]
 behold what care

¹ try.

of late came to germany!
 thei fell to rauyn & spoyle;
sanctorum sancta thei did toyle
 with most cruelt vilany.

192

XXXIII.

In church, chapell, & priory,
 Abby, hospitall, & nunry,
 sparyng nother man nor woman;
 coopes, albes¹, holy ornamentes,
 crosses, chalcys, sensurs, & rentes,
 conuerting aff to vsys prophane.

198

XXXIV.

my plage anon amongg them fett,
 Pestilence, famyn, & bateff;
 by sworde an hundrethe thowsande
 In few years I toke awaye.
 How many shal after, who can say?
 the turke commeth now at hande.²

204

XXXV.

now rex, defensor fidei,—
 this name haue I geuyn the,
 a name of hygh report,—
 help, therefore, & ayed my prechers,
 of trew faythe the feruent techers,
 agaynst this arrogant sort!

210

XXXVI.

for *that* thei teche³, thei penne
 fuff eruditely; to aff men
 all redy hath tawght:
 what so euer be, other be ment,
 suffer neuer thy Iugement
 thus to be sett at nawght!

216

XXXVII.

therfor this fals frantyck frensy, [lf. 270 bk., col. 1.]
 this starck staryng ipocrisy,

¹ See the note from Horman's *Vulgaria*, p. 195, note 4, above.

² Was this anything more than the old Bogey cry?

³ ? MS.

owt of *thi* realm expett!
 ther doctryne so seditious,
 ther poyson so pestiferous,
 suffer them not to sett!

222

XXXVIII.

ffor yf thou fynd no remedy,
 then nedes strycke must I,
 & doutles thei shaft smart!
 for both to them & the
 my strooke comen must be,
 but most shalbe thi part.

228

XXXIX.

this tresonus work workyng wormes,
 as *the* snake among greyne thornes,
 preuily to *the* people dothe crepe.
 ther lyeth owt hyssyng *with the* tongẽ,
 the venom boylethe out amongẽ,
 thynkyngẽ thou were a-slepe.

234

XL.

therefore awake manfully,
 & defend *thi* realme from vylany!
 thi¹ apostacy expett *with* spede!
 Els nothyng shaft go forwarde,
 but aff be turned backwarde,
 & fayle at thi most nede.

240

XLI.

for wher tru fayth lackyth, [If. 270 bk., col. 2.]
 aff goodnes slackythe;
 no *vertu*, rote may take.
 whan may² man preuayle
 agaynst the wynde to sayle
with bost, braggs, or crake?

246

XLII.

O ynglond, ynglonde!
 thou hast worne the garlonde

¹ ? this.² MS. man may.

Off trewe fayth euer to me !
 Therefore swarue not asyde,
 But be stredfast,¹ & not slyde,
 and this new dysgysyng let be !

252

XLIII.

Remember thou what Doctryne
 my tru *seruant* augustyne,
 many an .C. yeare agone
 hath graffed in thi brest
 to beare *the* fayth of chryst,
 & *the* truth he tawght *the* tho !

258

XLIV.

and of this graff be spronge
 many martyrs stronge,
 confessors and Vyr-gyns pure :
 thei lerned wel the lesson
 of my tru *seruañt* augustyn ;
 therefore in heuyn now raygn thei sure.

264

XLV.

That same Do thou ensue,
 Exchange ytt for no newe
 yf thou wylt haue my grace.
 thes blasphemyn-g lutherions,
 thes obstinat myscreons,
 Out off thi Domynion chase !

[If. 271.]
270

XLVI.

So shaft thy subiectes aff
 haue my grace in specyaff,
 and Ioye after this ;
 And thou, ther louyng kyngẽ,
 shalt be my Deare derlyngẽ
 In my heuenly blysse.

276

Amen.

Finis.

¹ for stedfast.

The Spoiling of the Abbeys.

“IN Douce MS 365, fol. 95 recto, a codex of Elizabeth’s time, and written by Stephen Batman¹, is found the following poem,” says Mr. George Waring, who has searched the MSS. in the Bodleian for ballads and poems bearing on the subjects of the present volume. “The present poem is by Stephen Batman,² who wrote MS 365 conjointly with Dr. Dee. All the pieces relating to the Reformation in the MS are written by Batman, and are liberally interspersed with denunciations against the mushroom aristocracy who were fed fat on the spoils of the old religion. These are interesting in connection with his verses, and also as from the pen of a zealous Protestant.”

I regret that time fails me to collect a series of extracts from contemporary writers on the misuse of the Abbey lands, etc., but hope that a future opportunity may offer for it. Even those who agreed with Gardiner, in his sermon at Paul’s Cross, in 1548, that—

First, a great alteration it was to renounce the bishop of Rome’s authority, and I was one that stood in it. A great alteration it was that abbeys were dissolved. A great alteration it was that images were pulled down . . . We had monkery, nunnery, friary, of a wondrous number, much variety of garments, variety of devices in dwelling, many sundry orders & fashions in moving of the body. These things were first ordained to admonish them to their duty to God, to labour for the necessity of the poor, and to spare from their own bellies to the poor, and therefore was their fare ordained and prepared. And because they abused these things, and set them in a higher place than they ought to do, not taking thereby the monition thereby the better to serve God, but esteeming perfection to consist in them, they were dissolved, their houses and garments were taken away . . . (*Haweis’s Sketches of the Reformation*, 45-6.)

were not prepared to see the Abbey lands and buildings given away to courtiers, and landlords who, following the example of rent-raising that Roy says the monks had set them, raised rents

¹ Douce and his Cataloguers attribute it wrongly to Dr. John Dee (Mathematician and Astrologer, born 1527, died December, 1608. *Hole’s Biogr. Dict.*)

² In the Bodleian is a ‘copy of Cavendish’s Wolsey by Batman, to which the latter has affixed notes. Wordsworth did not use this copy, but printed from two Lambeth MSS.—G. W.

and fines still higher, whipped tenants with scorpions instead of with whips. Those of us who desire the disestablishment of the Irish Church, don't want to see its revenues in landlords' hands; and if they ever get there, shall be quite ready to say with the author of *Vox Populi* (p. 113; and p. 139, l. 540-1, above),—

We have taken their landes for their abuse,
But we convert them to a worse use.

The poem was without doubt written by a Protestant; and if any one wants a further illustration from Protestant writers of the lines

Poor Christ's Church they furnish with rags,
And wicked customs good manners deprave,

let them turn to Mr. Haweis's *Sketches*, the Index to the Parker Society's volumes, and the references there given, Stubs's *Anatomie*, etc. As the last-named writer says of his country and countrymen:—

It grieueth me to remember their liues, or to make mention of their waies, for, notwithstanding that the Lorde hath blessed that land with the knowledge of his truth about all other landes in the worlde, yet is there not a people more corrupt, wiked, or perverse, liuyng vpon the face of the earth. (*Anatomie*, ed. 1585, repr. 1836, p. 4.)

[Douce MS. 365, leaf 95.]

The Abbaies went doune because of there pride,
And made the more covetus riche for a tyme;
There leivenges dispercid one everi syde,
Where wonce was somme prairer, now placis for swyne. 4
The goodes *that* were geven for a good intent,—
Through falshod of prelates, *that* did them bygile,—
of ovthers was spoyled, toren and rent;
thus chrafte by violence came to a foyle. 8
But what shal be-comme of those that bee gaye,
withe the goodes of the Clergy flavnting about?
There stollen bvdldinges & Landes shall a-waye,
when a thrid mischefe commethe ovte.¹ 12
They think that to heauen they shall goe for there bragges;
There howses of pompe cannot them save;
Poore Christes church, thé fourneshe with ragges,
and wicked customes good manners deprave. 16
Skip-Jack² England, and look to thy taylor!
A whipp from heauen thy pride shall qvayle!
Will you knowe when this shall be
At the ende of one, two, & thre. 20

¹ Don't you think the "thrid mischefe" is Puritanism?—G. W.

² *Nimbot*: m. a dwarfe, dandiprat, little *skip-jack*, low dapperling, three-

The copier, if not writer, of the poem above, is that Stephen Batman—first student, then Professor, in Divinity—whose quaint *Batman*¹ upon *Bartholome*, 1582, one knows. He wrote besides, say *Bohn's Loundes* and *Hazlitt's Handbook*:—‘A Christil Glasse for Christian Reformation,’ 1569; ‘The Travayled Pilgreme, bringing Newes from all Partes of the Worlde,’ 1569; ‘Of the Arrivall of the 3 Graces in Anglia, lamenting the Abuses of the present Age,’ (W. Norton,² 4to); ‘The Golden Booke of the Leaden Goddes,’ 1577; ‘Joyfull Newes out of Helvetia: declaring the ruinate Fall of the Papall Dignitie: also a Treatise against Vsurie,’ 1575; ‘The Doome, warning all men to Judgemente,’ 1581. Mr. Hazlitt says two other tracts may be Batman’s.

Mr. Waring says of the Douce MS. 363, from which *The Spoiling of the Abbeys* is taken:—

“The MS is beautifully written, and interspersed with Batman’s very curious pen-and-ink drawings and illuminated letters. No doubt he made the drawings himself for the remarkable cuts in his ‘Travelled Pilgrim,’ etc. The poetry is just the same sort of polemic cracker-verses with which he garnishes his prose in print. I take the E in ‘then after E flowes misery’ of the acrostic, the second piece following, to mean after Queen Elizabeth’s death, and think that the two last lines at the end of the poem on ‘the Abbaies,’ which in the MS are placed at its side, allude to the current contemporary belief that Elizabeth would die at the beginning of the century. Mr. Douce, and the makers of the catalogue to his collections, equally attribute MS 363 to Dr. Dee and Batman, but on close examination it appears to me entirely the work of the latter.

halfpenny horse-loafe. *Cotgrave*. SKIP-JACKS, youths who ride horses up and down for the sight of purchasers. *Dekker's Lanthorne and Candlelight*, 1620.

Of Jack-an-Apes I list not to endite,
Nor of Jack Daw my gooses quill shall write;
Of Jacke of Newbery I will not repeate,
Nor of Jack of both sides, nor of *Skip-Jucke* neate.

Taylor's Workes, 1630 (additions to *Nares*).

¹ Stephen Batman was born at Bruton in Somersetshire, and after a preliminary education in the school of his native town, came to Cambridge, where he had the reputation of being a learned and excellent preacher. We presume that he was the Bateman who, in 1534, took the degree of LL.B., being then a priest and student of six years standing. Afterwards, *Abp Parker* selected him as one of his domestic chaplains, and employed him in the collection of the noble library now deposited in Corpus Christi College. B. asserts that he collected 6700 books for the *Abp*, though we suspect this to be somewhat of an exaggeration. In 1573 he was rector of Merstham, Surrey. He was also DD., and parson of Newington Butts. In 1582 he was one of the domestic chaplains of Henry Lord Hunsdon. He sometime resided at Leeds in Kent. Died in 1584. (Then follows a list of his works, all of which are to be found in the Bodleian Library.) *Cooper's Athene Cantabrigienses*, vol. i. p. 508.—G. W.

² Also ‘imprinted at London by Thomas East, for William Norton and Stephen Bateman.’

On the blank leaf at the beginning of the MS is:—

[*The Land's Great Misery.*]

The name of Nobilitie in England beares swaye,
 The name of vertue dothe dayly decaye;
 ffor he that is noble of birthe, without mynde,
 Is sib to the Devell, to his contrye vnkinde.
 Wo worthe that nobilite that goulde nobles regarde
 When povertie is pynched, & hath no rewarde!
 for stovir in feild, in towne, nor Citye,
 Disarte findes none! *which is great pittye.*
 Prelacy is throwne downe to the grownde,
 Temporall lordes have geven the wonde;
 With tempering so longe in prelacies fee,
 The lande is browght to greate miserye.

ENGLAND.

Enuie twixt Nobilitie, Grudgeng gainst the Layety, Accepted for Naught
 Diuinitie. then after **E** flowes Misery.¹

[*Revenge on the Robbing Lawyers.*]

When Lawiers robbes the Layety for gayne,²
 Their stately bowers shall florish to the skie;
 Oppression hepes vpp, then Clergie feeles the paine;
 Redresse is past till sworde makes theeft too flye.
 Ah wofull gle! when haruest is at hande,
 to the spoyle of him that spoyled hath the lande.
tutissimum est nulli fidere,
væ. væ. væ. in pace viuere.

Found written as a loste letter, betweene Croydon and London, a^o 1580, the
 20 Aprill.

“On fol. 94 of the MS.,” says Mr. Waring, “begins a certificate of the value of lands and religious houses in Huntingdonshire, with a note prefixed by Batman:—

Imagine, by the suppresseng of a fewe, the great welthe that those possessed which weare inritchd by Abbaye landes, and what the common welth is inritchd by it: then was common proffet, with idolatrus religion; now, private commoudite, with extreame exaction: thus is eaten ovt by prodigalitie the farmes of the poore, the goods of the clergie, & the laboures of the commons.

A Saxon Verce in English.

That Realme or kingdom shall euer decaie
 Where there Clergie beares no swaye.
 Yf Godes spell be the best amonge Christian kinges,
 haue regarde too thy Clergie aboue all thinges.

“Batman has put the words ‘A Saxon verce,’ etc., in Anglo-Saxon characters. He dabbled no doubt in Anglo-Saxon, but knew little about it, for in a distich in A.-Sax., given in his printed works, he has taken the p for the thorn, and rendered it *th*.”

¹ E, Elizabeth. M-Misery, Mary.

² Compare *Vox Populi*, p. 126, l. 94; p. 143, l. 691.

The Overthrowe of the Abbyes,

A Tale of Robin Hoode.

HERE is a fragment of an Allegory, telling how Robin Hood, the representative of the Bishops, at first earned his living by the sweat of his brow, quelled monsters, giants, and dragons, and generally helped the world. Then he taught Adam Bell, the representative of the Abbots, how to shoot, and set him in a plain, by the river's chrystal vein. Lastly, when the world was calm, Robin placed Little John, the representative of the Universities, on the two mountains of Oxford and Cambridge, full of the springs of knowledge. At first Adam, the Abbot, was ware and wise; but afterwards he waxed fat and grew jolly, sucked sweets like the bee, and fell asleep with fat. Then a lion, hungry, seeking his prey—Henry VIII,—came that way, seized Adam, tore him in pieces, and distributed his bow and arrows. When the wolves and foxes (or Puritans and Politicians) saw the Abbot in Henry's paws, they cried, "Ours is Robin," and surrounded him.—Here the fragment ends. The moral is stated below.

[Harl. MS. 367, leaf 150.]

A tale of Robin hoode, dialouge wise beetweene
Watt and Ieffry.

The morall is the overthrowe of the Abbyes, the like being attempted by the puritane, *which* is the wolfe; and the politician, *which* is the ffox, agay[n]st the bushops.

Robin hoode: bushop
Adam Bell: Abbot
litle Ihon: Colleauge
or the vniversity.

IEFFRY. Watt, boy, whether now so faste?
Why, man! what needs all this haste?
ffrolicke, man! for I have seene
Both our flocks in yonder greene.
Hadst thou come but heere awaye,
Thou hadste seene a pretty fraye.

- WATT: Who foughte heere, I pray the, shewe.
- IEF: Two fatt rammes, for one leane ewe: 8
 With such force each other battred
 That their heads were bothe beemattred;
 So all three were in one plighte,
 Shee with leanesse, they with fight. 12
- WAT: Rest they, then, if they bee weary,
 And make wee a little mery
 Tale,—wee, Ieffry, in this shade,
 Till the soonn beeginn to glade: 16
 Thy loves stoyre of thy Cyss
 Wowlde delighte mee more then this.
- IE: Watt, stay there! for love I care not;
 Leave out love, and speake, and spare not. 20
 Talke of Bevis¹, fighter peerlesse,
 Or of Ascleparte the fearlesse;
 Talke of lyons and of wonders,
 lightnings flashe, or roores of thonders, 24
 fyre and hayle, and stormes of blood,
 Or tell a tale of Robin hoode.
- WA: Pitty twere, hee that showlde ease thee,
 Shoulde relate things cannot please thee. 28
 Thy loves eager sawce, I feare,
 Wowld wax sharper with this geare,
 Ieffry; and I durste not venter
 Putt thy sorowes on the tenter: 32
 Off Robin hoode I cann thee tell,
 With little Ihon and Adam Bell.
- IEF. Than tell mee of those iolly markmen
 Whiles our flocks go feedinge. WAT. harke then.
 Robin Hoode, as thou doste knowe, 37
 Was the firste that drewe the bowe;
²Adam Bell rose vp anonn; ² [bu]shops [w]ere
 Last of all came litle Ih[o]n. 40 f[i]rste in the pri-
 Robin in the greatest heate mitive churche, in
 Gott his livinge by his sweate; the heate of per-
 hee did encounter monsters fell secution; then suc-
 In forest wide, and did them quell: 44 cceeded monas-
 him, ne're Chimæra cowld afrighte, teryes in calmer
 Nor monster men, which giaunts hight; tymes, and laste of
 The flyinge dragon scap'te him not, 47 all colleages: of
 So stronge hee drewe, so righte hee shott; either which bu-
 founders.

¹ See the Romance of *Sir Bevis of Hamtoun*, from the Affleck MS, ab. 1320 A.D., ed. Turnbull, for the Maitland Club, 1838.

Even that Leviathan remorcelesse,
 Shott downe to hell, did feele his forces ;
 With bowe and arrowes by his side,
 hee walkte the woods and forrests wide ; 52
 when the worlde for helpe did cry,
 And good archers were sett by,
 hee taught Adam to deliver ;
 Hee, the firste that gave him quiver, 56
 Gave him bowe and arrowes sure ;
 Gave him goodly furniture ;
 Hee tooke Adam by *the* hande,
 Hee lead Adam throug the lande, 60
 Hee plas'te Adam in the playne,
 By the rivers christall veyne.
 When the worlde was calme at laste,
 And all daunger now was paste, 64
 Little Ihon : who doth not see
 What good Robin did for thee ?
 On two mounteynes hee thee planted,—vnivers : ox :
 ffull of springs *which* never scanted, [Cam :
 Whence large rivers rann amayne 68
 Into Adams fruitfull playne.
 Two fayre mounteynes thou doste holde,
 ffull of pretious stones and goold, 72
 Which the worlde so mucht sets by
 As the body doth the eye.
 Adam Bell was ware and wise
 when hee firste beegann to rise, 76
 till with fatnes of his fare
 hee grew iolly, past all care,
 As the bee in sommers prime
 Sucks the marigoolde and thyme, 80
 Sucks the rose and daffodill,
 Leavinge, takinge, what hee will ;
 And from flowre to flowre doth glyde
 Sweetly by the rivers side, 84
 Where christall streames delightfull ronninges
 Ar ever sweetned with his hummings :
 Sucht was Adam in his prime,
 In the flower of his tyme ; 88
 So hee tasted evry sweete,
 Till with fatt hee fell a sleepe.
 As hee slombred on the dale,

Spread vpon the gentle vale,	92
Chaun'ste a lyon came that way,	kinge hen[ry]
Hongry, [seeki]nge for his pray :	
In his graspinge pawes hee hente him,	
And in pieces all to-rente him ;	96
then, his quiver by his side,	
as a spoile hee did divide,	
And his bowe and arrowes sur[e],	
And his goodly furniture.	100
Yeat his cabin doth remayne,	
Beaten with the wynde and rayne,	
Spoyl'd of all the passers-by,	
Whose huge frame doth testify	104
of that wondrous monym[en]t,	
All the worlds astonishment.	
When the wolves and foxes sawe	
Adam in the lyons pawe,	108
"Ours is Robin," streight they cry'de,	
And sett him round one evry side.	110

thus : [*the Poem breaks off here.*]

De Monasteriis Dirutis.

I have not come across any contemporary Manuscript Ballads lamenting the destruction of the Monasteries, though doubtless there are some. To the later ones printed above, I add here a somewhat sentimental moan over this destruction, written almost half a century after its accomplishment, by Anthony Harison, clerical attorney-secretary of the Bishop of Norwich in 1603. The writer gives the following account of himself in the Manuscript which contains his short poem, 'Repertorium Episcopale Norwicense. Collectum per Anthonium Harison, clericum, 1603, 1604, etc., usque 1631, 1632:—

[Camb. Univ. Libr. MS. Mm. 3, 12, leaf 62.]

"I Anthonie Harison, y^e writer of this booke; borne at Over in the countie of Cambr. y^e 13th day of November *anno domini* 1563. In y^e yeare *anno* 1603, being 40 yeares of age, being then Solicitor and Attornie, by patent of y^e vniuersitie of Cambridge, of which vniuersitie Dr. John Jegon had borne y^e office of Vicechancellour three yeares, And was consecrated Bishop of Norwich y^e 19th day of februarie *anno* 1602, and after y^e death of Queene Elizabeth was very graciously restored to y^e temporalties of y^e *Bishoprick* of Norwich, together with y^e meane proffitts from y^e death of *Bishop* Redman, his predecessor, by Kinge James, the xijth day of Maie following. At which tyme I, being chosen by *Bishop* Jegon to be his secretarie, came with him to y^e Palace of Norwich. At my coming thither (being required therevnto by my said Lord and then *Master*) I began to looke into y^e euidences of y^e temporalties of y^e saide *Bishoprick*, which *Bishop* Redman had left in his studie in y^e pallace very loosely, as formerly (as I was then informed his predecessors had done,) in y^e custodie of William Titley, then keeper of y^e pallace, and his predecessors, whoe, to gratifie y^e gentlemen of y^e countrie, farmers of y^e *Bishoprick*, had imbezelled all y^e counterparts of their leases, and all other euidences that concerned their farmes. These gentlemen were, S^r William Paston, S^r Thomas Barney, S^r Miles Corbett, S^r John Pettus, S^r Edward Blenrhayset, S^r Edward Themilthorp, M^r James Scamler, M^r Adam Scamler, M^r Thomas Francis, M^r John Holl, and others."

To these particulars, the Catalogue of the Cambridge University Library MSS. vol. iv. p. 196, adds the following, "chiefly given by [Harison] himself in different places in the MS.":—

"He describes himself as collector of the tenths of the *Bishoprick*, and he held the office of Coroner within the liberties of the see for the 3 yeares immediately preceding 1608, when, in consequence of a suit in the Star Chamber, he resigned it. He was afterwards instituted to the Rectory of Catfield in Nor-

folk (according to Blomefield, in 1609), and probably died in 1638, as his successor was instituted in that year. The following observation of his own explains the origin of this collection:—"I have from tyme to tyme for the space of 30 yeares paste bene a diligent observer and preserver of all matters which did concerne the Bp of Norwich, wheresoever I found them, in print or manuscript." MS. p. 420. Some collections of Harison relating to the See of Norwich are among Tanner's MSS. in the Bodleian Library." (See *Cat. Cod. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Pars IV.*)

[Cambr. Univ. Libr. MS. Mm. 3. 12, leaf 6.]

What was good deemed
 Six hundred yeares now paste,
 This day esteemed is
 As naught and badd;
 ffor now those stately howses
 are laide waste,
 Which in those tymes
 in great accompt were had.
 ffrom good to badd
 This world declyneth still,
 ffrom holy to profane,
 and passing ill.

Quod Anthō Harison.

[Arundel MS. 418, leaf 1.]

A Poore Mans Pittance.

THE BOOKE TO YOꝛ MAIESTIE.

Althoughe I bee not cladd in golde,
Nor withe a cover gorgeouse fyne,
Perhaps in mee you maye beholde
Thinges that to vertue doe Incline,
Passinge some glittringe giftes *that* shyne.

If mee to reade youle take the payne,
Your grace—I hope—shall reape *the* gayne.

This booke contaynes three severall subjects, as appeers
in my petition to your Roiall maiestie.

[leaf 2.]

A POORE MANS PITTANCE,

Contayninge three severall subjects:—

1. The firste, the fall and complaynte of Anthonie Babington, whoe, with others, weare executed for highe treason in the feildes nere lyncolns Inne, in the yeare of our lorde 1586
2. The seconde contaynes the life and Deathe of Roberte, lorde Deverox, Earle of Essex, whoe was beheaded in the towre of london on ash-wensdaye mornynge, Anno 1601
3. The laste, Intituled “acclamatio patrie,” contayninge the horrib[1]e treason that weare pretended agaynste your Maiestie, to be donne on the parliament howse The seconde yeare of your Maiestis Raygne [1604]

[leaf 3.] To the kinges moste Excellent Maiestie, with all other kinglie Titells and Dignities what soever, To whome your poore humble subiecte, Richarde Williams, wisheth healtie, longe life, and Manye happie years to Raygne over vs, to the glorye of god, and your maiesties comforte.

My Dreade and Roiall Soveraygne,

This Anthonie Babington was borne at a mansion howse of his fathers, called Dethicke, in the Countie of Darbye, in the parrishe of Crietche; whose father was a man of good accompte, and lived well and orderlie in his contrie, kepte a good howse, and releived the poore; But he was Inclined to papistrie, as the tymes then requyred; whoe had a brother that was a Doctor of Divinitie in Quene Maryes dayes, of whome some mention is made in this storye. This Anthonie the Sonne was a yonge man, [leaf 3, back.] well featured, and of good proportion in all the lyniaments of his bodie; of a moste pregnante fyne witt, and greate capacitie; had a reatchinge head, and a moste prowde aspiringe mynde; and by nature a papiste, where-in hee was borne and brought vpp; where[as], if hee had bene trayned otherwise, he might haue proved a good member of the common wealthie, where nowe hee became a reproche and scandall to the same.

In whose course of life manye accidents hapned,

even from his birthe to his deathe, as appeares in this his complaynte; wherein I haue followed the methode of a booke Intituled "the mirror of maiestrates¹," wherein everye man semes to complayne of his owne mysfortunes: humblie besechinge your royall maiestie to pardon all Defectes, aswell in my writinge as in the basenes of the verse. In the one, I haue donne aswell as my learninge did serve me; for the other, aswell as my olde eyes woulde permitt mee, whiche I beseche your roiall maiestie to censure² withe clemencye, and I will trulie praye to the almightie for the longe continuance of youre healte and happie estate, bothe to gods glorye and your maiesties comforte,

Your poore Distressed subiecte,

Richarde Williams.

¹ A Myrrovre for Magistrates. Wherein may be scen by example of other, with howe greuous plagcs vices are punished: and howe frayle and vnstable worldly prosperitie is founde, even of those whom Fortune seemeth most highly to fauour. Imprinted at London in Flete-strete nere to Saynct Dunstones Church by Thomas Marshe. 1559, 4to, 81 leaves, black letter. (Other editions in 1563, 1571, etc. etc.)—*Hazlitt's Hand-Book*.

² judge, criticize; *not* blame.

The Complaynte of Anthonye Babington, [leaf 4.]

sometyme of lyncolnes Inne, Esquier, whoe, with others,
weare executed for highe treason In the feildes nere
lyncolns Inne, the xixth of September, Anno . . . 1586:

A DREAME OR INDUCTION.

Late, wearied withe my daylie toyle,
to bedd my selfe I dreste,
Whereas¹ a slomber caught mee sone,
yet coulde I take no reste; 4

But fallinge in a fearfull dreame,
me thought there did appeare
One cladd in roabes more white then snowe,
whose face did shyne moste clere, 8

Whose gorgeouse garments weare bedeckt
withe moneths, dayes, and howres;
vppon his head hee likewise ware
a crowne of fragrante flowres. 12

Celestiall signes did hym attende,
and compaste hym like case²;
The mone and starrs attendante weare
vppon his princelie grace. 16

Whiche, when I veiwde with mortall eyes,
I freighted was withe feare;
But hee, to comforte me, beganne,
and spake as you shall heare:— 20

“Williams! shake of this sluggishe slepe!
prepare to followe mee;
ffor strange thinges I haue to reveale,
whiche I will showe to thee.” 24

“O soveraygne god, I thee bespeke, [leaf 4, back.]
what god so ere thou bee,
Whiche doest not daigne in deitie³
to showe thie selfe to mee. 28

“If symple I maye bee so bolde,
of thee I fayne woulde knowe,
What god thou arte, what sacred wight,
to me declare and showe!” 32

¹ Wherecin.

² likewise.

³ MS. dietie.

- " I morpheus hight, ruler of night,
 thus poetts of mee doe fayne :
 Arise," quoth hee, " and followe mee !
 I bidd thee once agayne. 36
- " Reiecte all care ; caste of all feare ;
 to ludd's towne Ile thee bringe,
 That is renowned throughe the wordle¹ ;
 there shalte thou vewe a thinge." 40
- Wherewith I rowsed vpp my selfe,
 and quicklie was I drete ;
 And vncouthe wayes I followed hym,
 and did but seldome reste. 44
- At laste hee thus spake vnto mee,
 thatte² wearye shoulde appeare,
 " Thie Iorneye drawes vnto an ende,
 wee shall anon bee there." 48
- Thus as wee paste by dale and hill,
 appeares vnto oure vewe—
 Withe brave prospecte,—a cittie fayre,
 whose citation well I knewe. 52
- So longe wee paste, till at the laste [leaf 5.]
 to a famos bridge wee came,
 Where olde Thameyse, with surges greate
 still beateth on the same. 56
- It was aboute the howres of twelue,
 when chymes did swetelie ringe,
 And nature then due reste did yeilde
 to everye livinge thinge ; 60
- And all was hushte in quyett sorte,
 the starrs did shyne moste clere,
 When on a sodden (as mee thought,)
 a voyce soundes in myne eare, 64
- Wherewith I sore affrighted was,
 my bodye gan with feare to quake ;
 Morpheus than to comforte me began,
 and theise wordes in effecte hee spake : 68
- " Shake of all tymrose feare !" quoth hee,
 " amased so, whie doest thou stande ?
 ffor this cause hane I brought thee here,
 to take theise thinges in hande. 72

¹ world.² MS. thacte.

- Caste vpp thie head, lifte vpp thyne eyes !
what doest thou there beholde ?”
Where suche a spectakle I did vewe,
as made my harte full colde. 76
- There might I perceiue manye mens heddes
on toppes of poales to stande,
Whiche did to suche parsons belonge,
as weare traytors to this lande. 80
- ffourtene of them above the reste [leaf 5, back.]
in a higher degree weare placeste,¹
Whiche morpheus sayde weare hedds of those
ther[e] executet laste. 84
- And one of them in highest degree
Did stande in open vewe,
Where sounded suche a harrishe² voice
as did my feares renewe : 88
- “ Good contrie man ! I doe thee praye,
vouchsafe some paynes to take ;
And thats the cause I haue sente for thee,
my tragedie to make. 92
- “ Thoughe thou symple and vnlearned bee,
doe not refuse this payne ;
Wische Gentelmen all, by me take heede,
so good will thou shalte gayne 96
- “ of all suche as good subiects bee :
for the reste, take thou no care ;
But penne my tragedie in suche sorte
as memorye shall to thee declare ; 100
- “ And tell them, thoughe I weare no pere,
I presumed with the beste ;
Therefore as worthie to be harde
as anye of the reste. 104
- “ Iacke cade, and Iacke strawe, they bothe
haue tolde there ruthles tale ;
Cardinall wolsey and shores wife
Haue rewde there bitter bale ; 108

¹ Pronounce *plast* : see p. 30, l. 188, note (2).

² harsh.

- “ And late, fayre rosamonde hathe complaynde, [leaf 6.]
 that longe synce was forgott;
 Wherefore, to presse amongst the presse,
 I truste twilbe my lott. 112
- “ My worshipfull frends, they still doe live
 in credditt, love and fame:
 The worse my happe, I shoulde begynne
 my kynne or stocke to shame! 116
- “ But thou, my frende, pleade thou my cause!
 at large, penne downe my case,
 That I to all example maye bee,
 that fall for wante of grace.” 120
- Whereto I fayne woulde haue replide,
 myne Ignorance to excuse,
 But morpheus wilde me scilence kepe,
 no talke hee wishte me vse. 124
- “ Come on,” quothe hee, “ lett vs bee gone,
 the tyme for anye man dothe not stayer.”
 So in haste I wente, and home I came,
 I knowe not well whiche waye; 128
- But at the laste, when I wakened was,
 and sawe it was a dreame;
 “ O god!” quothe I, “ nowe comforte me!
 what maye this nights¹ worke meane?” 132
- And sondrie cogitations in mased mynde [leaf 6, back.]
 did daylie mee moleste,
 And till I had sett downe the same,
 I never coulde take reste; 136
- Whiche, thoughe it bee but rudelic donne;
 yet take it in good parte,
 Whiche presente the same to your highnes vewe
 withe a frendlie willinge harte. 140
- finis.

¹ MS. mights.

ANTHONIE BABINGTON HIS COMPLAINT. ^[leaf 7.]

I.

What will it avayle, on fortune to exclaime,
when as due desarte is cheifest cause of all ?
my selfe, and none but my selfe, Iustlie can I blame,
That thus haue procured myne vntymelic fall, 144
and turned haue my honnye swet vnto bitter gall.
wherefore, good ffrende, take thie penne and write,
and in mournfull verse my Tragedie recite. 147

II.

Longe might I haue lived a contented happie state,
and haue borne a porte and countnance with the beste ;
If fortune shoulde me cheeke, I coulde her mate ;
Thus none, like me, more happie was and bleste, 151
Till that discontente procured myne vnreste,
And the pompe of pride so glared in myne eyen,
That I reiected vertue moste Devyne. 154

III.

But firste, I will tell thee myne estate and name,
and contrie soile where I was bredd and borne :
Anthonye Babington I hight ; of a worthie howse I came,
Till my mysdemeanors made me forlorne, 158
givinge cause to my foes to laughe me to skorne,
whoe haue stayned my state, and blemisht my name :
In clymbinge by follie, [I] haue falne to my shame. 161

IV.

At Dethwicke in darbye-shere I was bothe borne and bredd,
my father was an Esquier of good reputation,
A good howse hee kepte, a vertuose life hee ledd ;
my selfe, beinge a childe, was holde in estimation, 165
But havinge gott the rayne, I changed my facion ;
Then privatlie I sought myne owne will and pleasure,
livinge to my likinge, but never kepte a measure. 168

V.

Doctor Babington, myne Eame¹, did pronosticate [leaf 7, back.]
 that harde was the happe whereto I was borne :
 Hee sayde, that 'pride my glorie shoulde abate,
 and destenye had decreede I shoulde bee forlorne ;' 172
 Whose wordes my father then helde in scorne.
 "O trayne hym vpp well !" myne vnkell did saye,
 "vnlesse² hee repente the same another daye. 175

VI.

"Give hym not, brother, his libertie in youthe,
 for then olde dayes hee never shall see ;
 Hee is my nephewe, the more is my rewthe
 to thincke of his happe and harde destynye ! 179
 If skill beguyle me not, hanged hee shalbe."
 This was the foresight of my fathers brother,
 ffor whiche love of his hee was hated of my mother. 182

VII.

I knowe not where³ hee spake by hassarde or skill,
 for suche Divinations I doe not commende ;
 yet his counsell was good, to flie future ill ;
 for whoe-so in vertue there dayes doe not spende, 186
 shalbe sure, with me, repente them in thende.
 The prooffe of myne vnkells worde I founde to trewe,
 as by the sequell Hereafter you maye veiwe. 189

VIII.

Not longe after, my father resyned vpp his breathe,
 and lefte my wofull mother with a greate charge,
 Whiche proved for vs all to tymelie⁴ a deathe,
 ffor then, good gentelwoman, her purse ranne at large, 193
 Havinge of debts and legacies greate somes to discharge.
 But in the state of widowhode not longe shee tarried,
 ffor with that good gentelmañ, Henrye foliambe she
 married. 196

¹ A. Sax. *cām*, an uncle.² lest.³ whether.⁴ early.

IX.

Whoe loved vs all tenderlie as wee had bene his owne, [leaf 8.]
and was verye carefull of oure education ;
Whose love to mee was diverse wayes showne,
and I of the same had daylie probation,¹ 200
As by this maye appeare of whiche I make narration :
 Withe his owne chayne of golde hee woulde me often
 decke,
 Whiche made me a prowde boye, to weare aboute my
 necke. 203

X.

As on a tyme this chayne aboute my necke I did weare,
and goinge to an orcharde some aples to gett,
Where clymbinge a highc tree, as one without feare,
the boughe then brake whereon my foote I sett, 207
and downwarde I slipt, but was caught in a nett ;
 In the tree I was hanged faste by the chayne ;
 So desyre of my pride was cause of my payne. 210

XI.

But [I] was not suffred there longe to hange,
but was nere strangled or I was taken downe,
ffor there I struggled with suche a deadlie pange,
my mother, shee freighted, and fell in a sowne,² 214
and greife made my father likewise to frowne ;
 But my revingc there sorrowes over-caste ;
 Then they reioycste, sayinge my destenye was paste. 217

XII.

Thus carelesse a tyme with them I liude at pleasure,
suffretted with selfwill and with fonde delite ;
I knewe no golden meane, nor never kepte a measure,
but like a kyndlie³ beare gan tymelie to byte ; 221
Even then I harborde envye, and sucked despite,
 And pride at that Instante tooke so depe a roote
 That humillitie for ever was troden vnder foote. 224

¹ proof.

² swoon.

³ natural.

XIII.

In myne none-age I was when my father dyde. [leaf 8, back.]
 phillip draycott of paynslie, hee did me obtayne,
 Whoe had appoynted me his daughter for my bryde,
 and in whose howse a space I did remayne: 228
 There suckte I pleasure that proved to my payne,
 There was I misled in papistrie my soule to wounde,
 There was I corrupted, made rotten and vnsounde. 231

XIV.

There, even there, a while I spente my youthfull tyme ;
 there was I lulled in securitie faste a-sleepe ;
 The[r]e was I frolicke, there was I in my pryde,
 In Iollitie then I laught, but never thought to weepe, 235
 my witts weare moste fyne, & conceits verye depe.
 But oh, paynslie, paynslie, I maye thee curse !
 where nature made me ill, education made me worse ; 238

XV.

ffor by nature I was withe papistrie infected,
 but might haue bene restrayned, had it pleased god.
 My father and myne Eame, they weare suspected ;
 theye lived with there conscience, wherein I was odd, 242
 Therefore was beaten with a more sharper rodd.
 There conscience they kepte, & ruled it by reason,
 livinge like subiects, and still detested treason. 245

XVI.

My fatherinlawe still ledd me to what I was Inclynd[e],
 I meane, for my conscience, no farther hee woude deale ;
 my mayntnance [was] sufficient to contente my mynde,
 so that all this while I tasted nought but weale, 249
 but coulde not bee contente, which I muste nedes reveale ;
 my fyne head was desyrouse to studye the lawe,
 In attayninge whereof I proude¹ my selfe a daw². 252

XVII.

And for that cause forthwith I to london wente, [leaf 9.]
 where in lyncolns Inne a student I became,

¹ proved.² a foolish fellow.—*Nares.*

and there some parte of my fittinge tyme I spent ;
 but to bee a good lawier, my mynde woulde not frame ; 256
 I addicted was to pleasure, and given so to game ;
 But to the Theatre and Curtayne¹ woulde often resorte,
 where I mett companions fittinge my disporte. 259

XVIII.

Companions, quoth you ? I had companions in deede,
 suche as in yoake with me weare well contente to drawe,
 lyncked so in myscheife, wherein wee did exceede,
 wee cared not for order, nor paste² of reasons lawe ; 263
 of god nor of good man wee stode in litle awe ;
 wee paste the bounds of modestie, and lived without shame,
 wee spotted our conscience, and spoiled our good name. 266

XIX.

Wee carde not for the churche ; that place we not frequented ;
 the taverns weare better oure humors to fitt ;
 The companie of dayntie dames wee cheiflie Invented,³
 withe whome in dalliance wee desyred ofte to sitt : 270
 These weare the fruytes of our yonge hedds and witt.
 Thus in lustie libertie I ledd a loose life,
 and thoughte I weare married, I carde not for my wife. 273

XX.

Yett to the sermons wee woulde often resorte,
 not in hope edification by them to obtayne,
 But rather to leste, and make of them a sporte,
 whiche nowe I feele, to my sorrowe, greife, and payne : 277
 These bee the fruytes that sichophants doe gayne,
 Cheiflie when they mocke and skorne gods worde,
 Disdayninge the servants and prophetts of the lorde. 280

¹ *Curtain*. A theatre which appears to have stood in Moorfields, and to have been celebrated for the performance of humorous and satirical pieces. See Collier's *Annals of the Stage*, iii. 268, and the quotations in *Nares*.

² *Pass*, to care for or regard: 'As for these silken-coaten slaves, I *pass* not,' 2 Hen. IV, iv. 2. 'Men do not *pass* for their sinnes, doe lightly regard them.' *Latimer, Ser. Ded.*—*Nares*.

³ Or Bacchus merry fruit they did *invent*. Spencer, *F. Q. i. iv. 15*.
 And vowed never to returne againe,
 Till him alive or dead she did *invent*.

Ibid. III. v. 10.—*Nares*.

XXI.

With Catholicks still conversante I coveted to be, [leaf 9, back.]
 that weare alwayes in hope, and looked for a daye,
 Gapinge for a change which wee trusted to see.
 Ambition so stonge me, my selfe I coulde not staye, 284
 Whiche makes mee sighes to sighe well-a-waye;
 Then I had my will, and playde with pleasures ball,
 Then I was alofte, and feared not this fall. 287

XXII.

Yett so covertlie all this tyme I did my selfe behave,
 and so closelie wrought in subtell synons frame,
 What so ere I thought, my selfe I sought to save,
 livinge all this while without suspecte or blame; 291
 and more to wynne me credditt, a courtier I became,
 Where the syrens songe so swetelie I did synge,
 I never was suspected to worke suche a thinge. 294

XXIII.

The nobles of the courte of me thought so well,
 that often to there tables they woulde me Invite,
 Where in gesture and talké I did the common sorte ex-
 cell,
 Thereby wynninge favor in my companye to delite; 298
 Whiche with a Iudas kisse I sought to requyte,
 As in sequell of my storye shall after appeare,
 Whiche I shame to tell, it toucheth me so nere. 301

XXIV.

And daylie more and more my credditt did increase,
 and so in like manner did pride still abounde;
 Beloved I was bothe of more and lesse.
 when my Inwarde motions weare all vnsounde, 305
 my parsonage was comelie which favor eache where founde;
 But pryde had so blynded me, I could not see
 That with Iearus alofte I mynded was to flee. 308

XXV.

The grounde that I troade on, my feete coulde not holde, [leaf 10.]
nor I bee contente in a happie state to reste,
lyke Bayarde that blushed not, then was I more bolde
when Rancor Inwardlie still boyled in my breste, 312
That like an vnnaturall birde I filed my neste,
In parlinge with parasites that looked for a daye ;
By the counsell of Caterpillers I wrought my decaye. 315

XXVI.

Then I beganne to prie in-to matters of the state ;
and with what I liked not, I secrett faulte did fynde ;
Where I fawned openlie, I inwardlie did hate,
and to my confederates woulde closelie breake my mynde, 319
I meane, to suche as to my lore weare Inclynde,
Betwene whome and me suche myscheife wee Invented,
That wee thought to haue made all Englande repented. 322

XXVII.

Where-vppon in-to france a Lorney I did frame,
to parle with padgett, Morgan, and others of that crewe.
What wee had but decreede, they resolved on the same ;
Whose pretended purpose, at large when I knewe, 326
I willinglie consented too,—which makes me nowe to
rewe,—
and to sett the same forwarde, a sollemne oathe did
take.
o cursed conscience, that a traytor didst me make ! 329

XXVIII.

Then Into Englande I retornde agayne with spede,
and gott conferrence hereof with some of greate fame.
Manye weare the plotts whereon wee agreed,
and greate the attempts whereat we did ame, 333
which afterwarde proved oure ruynose shame ;
and aspiringe pride so fyred my harte,
I was contente to playe a traytors parte. 336

his artickles of arraynmente. [leaf 10, back.]

XXIX.

Yee, to bee a moste savage monster agaynste all kynde,
 In sekinge the deathe of my Quene, the lords anoynted ;
 Ambition so stonge me, that I was starke blynde
 in pluckinge her downe that god had appoynted, 340
 and the vnitie of the realme in sonder to haue ioynted,
 To haue made kings and rulers at *our* owne pleasure,
 To haue exceeded in vyllanye without rule or measure. 343

XXX.

To haue made suche lawes as wee thought beste,
 to haue turned the state quyte vpsyde downe,
 The nobles to haue slayne, and clene dispossesst,
 and on a strangers hedd haue placed the crowne : 347
 Herein wee weare resolute, but fortune did frowne :
 no ! twas god woulde not suffer *our* villanyes take
 place,
 But vnlookte for, revealde them, to *our* shamefull dis-
 grace. 350

XXXI.

ffarther, *our* Intente was to poyson the ordinance of the
 realme,
 a moste haynouse matter as ever was Invented :
 Whoe ever hathe harde of trecheries so extreame,
 concluded, agreed vpon, and fullye consented ? 354
 an wofull matter, of all to bee lamented !
 all courtrolls and records wee went¹ to haue raced,
 and them to haue burned, spoyled and defaced. 357

XXXII.

The fayre cittie of london wee also mente to rifell,
 to haue robde the riche, and killed eke the poore ;—
 These things in effecte wee counted but a trifell,—
 In all places of the lande [to] haue sett an vprore, 361
 The wealthie to haue bereaude bothe of life & store ;
 no state nor degree wee never mente to spare ;
 But if hee woulde resyste, deathe shoulde bee his share. 364

¹ weened, thought, *not* went-in.

XXXIII.

These weare *our* intents, with mischeifs manye more, [leaf 11.]
even confusion to the whole realme to haue brought.
Confederates wee had, and that no small store,
Whiche ruine and destruction weare redie to haue wrought;
wee either mente to make or bringe all to nought; 369
nought! yee, nought in deede! for nought weare *our*
happs,
ffor desperate myndes doe feare no after-clapps. 371

XXXIV.

So forward wee [we] are, that the verye daye was sett
to murder *our* good Quene that god had preserved:
Barnewell and savage shoulde haue donne the feate,
but Instice rewarded them as they well desarved, 375
beinge twoe monstrose traytors *that* from dutie swarved.
The Daggs¹ and all things weare redye preparde;
But in the nett they layde, they them selves weare snarde.

XXXV.

And ballarde that beaste, hee into Englaunde was come, 379
a Iesuite, a preeste, and a Semyinarie vilde,²
Hee brought with hym *our* absolution from roome,
promysinge good successe,—wherein he was beguyld,— 382
So that from *our* hartes all pittie hee exilde;
and still hee incoraged vs in myscheifs to proceede,
Egginge vs forward, wherein there was no neede. 385

XXXVI.

But god woulde not suffer vs so closelie to worke,
but that all *our* doyngs laye open in his sight,
revealinge those myscheifs that in *our* hartes did lurke.
when wee suspected not, hee brought the same to light; 389
Then muste wee hyde *our* hedds, or scape away by
flight;
But when wee had Incklinge *our* treasons weare de-
scryde,
Awaye, awaye in haste! twas then no tyme to hyde. 392

¹ Dag, a pistol.—Halliwell.

² vile.

XXXVII.

Then watche and wardewas made in everye coaste, [leaf 11, back.]
 then weare wee taken eache howre of the daye ;
 My selfe was once taken : but whie shoulde I boaste
 Howe that I made a scape, and so gott awaye, 396
 not knowinge where to goe, nor haue perfitt staye ?
 But to harrowe-on-the-hill my selfe I conwayde ;
 There in Bellamy's howse a litle tyme I stayde. 399

XXXVIII.

But there was made for me suche previe watche & warde,
 and the contrie so besett, I no where coulde flie ;
 all hope of my escape was vtterlie debarde,
 and searche in eache corner was made so nye 403
 That I was compelde this polecye to trye,
 To forsake the howse, and my selfe disguyse
 lyke an Inkeper of london, to bleare the peoples eyes. 406

XXXIX.

But a rewarde was promyste hym that coulde me take,
 whiche made the people looke so muche the nere¹ ;
 And beinge constrayned the howse to forsake,
 [We] walked throughe the pastures as men without
 feare ;
 my man like an hostler was cladd in symple geare ; 411
 But this woulde not serve, if truthe I shall tell,
 my favor I coulde not change, my face was knowne
 well. 413

XL.

There was a poore man, a weaver, was one of the watche,
 by whome the gate² laye as of force I muste walke ;
 Hee came to me boldlie, by the arme did me catche,
 "Staye, good frende!" quoth hee, "with you I muste
 talke." 417
 my conscience beinge guyltie, my tonge gan to balke :
 "wee are not those you looke for," I foltringlie did saye ;
 "our commyssion," quoth hee, "is all passengers to
 staye." 420

¹ nearer, closer.² road, way..

XLII.

Then the people gan flocke aboute me a-pace, [leaf 12.]
and before the master of the rolls I forthwith was brought.
when I came there, I was knowne by my face
To bee the same man that theye so longe had sought, 424
and cheifest of the crewe that all the sturr had wrought.
Sir Gilberte Gerrarde Examynde, and sente me to the
towre,
and stronglie was I guarded with a mightie greate powre. 427

XLII.

Then the londiners reioyced, and merye did make
with ringinge of bells, givinge god the prayse.
All my olde common friends did me elene forsake,
That before had flattred me dyverse & sondrye wayes; 431
But favor, frendshipp, and faithe, by treason Decayes,
as appears by me, whose fame, credditt, and renowe,
my traytrose attempts had soné plucked downe. 434

XLIII.

Then shortlie after to the kings benche wee weare brought,
and a number of others, confederates like case,
There to make awnswer to the deedes wee had wrought;
but then my glorye gan declyne a-pace; 438
yet with a countnance I sett thereon a face;
where beinge arraygned, I guyltie was founde
of highé treason agaynste my kinge and crowne. 441

XLIV.

Barnewell and savage had confest the same before;
then bootelesse twas for vs anye poynte to denaye,—
our conscience beinge guiltie, it Irkte vs the more,—
So that fourtene of vs weare condemned that daye. 445
Wee carde not for deathe, wee stowtlie did saye;
our Iudgment was to be hangde, and quartred like
case,
of whiche wee made no accountte; deathe coulde vs not
disgrace. 448

XLV.

And nowe the daye of *our* execution drewe nere, [leaf 12, back.]
 In whiche wee did playe *our* laste tragicke partes,
 when seven of vs on hurdells from the towre dra[w]ne
 weare,

Whiche was no small corsive¹ to *our* heavie hartes, 452
 yet a luste rewarde for *our* wicked desartes.

The people flockte aboute vs with this heavye sounde,
 "God save the Quene! and all traytors confounde!" 455

XLVI.

In the feilds nere lyncolns Inne a stage was sett vpp,
 and a mightie highe gallose was rayسد on the same,
 Whiche was the verye Instrument, & *our* deadlie cuppe,
 of whiche to taste *our* selues wee muste frame; 459
 and beastlie Ballarde, twas hee beganne the game,
 Whoe was hangde and quartred in all the peoples sight,
 and his head on a poale on the gallose sett vpright. 462

XLVII.

Nexste muste I make redye to treade the same dance,
 whereto I preparde my selfe as a man without feare:
 Thousands lamented I had so harde a chance,
 and for me there was shedd manye a salte teare. 466
 They lookte for confession, but weare never the nere;
 Sir ffancis knolls, with others, offerde with me to
 praye:
 "none but Catholicks prayers will proffitt," thus did I
 saye. 469

XLVIII.

Thus Died I stoutlie, and did not trulie repente
 my wicked life paste, and moste haynouse treason.
 If in a good cause my life had bene spente,
 To haue avoucht the same there had bene some reason; 473
 But wickedlie I lived and dyed at that season:
 Havinge hanged a while, and my head cutt of in haste,
 on the right Hande of Ballards it was placest. 476

¹ corrosive.

XLIX.

[leaf 13.]
Then Died Bar[n]well, Savage, and yonge Tushborne also,
withe Tilnie and Abington, in order as they came.
But o, Tuchborne, Tuchborne ! thou makest me full woe !
ffor I was the firste that allurde thee to the same, 480
Thie witts beinge yonge, likewaye I did frame ;
Thou beinge well Inclinde, throughe me didst consente
To conceale the thinge that made vs all repente. 483

L.

The nexte daye dyed Salsburye, Henrye Dune, and Iones,
with Iohn Travice of prescott, *which is in lancashire* ;
So did Iohn Charnocke, a traytor for the nonce.
Roberte Gage of Croyden muste then on stage appeare, 487
and lastlic Bellamy, our hoste, that made vs all the
chere :
These seven weare executed on saynte matheues daye,
The twentithe of September there partes they did playe.
490

LI.

Oure quarters weare boyled like the fleshe of swyne,
and on the cittie gates in open vewe doe stande ;
oure conceited hedds, that once wee thought so fyne,
on london bridge bee spectakles to subiects of the lande, 494
Warninge them to shunne to take like things in hande.
Our soules in the censure of gods Iudgments doe reste :
This was the rewarde for the treasons wee profeste. 497

LII.

Thus haue I tolde thee my tragedie at large,
in everye particular as the same was wrought ;
reporte it to my contrie-men, I thee straytly charge,
to shune those things that my destruction brought ; 501
ffor traytrose attempts at all tyme prove nought :
Serche our Englishe Chronikels, & thou shalte fynde the
same.
That " whoe begyns in trecherie, hee endeth still in
shame. 504

LIII.

[leaf 13, back.]

At my requeste, therefore, admonshe then all men
 to spende well the tallente that god hathe them lente ;
 and hee that hathe but one, lett hym not toyle for tenne,
 ffor one is to muche vnlesse it bee well spente, 508
 I meane by ambition, leaste hee to sone repente.

To conclude, happie is the man, and threefolde bleste is
 hee,
 That can bee contente to live with his degree. 511

felix, quem¹ faciunt aliena
 pericula cautum.

finis.

¹ quam.

The Life and Death of Essex.

[Arundel MS. 418, leaf 14.]

To oure Roiall kinges moste
Excellente maiestie

This booke — my gratiouse Soveraygne — of the life and deathe of my lorde of Essex, I did write presentlie vppon his deathe, and did bestowe the same on some of my honorable and worshipfull frends, whoe thought well of the same, In regarde that I had written the truthe bothe of his life and manner of his deathe; and nowe [I] haue revived the same, and make presente of it to *your* princelie maiestie, which I beseche you accepte, as a poore pittance of my zeale and Dutie to *your* highnes, and that it woulde please you to pardon all defectes of the same, wherein you bynde me for ever to praye for *your* Roiall maiestie longe to raynge over vs //

your maiesties poore distressed
Subiecte, Richarde Williams

[leaf 15.]

A lamentable Motion or mour[n]full remembrance for the
 Deathe of Roberte Lorde Deverox, Late Earle of Essex,
 whoe was beheaded in the Towre of london on ashwensdaye
 mornynge in the yeare of oure lorde—1601—

I.

Englande! thou haste cause to complayne,
 to thincke vppon hym that is gone,
 Whose face thou nere shalte see agayne, 3
 Whiche is the cause of this thie mone,
 Doughtie Deverox, that famose Earle,
 That Jewell rare, that princes pearle. 6

II.

And is hee gone, and gone in-deede?
 a corsive¹ greate, a gallinge greife,
 The whiche makes manye a harte to bleede; 9
 but all in vayne, without releife,
 To thincke this worthie peere shoulde die,
 Whose harte was fraught with pietie. 12

III.

Thoughe hee bee gone, hees not forgott;
 nor will not bee this manye a yeare,
 Thoughe sorrowe fall vnto oure lott 15
 for losse of this moste gallante peere.
 Essex! Essex! (manye doe saye,)
 By envies spite was made awaye: 18

IV.

Whose vertues, If I coulede recounte, [leaf 15, back.]
 on whiche to thincke dothe passe my skill,
 Leaste Muses of parnassus mounte 21
 Herein shoulde guyde my symple quill:
 But tushe! I can them not rehearse
 In suche base stile and symple verse. 24

¹ corrosive.

V.

Yet will I doe the beste I can :
His frends will take it in good parte,
Thoughe I Decipher not the man 27
 accordinge to his highe desarte,
 whose vertues aymde at higher things
Then pan can pipe on oaten strings. 30

VI.

ffirste, for his birthe and highe discente,
tis knowne hee came of noble blood ;
Trew Honor was his whole intente, 33
 To Doe his Quene and contrie good ;
 But cheiflie, gods truthe to mayntayne,
 ffor whiche hee sparde no toyle nor payne. 36

VII.

Lett his greatest enemyes saye,
 what toyle it was hee did forsake,
If maiestie wilde, hee then strayght-waye 39
 moste willinglie woulde vndertake ;
 Earle Essex was ever preste
 To see his contries wrongs redreste. 42

VIII.

That Portingale can witness well, [leaf 16.]
 and Don anthonie, then there kinge ;
Where haughtie valor did excell, 45
 That man in his estate to bringe.
 At lisborne gates this challenged hee,
 “The prowdest within, come forthe to me !” 48

IX.

But when hee sawe it was [in] vayne,
 He stucke his Dagger on the gate,
Whereon hee honge his golden chayne, 51
 as skornyng there the prowdest inade :
 “This shalbe¹ token that I bringe
 To you your trewe anyoynted kinge.” 54

¹ MS shalle.

X.

Seinge hee coulde not there prevaile,
 withe Honor [he] marched thence awaye. 57
 The spanyards pride hee ofte did quayle,
 and wrought there ruyne night and daye,
 And so came home with threefolde fame :
 Then Honored was brave Essex name. 60

XI.

Then Into ffrance this lorde was sente,
 And Walter Deverox, his brother dere ; 63
 Ten thousande men with hym there wente
 Taccompanye this gallante peere.
 At Gurnaye hee greate fame did wyne ;
 That towne by valor hee tooke in.¹ 66

XII.

To-wardes brave [Rouen] then marched hee, [leaf 16,
 His brother leadinge his brave trayne, back.]
 Whoe was shott by the enemye 69
 So cruellye, that hee there was slayne ;
 whoe, to revenge his brothers deathe,
 vowed there to spende his latest breathe. 72

XIII.

The frenche kinge Did his furye staye,
 whoe with greate multitudes came there ;
 But withe Honor Hee marcht awaye, 75
 ffor hee there forches did not feare.
 Then Deverox in esteme was heilde,
 whoe gott renowne in Towne and feilde. 78

XIV.

But nexte Cales commeth to my mynde,
 where, in despite of Spannysh pride,
 A goodlie Towne hee there did fynde, 81
 well Rampyrde, mande, and fortified :
 His foes agaynste hym there did stande
 moste stronglie, bothe by sea and lande. 84

¹ took, captured.

XV.

But brave Honor did there prevayle,
and valor Ioyned to the same ;
when foes did freshlie hym assayle, 87
“ Saynt George and Essex :” at which name
It Ioyed so eache Englishe Harte,
The spanyards felte bothe woe and smarte. 90

XVI.

And so that Towe hee bravelie entred, [leaf 17.]
Sir Iohn Wingfilde beinge nere hym,
That withe brave Essex boldlie ventred, 93
and as a faithfull fre[n]de did ehere hym ;
But cruell Deathe, with deadlie darte,
Then strooke¹ this gallante to the harte. 96

XVII.

ffor nexte before hym hee was slayne
withe shott that came from of the wall ;
whiche was to hym a threefolde payne, 99
to see his frende so nere hym fall ;
But greefe coulde doe his frende no good ;
withe furye hee revengde his blood, 102

XVIII.

And in despite hee wanne the towne
of all that semde hym to resiste.
Then firste, good lawes hee did sett downe, 105
His souldiers furye so Dismyste,
and charged them vppon there lives
not to deflowre maydes nor wives. 108

XIX.

A leiftenant brake his commande,
whoe deflowred there a mayde ;
But hee was hanged out of hande, 111
to make the reste by hym affrayde ;
Three howres on markett crosse honge hee,
That all his Iustice there might see. 114

¹ MS. stroote.

XX.

Greate mercye hee did likewise showe, [leaf 17, back.]
 not Ioyinge in sheedinge guyltlesse blood,
 nor Trympt in the yeilding foe, 117
 nor suche as at his mercye stood :
 Whiche clemencye his foes did prayse
 To his greate fame, even sondrye wayes. 120

XXI.

His warrs by seas weare of like force :
 The spannysheshipps weare stronglie mande,
 where was made manye a lowlie corse 123
 That stoutlie at defence did stande ;
 But *our* shipps fought with suche greate yre,
 That twoe of them they sett on fyer, 126

XXII.

And twoe of them they brought away
 Home Into Englande for a price ;
 Ransackte the towne ; then woulde not staye, 129
 But marcht from thence with good advice.
 Then Essex name was in accounte :
 whoe but Deverox did then surmounte ? 132

XXIII.

Yet er hee wente from thence awaye,
 The Spanyards for the Towne agreede,
 And certen somes to hym did paye ; 135
 So then they marcht awaye with speede,
 And paste the seas, with sayles on hie,
 As men resolute¹ to fight, not flie. 138

XXIV.

To the Ilands Hee marched then, [leaf 18.]
 where of treasure hee gott good store,
 withe all oure gallante Englishmen ; 141
 all had Inoughe, what woulde you more ?
 yet more they had gotten that daye,
 But that ill lucke did crosse there waye. 144

¹ resolved.

XXV.

Then came hee home with honored fame ;
 then was hee loude¹ of prince and peere ;
 Admyred then was Essex name, 147
 and as there lives they helde hym dere.
 Yet envie might repyne as then,
 That alwayes lurckes in enviose men. 150

XXVI.

Then Generall hee was elected,
 In Irlande for to beare the swaye,—
 A Trayne² whiche hee not suspected, 153
 To worke his ruynes and decaye ;
 Greate promyses to hym weare made,
 But in performance they did fade,— 156

XXVII.

And gallantlie hym selfe preparde
 with a moste brave and warlike trayne,
 (no coste to furnishe hym was sparde ;) 159
 whoe might hym serve, was gladd & fayne,
 moste voluntaries ; fewe weare preste
 That wente with hym, some of the beste. 162

XXVIII.

Hee there did spende bothe toyle and payne [leaf 18,
 to doe His Quene and contrie good ; back.]
 Hee Honor and good fame did gayne, 165
 the whiche did coste his derest blood ;
 ffor there a plott for hym was layde,
 Whiche withe his honored hedd hee payde. 168

XXIX.

But treason was layde to his charge,
 and manye artikles obiected ;
 whoe rowed not so in follies barge, 171
 and thinges propounded not suspected ;
 and suche at that tyme bare the swaye,
 as sought his ruynes and decaye ; 174

¹ loved. ² artifice, stratagem : *Macb.* iii. 4, *Spencer*, F. Q. i. iii. 24.—Nares.

XXX.

And so hee was condemnde to dye,
 the whiche hee tooke in quiett parte,
 and to the lorde his god on hie 177
 Hee yeilded hym with all his harte.
 Deathe coulde not Daunte his noble mynde;
 Vnto His Quene hee was moste kynde. 180

XXXI.

And so hee ever did proteste
 Hee mente her maiestie no harme;
 no cne thought in his harte did reste, 183
 Thoughe synon¹ subtellie did charme
 In secrett sorte his blood to spill:
 Hee was contente, they had there will. 186

XXXII.

Yet mai[e]stie woulde hym discharge, [leaf 19.]
 and haue releaceste² hym from his thrall;
 But Rawe-bones layde on lies at large, 189
 and howrelie sought to see his fall;
 whoe never stayde, till they gott synde³
 His doome of deathe, to please there mynde. 192

XXXIII.

And then in all post haste withe specede
 Theye to the Towres leiftenna[n]t came,
 withe stricke commande to doe the deede, 195
 as hee woulde awnswer to the same
 If hee made staye, or once delayde
 The prescript howre; which hee obayde. 198

XXXIV.

Yet greiude in mynde, hee loude⁴ hym dere,
 But muste her highe commande fulfill.
 when this good man of this did heare, 201
 Hee sayde "good lorde, bleste be thie will!
 I thancke my god and my good Quene
 That thus myndefull of me haue bene. 204

¹ Cecil or Cobham.

² Pronounce *releaste*: compare *disgraceste* for *disgraced*, l. 331; and *placeste* for *placed*, l. 333, below; p. 7, l. 82, above.

³ signed.

⁴ loved.

XXXV.

“ To-morrowe morninge I shall paye
the debte that I doe owe her grace.
my life to her I downe will laye 207
moste willinglie, within this place ;
Then my friends, that my Gardiants bee,
Shall see my god moste stronge in mee.” 210

XXXVI.

That night in prayer hee did passe, [leaf 19, back.]
moste ferventlie, vnto the lorde ;
no feare of deathe his troble was ; 213
His mynde was fixte on gods pure worde ;
His care was cheife for his greate synne
and loathed luste hee had liude in. 216

XXXVII.

And godlie men withe hym did praye,
confirmde his faithe on christe a-bove,
Howe hee¹ had washte his synns awaye, 219
of his mere mercye and greate love,
nowe home from strayinge did hym call ;
Hee on his shoulders woulde beare all. 222

XXXVIII.

Moste of the night that waye hee spent,
and ofte woulde comforte his dere friends
That semed for hym to lamente :
“ wepe not for mee ! men haue there ends.
all that [be] borne, nedes muste dye ;
To-morrowe mornynge so muste I. 228

XXXIX.

Ashwensdaye mornynge nowe was come ;
His deadlie foes as earlie there,
And yet that loude [him] there weare some, 231
That came to see with greife and feare.
All thinges in haste prepared was,
That this pceere to his deathe might passe. 234

¹ he who.

XL.

A place appoynted in the towre, [leaf 20.]
 withe stage and blocke, and all things fitt,
 Made redye agaynste the verye howre, 237
 with seates for suche nobles to sitt
 That came to see hym loose his head,
 where manye brinishe teares weare spredd. 240

XLI.

Then came this peere with countnance mylde,
 as Lambe vnto his slaughter ledd :
 His foes, whiche pittie had exilde, 243
 ffor verye shame helde downe there head,
 To thincke in mynde what they had donne,
 Thus to ekclipse bright Honors sonne. 246

XLII.

Then kneelinge downe, his prayer did make
 vnto his god in Heaven above ;
 all wordlie¹ motions did forsake, 249
 forgave his enemyes with love,
 "Lorde, laye not this vnto their² charge !
 my Deathe I haue deserude at large." 252

XLIII.

His greatest wordlie care was this,
 Hee had some frends that loude hym well,
 That never knewe secrett of his, 255
 nor previe weare to his counsell,
 yet weare in troble for his sake ;
 But hoapte his Quene woulde mer[c]ye take. 258

XLIV.

The Headsman kneeled on his knee, [leaf 20, back.]
 and sayde, " my lorde, forgive your deathe !"
 " Withe all my harte I forgive thee ; 261
 Dispatche at once ! come, stoppe my breathe !
 Thou, Iustice mynister arte here ;
 Come, doe thie office, and haue no feare ! 264

¹ worldly.² MS. my.

XLV.

“Come nowe,” quoth hee, “whats to bee donne?
wee maye dispatche the same with spede;
my glasse on earthe (I see) is ronne, 267
And lachesis will cutt the threede,
whoe prepared hathe His sharpned knife,
To reave me of my vitall life.” 270

XLVI.

Then layde his bodye flatt alonge,
His head likewise vpon the blocke;
But Headsman did threfolde wronge, 273
whoe tooke at hym three severall stroakes
Er head from bodye wente a-waye;
yet as a lambe hee quyett laye. 276

XLVII.

Thus this greate peere ended his life,
and brought his soule to quyett reste,
ffree from the cares of wordlie strife, 279
whiche daylie did his mynde moleste;
And nowe with god in glorye dwells,
whereas his ioye earthes ioye excell. 282

XLVIII.

As Hee with god, a-bove dothe reste, [leaf 21.]
Hee hathe lefte vs here to complayne;
oure hartes withe sorrowe are distreste, 285
and comfortles wee still remayne
ffor wante of hym that so is gone,
whiche is the subiecte of our mone. 288

XLIX.

The noble men, they wante a peere,
withe them in counsell that did sitt;
Captaynes, a leader they helde dere, 291
a seconde sallomon for witt,
a Iosias stronge, grave and wise,
affable, kynde, but not precyse. 294

L.

Souldiers doe there Generall wante,
 that still was wonte to see them payde
 Though Captaynes woulde the same supplante, 297
 and they longe tyme shoulde bee delayde ;
 whiche, when Essex of that did here,
 Hee turnde to ioye there mournfull chere. 300

LI.

whoe cassirde¹ suche as delte not well ?
 ffrom his bandes bannysht them awaye ?
 Wherein his Honor did excell ; 303
 Then souldiers trulie had there paye :
 Here was trewe fame wonne by desarte ;
 This showde the Honor of his harte. 306

LII.

Widowes doe wayle, and children crye, [leaf 21, back.]
 and manye fatherlesse lamente ;
 Maydes at there distafes showe cause whie 309
 wee moved are withe discontente ;
 ffor there, in dolfull tunes theye singe,
 " Essex, Essex, did comforte bringe." 312

LIII.

The poore that begge at everye dore,
 In heavie notes recorde his fame ;
 Hee alwayes loude the needye poore, 315
 and they admyrde good Essex name ;
 no whippinge stockes hee did Invente,
 Theye weare not made by his consente. 318

LIV.

And daylie more his fame is raysde,
 Synce our kinge came to swaye this lande ;
 nowe is hee myste, nowe is hee praysde, 321
 Whiche our good kinge well vnderstands ;
 His maiestie hym selfe is sadd,
 Whereat his foes are nothinge gladd. 324

¹ cashiered.

LV.

Oure kinge dothe countenance his frends,
 suche as in life tyme helde hym dere ;
 on them Riche Honors daylie spends, 327
 for love to them and this greate peere ;
 His Sonne attendante on the prince,
 Whiche envyes spite maye well convynce. 330

LVI.

Whereas his foes, they are disgraceste,¹ [leaf 22.]
 but Iustlie, throughe there owne desarte ;
 In lympo patrum some are placeste,² 333
 whiche is a terror to there hartes ;
 yett this maye well putt them in mynde,
 To Essex they haue bene vnkynde. 336

LVII.

God grante theye maye thincke of the same,
 and trewe teares of repentance bringe ;
 They nowe are scandalde with defame
 for treason agaynste oure good kinge.
 But if truthe bringe treason to light,
 God sende them there desartes by right. 342

LVIII.

And suche measure as they haue mett³
 To worthie Deverox, whiche wee mysse,
 Iustice the like on them maye sett ; 345
 Theye maye withe truthe acknowledge this,
 “That noble pere whiche wee betrayde,
 His blood on vs is Iustlie layde.” 348

LIX.

God sende all greate men to take hecde,
 and withe there state to bee contente,
 leaste that ambition chance to breede 351
 Suche thoughts as maye make them repente
 To hassarde state and noble name,
 To bee Impeached withe defame. 354

¹ Cp. *defaceste* for *defaced*, p. 48, l. 294, etc.

² Cp. p. 7, l. 82.

³ meted.

LX.

Noble Essex was beloved well [leaf 22, back.]
 of riche and poore of eache degree ;
 Hee loved was, as fame dothe tell, 357
 of suche as never did hym see.
 Tushe ! that was hitt the commons love !
 His Honors periode did prove. 360

LXI.

Oh that pure love shoulde turne to spite,
 or honye swete converte to gall !
 Oh that trewe Honors cheife delite, 363
 By envye shoulde gett suche a fall !
 Oh that theise wordes I doe rehearse,
 Might withe remorse there malice peirce ! 366

LXII.

Well ! hee is gone ! that is to trewe !
 yet ins¹ posteritie dothe live ;
 Twoe gallante Impes, that doe renewe 369
 the fame that Essex dothe vs give ;
 Twoe gallante sonnes of Deverox race,
 Whiche hardlie can broke² his disgrace. 372

LXIII.

ffor nature gynnes to beare a swaye
 alredye in there youthfull pryme :
 To perfection come it maye, 375
 when leaste tis thought in after tyme,
 perhaps to bee revengde on those
 Haue bene there fathers greatest foes. 378

LXIV.

I wishe it not : gods will bee donne ! [leaf 23.]
 But guyltlesse blood will vengance crave ;
 The father crye[s] vnto the Sonne 381
 from his Horried tymeles grave.
 Thus writers write, thus poetts fayne ;
 manye forgotten, a-newe complayne. 384

¹ in his.² brook.

LXV.

But farewell Essex, noble peere !
farewell, trewe Honor, that did shyne !
Thie beames weare splendante, pure, and clere, 387
and thou the prospecte of our tyme !
Thou throughc the pikes didst boldlie ronne ;
Deserved fame haste trulie wonne. 390

LXVI.

All that loves thee bids thee farewell,
ffrom Highest to the lowest degree ;
But sure, thie fare dothe farr excell 393
The greatest peeres on earthc that bec.
Gods presence is thyne onelie foode,
That bought thee with his derest blood. 396

vivit post funera virtus.

finis. R. W.



[Arundel MS. 418, leaf 24.]

Acclamatio Patrie,

or

The comp[^l]aynte of the good subjects of Englande for the
 myserie of these Tynes,
 Or the powder Treasons :
 otherwise
 a pulpitt for papistes, and a trappé for Traytors.

To our Roiall kinges moste excellenté
 maiestic.

Moste dreade and gratiouse Soveraygne, this booke I did write presentlie vppon the Dangers paste of this horrible pretended¹ treason ; and seyng no other had written thereof, I did pretende² to haue put the same in printe, and had gotten it lycenced accordinge to order. But a printer asked me a some of moneye for the Impression, whiche I was not able to paye ; and so I kepte it privatt, But that I presented [leaf 24, back.] Some of them to my Honorable and worshipfull frendes ; and one of them I Did presente to your famouse Sonne, Prince Henrie, when your maiestic was in your progresse in Nottingham-shere, at the Howse of one, Sir Iohn Byron, a knight, that Dwelleth in the forrest of mansfildé. But I never harde anye awnswer of it ; and nowe haue thought it good to presente it your Highnes, amongst the reste of my labors : not that the particulars are vnknone to your maiestic, but that thereby you maye see my love and dutifull zeale to you my kinge, and contrie. Moste humblie beseching your Highnes to pardon myne attempte, and to accepte of the same, whoe will and doe, Daylie praye to the almightie to kepe and defende you from all traytrose attempts, and that you maye live manye yeares to rule and Raygne over vs.

Your maiesties poore Distressed
 Subiecte, Richarde williams.

¹ intended.

² intend.

[leaf 25.]

Acclamatio patriæ, or
The complaynte of the good subiects
of Englande for the myseryes of theise
Tymes ;
Withe a trappe for Traytors,
and a pulpitt for papistes.

I.

What cause haue al good subiects to complayne
for *our* dere contrie, spotted with defame,
The whiche, trecherie dothe polute and stayne, 4
and woulde ecklipse the glorie of the same,—
But, to there ruyne and endlesse shame,
our roiall kinges maiestie to surprise,
and ore his progenye woulde Tyranise. 7

II.

Oh Englande, Englande ! a moste happie soile,
that hathe bene the nurse of roiall kinges !
o vilde¹ viprose broode, that seke the spoile
of *your* dere mother ! that with payne forthe brings 11
bothe wholesome flowers, and netles that stings !
vnnaturall children, and bastards broode,
That woulde glutt *your* selfe with her dereste blood ! 14

III.

What did you Imagyn, when you began
this dangerose attmpte and moste wicked² treason,
Hatefull to god, odiousse to man,
wherein you had nor grace, nor reason ? 18
all pittie bannysht, *your* fruytes that season,
you that in an Instante woulde all destroye,
abridginge all hope of *our* contries ioye. 21

IV.

[leaf 25, back.]

If his maiestie, Tyranouse had bynne,
and had ruled with rigor this fertile lande,
and that god had sente hym to plauge³ *our* synne,
wee ought not his holie decrees withstande, 25
nor agaynste his highnes once lifte *our* hande.
whie ? because hee is the lordes anoynted,
over vs to Raygne, by hym appoynted. 28

¹ vile.² MS. wicted.³ plague.

V.

But hee is mercyfull ; you knowe it well !
 Hee makes good lawes, and dailie sekcs for peace !
 Reporte in eache contrie his fame dothe tell,
 althoughe vntrustie traytors never cease 32
 To augmente his feares, and greives increase ;
 But hee, resolude, in god putteth truste,
 whoe is a rocke and safegarde to the iuste. 35

VI.

Doe what you can, not one heare shall fall
 nor be dyminisht from his highnes head !
 Though you practise, frett, fune, splitt your gall,
 your attempts are vayne ! you sonder but the thredd 39
 whiche destruction for your selues hathe bredd !
 wee good subiectes Ioye at your Illusion,
 To see your ruyne and sole confusion ! 42

VII.

Consider what twas you woulde haue donne :
 the moste odiousse thinge that ever was Invented !
 To ecklipse the glorye of Englands sunne,
 withe the devill and hell you had Indented,¹ 46
 your owne damnation had consented !
 The like nere harde synce the wordle began !
 Murther, ruyne, and wracke of manye man ! 49

VIII.

you threwe at all, but haue loste your firste mayne : [leaf 26.]
 you aynde at fayrest kinge, Quene, prince, and all,
 and the whole nobillitie to haue slayne,
 The learned Bishopps to haue brought to thrall, 53
 and of wise Burgeses haue wrought the fall ;
 To haue blowne them vpp without all pittie,
 Haue burnde the kings howse, and fyred the cittie !

IX.

Yee ! at an Instante this shoulde haue bene wrought,
 when they weare busied to make good lawes !
 In whose trewe hartes no trechery was thought,
 But there contries good was the onelie cause, 60
 when you—worse then² ravens or chatringe dawes—
 There vtter subvertion had devisde
 By treason, which god hathe ever despisde, 63

¹ Covenanted by an indenture or indented deed.

² MS. then then.

X.

Tyrranye, crueltie, and moste wicked hate,
 to Dinge¹ them downe with myndes variable,
 of there soules as then not myndinge the state ;
 Some weake in faith, in conscience not stable ! 67
 But that gods mercyes are ever able
 To save synfull soules at his good pleasure,
 you might haue robde them of heavens treasure. 70

XI.

you respected neither bodie nor soule !
 ambition kepes no lymmitts nor boundes :
 your aspiringe myndes had dared² controule,
 your conscience, spotted and full of woundes. 74
 like men not sicke, yet sodenlie swoundes,
 So you felte no greefe, yet sodenlie fell
 Without gods mercyes to the depest hell. 77

XII.

What Had ensued if you had prevaylde ? [leaf 26, back.]
 woes, ruyne, and vtter confusion !
 Gods holie truthe by *your* means had quaylde,
 and poperye agayne had made Intrusion, 81
 and light darkned with *your* Illusion !
 Then to puritanes and protestants woe !
 There wives, children, and there lives, to forgoe ! 84

XIII.

A thousandes mysecheifes more had attended :
 all vyllanyes then had bene sett abroache ;
 Howe [could] Innocence, haue Rigor defended,³
 when truthe to bee tryed durste not approche ? 88
 But crueltie over hym woulde Incroche,
 Tyranisinge too, and laughe at his fall :
 The tyme nowe is come thou shalte paye for all ! 91

XIV.

Then, woe to the riche that had purste vp golde !
 and woe to anye that had gotten treasure !
 ffor then base Rascalls woulde haue bene bolde,
 Haue robde and triumpht at there pleasure ;— 95
 for vyllanye never kepes a measure ;—
 yee woe to all that did honestlie meane ! 97
 yer the harvest weare come, the slaves woulde glean [e].

¹ strike, smite.² ? MS.³ warded off.

XV.

Havocke they woulde haue cryed :

“ the tyme is nowe come, lets rifell for all !
of these cormorants weele abate the pride,
and of greasie churles weele splitt the gall ! 102
Better these lacke, then good fellowes fall :
ffor what they haue gott by vnlawfull gayne,
To spende for there sakes weele take the payne. 105

XVI.

“ This is the daye wee haue longe looked for, [leaf 27.]
and nowe tis come, weele sett cocke on hoope.
Tushe ! feare not, hostice ! weele paye thee the score !
Be merrye, my wenche, doe no longer droope ! 109
ffor this, manye a carle wee haue made to stoope.”
Thus villanye woulde vaunte, more then I write,
or my skilles¹ penne is able to recyte. 112

XVII.

This, *our* generall ruyne woulde haue bene !
If treason had brought his purpose to passe,
wee dolefull dayes in Englande shoulde haue sene,
withe moste greivose grones cryinge ‘ alas, 116
That ere suche crueltie Invented was !
That wee lived to see these dolefull dayes,
where wronge abuseth right so manye wayes ! 119

XVIII.

But god in mercye did beholde *our* estate,
and in his goodnes hathe looked vppon vs
when wee weare cyrcumvented with deadlie hate,
all hope of remorse had quyte forgon vs, 123
and that destruction was nerest on vs,
Confusion preste² with his bloodye hande
To overthrowe the state of this *our* lande. 126

XIX.

Nowe particularlie Ile touche there names
that thus had plotted oure generall fall,—
I proteste to my greefe, but to there shames,—
That mente to haue made havoke of all, 130
and turnde oure honye to moste bitter gall,
Infectinge the swete and moste pretiose springs
ffrom whence came the nectar of roiall kinges ! 133

¹ skill-less.

² ready.

XX.

Percye! thie honor of valor firste begane [leaf 27, back.]
 when Haughtie Hott-spurr did firste wynne that name
 By peircinge the eye of a moste brave man
 In a famos combatt; but nowe the same 137
 Treason hathe stayned, to thie¹ endlesse shame
 Of thee and all that honorable race,
 of whiche thie trecheries haue sought disgrace. 140

XXI.

Didst thou not sarve thie dreade roiall kinge?
 and nere² his person in accounte helde dere.
 Oh vilde cursed viper! whye wouldst thou stinge
 or poyson the fountayne that ranne so clere? 144
 contente coulde not please thee, it dothe appeare;
 But thyne aspiringe ambitiouise pride
 Bothe wise men doe hate, yee, and fooles deryde! 147

XXII.

And nowe thie prowde head oreprises that place
 where monstrose treason shoulde haue bene effected!
 pittie, so brave a man shoulde wante the grace
 of god and man to bee so reiected, 151
 plotting cruelties nere before suspected:
 I meane, the horror thou mentst to bringe
 vppon thie contrie and thie roiall kinge. 154

XXIII.

This selfe weare caught in the trappe thou didst laye,
 tane in the snare thou thie selfe devisde.
 This quarters doe stande for foules as a praye,
 thie life thou didst leese³ as a traytor surprisde, 158
 This conceytes all dasht, that thou hadst devisde;
 This head and quarters farr severed doe stande,
 Devided in sondrye places of the lande. 161

XXIV.

Nexste, Catesbye: thou didst playe the wilye catt, [leaf 28.]
 and wearte cheife agente in this wicked treason,
 Not, naturallie, to spoile the noysome Ratt,
 But moste agaynste kynde, at that Instant season 165
 Hadst plotted, bothe agaynste pittie and reason,
 This kinges confusion and wracke at the leaste; 167
 whiche shoves thou wearte a filthie scratchinge beaste,

¹ the.² never.³ lose.

XXV.

And wouldst scratche downe the parlament howse
 and all the nobles assembled that tyme :
 Here was a cruell catt to catche a mouse !
 Here was the scomme of filthie mudd and slime ! 172
 Here treason shoulde haue bene broacht in the pryme !
 But it pleasde god this catt was caught ithe snare,
 And tangled in the grynne¹ or hee was aware ; 175

XXVI.

And his head likewise elevate dothe stande
 over that place hee woulde haue destroyde,
 a prospecte to good subiects of the lande
 whome his villanyes woulde fayne haue anoyde ; 179
 But horror his stomake had so overcloyde
 That it vomyted forthe his skandalouse shame,
 To the sole discredit of Catesbyes name. 182

XXVII.

O sir Everarde Digbye ! thou wearte a knight,
 a man whose wisdom shoulde haue tane heede,
 And wayed howe god dothe defende the right,
 and howe traytors in thende did ever speede, 186
 Desarte had alwayes his desarved meede ;
 Experience whereof thou longe hadst sene
 In treasons plotted agaynste our late Quene. 189

XXVIII.

Howe god was still her maiesties defence [leaf 28, back.]
 when traytors sondrye wayes sought her fall,
 Howe, vnsuspected, hee bewrayde there pretence,²
 Parrye maye stande an example for all, 193
 His owne feare frettinge so at gall,
 That when hee quiveringe nere her grace did stande,
 The Dagge³ was redye to fall forthe his hande. 196

XXIX.

Digbye ! this might haue bene a warninge for thee,
 and to all others of that cursed crewe !
 But weale his good happe in tyme coulde not see,
 and discontente makes manye one to rewe, 200
 so become trustles, to there prince vntrewe.
 Digbye in like predicamente hathe bynne ;
 Digged a pitt, and hym selfe fell in. 203

¹ snare, gin.

² intention.

³ Pistol.—Halliwell.

XXX.

Nexte, Roberte wynter, Ithe cath[a]loge I fynde ;
 a man whose name Destruction woulde bringe,
 whoe in this action bare a traytrose mynde,
 and woulde destroye the glorye of our springe, 207
 consentinge to the Deathe of our roiall kinge ;
 whose boystrose gale shoulde haue blowne suche a blaste,
 To haue made all Englande othe sodden agaste, 210

XXXI.

yee, to haue blowne vpp all without remorse,
 The kinge, Quene, prince, and nobles together,
 Turnde manye good man vnto a dead corse
 with mangled lymbes. was not this foule weather 214
 when furye shoulde haue hoysted vpp altogether ?
 This was wynters love and holye zeale !
 Suche blastes, lorde, cutt of from this common weale ! 217

XXXII.

The nexte is Iohn Grante, whoe might grante in-deede [leaf
 29.]
 Hee was a traytor in the highest degree,
 Grantinge in this action his overmuche spede,
 That his good estate in tyme coulde not see : 221
 ambitiose myndes nere contented bee,
 as appearde in actions of this Grante,
 In whose will to treason there was no wante. 224

XXXIII.

And all muste grante that hee deserved deathe
 ffor his attempts in that moste wicked deede,
 That cruellie woulde haue abridged the breathe
 of manye thousandes, if treason coulde spede, 228
 and manye a mothers childe haue made to bleede :
 Tis generallie granted hee was vniuste,
 a vyllayne, a traytor, not worthie of truste. 231

XXXIV.

Bates might in this poynte haue bated an ace,
 that was (as tis sayde) Traytor Catesbies man :
 Swashbucklers ronne on to there myscheifs apace,
 and forwarde the same asmuche as they can ; 235
 There orehastie spede they afterwards ban,
 To the overthrowe of them and there states,
 as well appearde by this fellowe Bates. 238

XXXV.

Though men there masters ought trulie to sarve,
 as in dutie they thereunto are bounde,
 [*Yet should they not plot their king's head off to carve,*¹]
 By treason sekinge there states to confounde, 242
 There kinge and contrie with horror to wounde ;
 no servante in this ought take his masters parte,
 leaste Gwerdonde as bates, for his Iuste desarte. 245

XXXVI.

nowe another wynter came in the thronge, [leaf 29, back.]
 that blewe his blustringe blastes in this realme,
 for hee at roome had bene resident longe,
 But came to Infecte this moste sacred stream, 249
 Makinge his brother blowe suche a gleame
 of treason as never was harde of before :
 a cruell wynters blaste, that vexte vs sore ! 252

XXXVII.

Weare these, wynter, the beste fruyts thou couldst bringe,
 I muste nedes confesse thie comfortes weare colde,
 with thie whirlinge wyndes to wither *the* springe
 so sone : but that it hathe bene oftymes tolde, 256
 ‘ Myscheife is ever in all things to bolde.’
 prooffe in thee, for the broyles thou haste bredd
 Hathe severde thie quarters farr from thie head. 259

XXXVIII.

Thou mightst well haue exclamed on roome,
 as of thie myserye the fynall cause,
 where princes are censurde with heavie doome,
 that resiste agaynste there catholicke lawes, 263
 makinge subiects rebell, not takinge pawse,
 nor wayinge what god commandes in his worde, 265
 “ feare god, love the kinge,” thus scriptures recorde.

XXXIX.

Then Rockwood hathe rocked hym selfe faste a-slepe,
 lulled by treason to swete securitie,
 whose witts weare fyne, and conceites verrye depe,
 But blotted and stayned with all Impuritie ; 270
 whose harte was fraughted² with obduritie,
 That hee those vyllanyes putt in vre,³
 Contries ruyned by treason to proenre. 273

¹ A line left blank in the MS.² freighted, fraught.³ use, practice.

XL.

Rockwood was namde to bee an Esquier, [leaf 30.]
 and one that might haue lived in good sorte :
 and Rockinge ambition blewe the fyer
 That kindled the scandall of ill reporte, 277
 and of trewe allegiance batterde the forte :
 Poperye so pufte hym with discontente,
 That his posteritie shall ever repente. 280

XLI.

Then came keyes, a gentelman by discente,
 a notable papiste, so longe tyme knowne :
 Subversion of the state was his intente,
 as by the seedes appeare, *which* hee hathe sowne ; 284
 whoe mente at randome all downe haue mowne,
 Govermente and state, thus they had decreede :
 keyes was an agente, and forwarde in the deede. 287

XLII.

This keyes, of treason opened the locke
 whiche keyes of Iustice shoulde haue kepte shutt,
 In sekinge to remove the surest rocke,
 To whose hande the sworde of auctoritie is putt, 291
 at whose life this traytor made his butt :
 But in theise demeanes hee made suche greate haste,
 The keyes of Iustice haue his life defaceste. 294

XLIII.

Nowe laste, thoughe firste of Balams broode,
 Came Gwido vaux, the moste tyranose man,
 and one whose glorie was spillinge of blood,
 and the onelie agente this mischeife beganne, 298
 And verye Instr[*u*]ment whome all men maye banne.
 Hee, to all of this storrye shalbe teller,
 Maye well be calde the Devill in the celler. 301

XLIV.

Hee in His celler a trappe had planted, [leaf 30, back.]
 Herewith to haue spoilde the moste noble blood,
 In whome nor prudence nor mercye wanted,
 whoe is sole defendor of brittaynes good, 305
 agaynste whome this furey raysde the flood,
 Worse then Cateline raysde at roome ;
 But sone confounded by gods mightie doome. 308

XLV.

O traytrose Iudas ! or farr worse then hee,
whoe for love of pelfe did his master betraye !
vaux, so blynded withe poperie, coulde not see
Immynent dangers of that dreadfull daye, 312
where manye thousands shoulde sighe well-awaye !
Hee was pardonde, destruction to bringe
vppon his contrie and his roiall kinge. 315

XLVI.

And when hee was tane, the rellicks weare founde,—
as a hayrie shurte, with other popishe trashe,—
and hee in wordes as a traytor vnsounde,
whiche caused Iustice whipp sorer with his lashe ; 319
The Horror of his actes did good stomakes abashe,
But at laste, when popishe helpes had no hope,
Hee made his laste ende in a hempen rope. 322

XLVII.

Was ever suche trecherie harde of before ?
yet Englande, traytors at all tymes hathe bredd ;
But of this consorte there weare suche greate store,
whoe in confusion had gatherde to a hedde, 326
Beinge all perswaded they shoulde hane spedd.
But see the mercye and love of our god !
ffor mercye and mallice are things farr odd. 329

XLVIII.

When thinges weare sorted to a full effecte, [leaf 31.]
and the tyme nowe come that was appoynted,
and all thinges planted without suspecte,
To haue made awaye the lordes anoynted, 333
and all vnion in sonder haue ioynted,
Even then, a letter contayninge fewe lynes,
By one of them written, all vndermynes ! 336

XLIX.

O happie hande that did write the same,
thoughe theeffecte proved agaynste his mynde !
yet glorified bee gods sacred name !
for thereby wee did preservation fynde, 340
owre¹ lives preserved from these cormorants kynde,
That withe fyre and powder woulde [have] vs anoyde,
and in an Instante haue Englande destroyde. 343

L.

Then had approachte oure desolation !
 ruyne and murther had bene redye preste !
 Then Roome, withe all her abhomynation,¹
 woulde once agayne on highe avance her creste, 347
 and all godlie lawes shoulde haue bene depreste !
 In amplest sorte, without condition,
 Cruellye executed there commyssion ! 350

LI.

Then widowes shoulde haue waylde there husbands wante,
 and children haue wayled for there fathers dead,
 Mothers for children *which* they woulde supplante, 354
 Sisters for brothers manye a teare haue shedd,
 Manye fathers haue gone with greife to there bedd
 ffor losse of there sonnes, whome crueltie kilde ! 356
 muche Innocent blood shoulde then haue bene spilde,

LII.

All recordes of lawes as then defaced, [leaf 31, back.]
 all precedents likewise shoulde haue bene burned,
 Counselers Iudges and clarkes disgraced,
 and there former hopes to sorrowe turned ; 361
 yee, all good men with greife haue mourned
 To see the desolation of these dayes,
 where myscheife had Tryvmphed so manye wayes ! 364

LIII.

Then haue wee not cause to prayse *our* god,
 whoe from these dangers hathe vs preserved,
 and fre[e]d vs from this heauiue smartinge rodd
 of suche traytors as from dutie swarved ? 368
 and like sawcye mates they woulde haue carved
 of manye good men bothe there goods & life :
 yee, one small letter hathe barde this strife. 371

LIV.

Here was the wisdom of our god to bee sene !
 Here mans owne wisdom was proved but vayne !
 Here, where so manye consultations had bene,
 Here to plott and practise there witts they strayne, 375
 Here, marke by there vyllanyes what they gayne !
 a trappe they had layde, and bayted a gynne,
 Thee hooke they swallowed, and pitt they fell in ! 378

¹ Cp. *The Fal of the Romish Church, with al the abhominations*, black letter, in Lambeth Library.

LV.

And so by Iustice haue repte there desartes,
 and gwerdon due to suche mercyles men :
 Hanged and quartred, and there traytrose hartes
 Withe bowells and members burned, and then 382
 There bodyes butcherde in sight of manye men,
 That greatlie did lamente there lacke of grace,
 That by treason woulde there glorye deface. 385

LVI.

The treasons that Babington once Invented, [leaf 32.]
 withe yours in no sorte might bee comparde !
 Theye to the Deathe of there Quene consented ;
 you aymde at all—a crueltie never harde ! 389
 all sparkes of christianytie debarde,
 The kinge, Quene, prince, and nobles fynall doome !
 Suche bee the fruytes that bee plotted at roome, 392

LVII.

And hither are sente to bee Ingrafted
 By Iesuytes ithe hartes of good mens mynde !
 and manye other dreggs are hether wafted
 of superstition, mens hartes to blynde, 396
 Causinge them to poperye [to] bee Inclinde :
 So, by wicked Bellamytes¹ perswation,
 They Hassarde the Danger of there salvation, 399

LVIII.

And are Egged on to treason like case,
 bothe agaynste kinge and contrie to rebell,
 Sekinge the Image of god to deface :
 what is donne agaynste hym, all is well ! 403
 loe, theise bee the fruytes of that romyshe hell !
 and when [their] soules are secluded² gods glorye,
 Then will they fishe for them in purgatorye. 406

LIX.

But that rotten staffe is disfavorde quite,
 and hope of purgatorye out of requeste ;
 no wise men in suche things will take delite ;
 with suche heavie burthens theyele not bee prest ; 410
 There hope is 'oure god hathe purchacste the reste
 of repentante synfull soules after deathe,'
 Purgatorye longe synce hunted out of breathie. 413

¹? Bedlamites or Balaamites : the Jesuits, Garnet, Oldcorne, etc. ² shut out of.

LX.

Saynte francis maye faste, firste auchtor of *the same*, [leaf 32,
of whiche hee ever hathe bene the cheife proppe, back.]
But nowe waxte olde, decripitt and lame,
His requiem masses downe are lopte, 417
The zeale of gods truthe that streame hathe stopte ;
That scarbugge¹ which did so manye affright,
By triall of truthe is quyte put to flight ; 420

LXI.

And, good bee praysde, all your popishe trashe
accounted as thinges frivolose and vayne ;
your eare-confession, and suche myshe-mashe
of filthie vilde dreggs, gods glorye to stayne, 424
By whiche to your state you horded vpp gayne,
Is quite from brittayne banyshed awaye,
ffrustrate your hopes, and you haue loste the daye, 427

LXII.

Yee, the greate daye of your expectation !
and your hopes all turned to darkest night,
Wherein shoulde haue bene suche Innovation
agaynste nature, agaynste equitie and right, 431
If your devises haue prevayled might,
when one of your crewe, and with you accurste,
Thoughe agaynste his will, revealde it at firste, 434

LXIII.

And by his written letter hathe taught you to preache,
what doctryne, the whole wordle knoweth to well,
veryfyng what you before did teache,
In catholicke errors to make men dwell, 438
Teachinge the waye that leadeth to hell :
your pulpitt was a Gibbett rayسد on hie,
whereon for treason you weare Iudged to dye, 441

LXIV.

A pulpitt where manye haue preached before, [leaf 33.]
that haue bene traytors agaynst kinge and state.
God grante, I praye, there never bee more,
with you so puffed withe wordlie hate, 445
But that there Rigor maye in some sorte bate,²
or like sicke Horses, to cure the falloose,³
God sende you all maye preache on the gallose, 448

¹ Scare-goblin, or -bugbear ; like scare-crow.

² Abate.

³ *Fellon*, a disease in cows ; *felone*, a sore or whitlow.—Halliwell.

LXV.

As some of them of late weare forced to preache
 In pawles churchyarde, weste parte of the same,
 Where a Highe Gibbett farr above our retche
 was there elevated on a wooden frame, 452
 and to see them there manye thousands came :
 Sir Everarde Digbye, hee repentant dyde,
 But on the Catholyke faithe hee still relyde. 455

LXVI.

Then preacht wynter, Grante, and Bates like case ;
 But one selfe doctryne they agreede vpon,
 There pulpitt to papistes a foule disgrace,
 that weare there in place spectatours on ; 459
 There wante of grace bewaylde of manye one,
 I meane, good subiects of Towne and cittie
 That shedd brynishe teares for there soules pittie. 462

LXVII.

The executioners playde there butehringe partes
 as Iustice had doomde, and Iudgment had paste,
 and traytors gwerdonde for there desarte,
 The rewarde of trecherye payde at laste ; 466
 for they muste nedes fall that ronne in suche haste
 Into the gulphe of Iminent Dangers,
 That to allegiance become suche strangers 469

LXVIII.

As did these foure herebefore recited, [leaf 33, back.]
 and all the reste of that vilde faction :
 at there fall I knowe papistes are spited,
 ffor manye weare preuye to the action 473
 whose lives haue not yet made satisfaction ;
 leaste¹ they repente there purpose in this case,
 God sende them preache on some suche like place. 476

LXIX.

Then to westmynster other foure weare drawne
 on Hurdells throughe london, to there disgrace,
 To the olde pallace where treason was sowne ;
 there was elevated there preachinge place, 480
 where wynter, firste of that rebelliose race,
 preacht popishe doctryne to confirme his faith[e] ;
 But the Hangman quicklie stopped his breathe. 483

¹ unless.

LXX.

Then Died Rockwoode, Vaux, and keyes the laste,
 all on the same pulpitt made there endes ;
 But with hangmans helpe there paynes weare some paste ;
 There deathes a corsyve to there popishe frends, 487
 and a comforte to suche as the welfare intends,
 And to kinge and contrie wishe all good,
 livinge in dutie, not thirstinge for blood, 490

LXXI.

All these traytors that before are named,
 with others by Iustice doomde in like cases,
 whose aspiring mynde the gallose hathe tamde,
 In worcester, stafforde-shere, and suche like places, 494
 where these traytors lurkinge hydd there faces,
 Though covertlie hyd, yet founde out at laste,
 And with these in rancke deserve to be placeste. 497

LXXII.

Stephen litleton, thou hadst cause to repente ! [leaf 34.]
 thie howse was receptakle of the reste.
 God grante thie trecherie thou didst lamente,
 and that contrition harborde in thie breste ; 501
 ffor in these actions thou weare to preste ;¹
 ffor in Holbage howse thou didst receive them,
 and ronnyng awaye, as a praye didst leave them. 504

LXXIII.

And Percy and Catesbye bothe there weare kilde,
 Withe twoe of the Wrights, and others I not name ;
 Muche traytrose blood that tyme there was spilde,
 That never to triall of Iustice came ; 508
 The Desperate vyllaynes had vowed the same,
 never to bee tane, and by Iustice tryde,
 what hassarde so ere there fortunes did byde. 511

LXXIV.

But tis thought there bee some of greater states
 that haue bene agents and Dealers therein :
 Tis pittie that ever by suche base mates
 they shoulde bee counselde² to suche deadlie synne, 515
 Or that anye peere shoulde bee sene therein,
 To ecklipse the glorye of Honored fame,
 and bee scandalizde with touche of the same ; 518

¹ Ready.² MS. comselde.

LXXV.

ffor greate is the maiestie of Roiall kinges,
 that here vppon earthe gods vicegerents bee!
 There lookes to trecherye are fearfull stinges;
 There eyes, like Argus, to beholde and see, 522
 even to there myndes that good subiects bee.
 ffrom those that seke maiestie to betraye,
 Hee treason can fynde, and the same bewraye. 525

LXXVI.

God grante all [these] subiects example maye bee [leaf 34,
 to all others, hereafter to beware, back.]
 The saftie of there states to beholde and see,
 and of allegiance haue a speciall care, 529
 leaste the like gwerdon fall to there share;
 So generallie wishinge all to take hede,
 They in aftertymes the better maye spede. 532

LXXVII.

The guylte of the harte is knowne by the eye:
 althoughe traytors connynglic dissemble,
 The wisdom of princes can sone aspie
 out those secrett; for feare makes them tremble, 536
 and there guyltie consciences to wemble.¹
 There outwarde countnances then bewraye²
 What they³ haue thought, or tonges can saye. 539

LXXVIII.

A conscience clere, no prerogative needs,—
 loe, here is the wisdom of our good god!—
 when corrupted myndes with there horror bleedes.
 Thus truthe and villanye are things farr odd, 543
 The one withe love, the other with Iustice rodd;
 Thus bothe are gwerdonde in thende, wee see:
 Then whoe woulde venter a traytor to bee? 546

LXXIX.

Whie, none but fooles that haue loste there witts,
 and wasted out the same on foolishe toyes,

¹ *Wemble*, to turn a cup upside down in token of having had enough tea, (Northern;); *Wamble*, to roll, to rumble, (*Hallivell*); to move in an undulating manner, (*Jamieson*); to rise up as seething water does, to wriggle like an Arrow in the Air. (*Kersey's Philipps*.)

² MS. *bewaraye*.

³ MS. *there*.

So then will venter on suche frantiecke fitts,
 and woulde thereby abridge other mens ioyes. 550
 See here, the sequell proves there owne anoyes !
 This tale of treason and her sadd storrye,
 of manye a man hathe dymnde the glorye, 553

LXXX.

And alwayes hathe, synce the wordle beganne, [leaf 35.]
 that eve in parradise did Adam betraye,
 whiche was the ruyne of the state of man,
 To all posterities the sole decaye 557
 till god in mercy washte the same awaye :
 onclie by the death of his beloved sonne
 Brusinge the Serpents head, *our* ioyes begonne. 560

LXXXI.

So that the Devill the firste traytor was,
 thoughe transformed into an angell bright,¹
 Intendinge subtellie to bringe to passe,
 By polecye turninge darknes to light, 564
 That for Imitacion all others might
 Slilye goe aboute when they tyranise,
 or with an Intente myscheife to devise. 567

LXXXII.

So when anye man to myscheife is bente,
 withe full resolve to prosscute the same,
 His master is preste² to forwarde his Intente,
 Ats³ elbowe egginge hym, devoyde of shame, 571
 Makinge hym worke in destructions frame
 The webbe⁴ of woe, to overthrowe his state
 By murther and treason, *which* god dothe hate. 574

LXXXIII.

But now, you sacred muses, gyude my penne !
 Devyne Minerva, rule my artlesse⁵ quill,
 That I maye sett forthie to the vewe of all men
 His worthe, whoe farr surpasseth my small skill, 578
 yet will expresse a loiall subiects will
 To eternyze here his deserved fame,
 Terrifyinge traytors at sounde of the same ! 581

¹ Originally of light.² Ready.³ At his.⁴ MS. weble.⁵ Unskillful.

LXXXIV.

ffirste, hees religieuse : thats knowne well : [leaf 35, back.]
 to sett forthe gods glorye, his speciall care,
 what paynes hee takes therein, the wordle can tell ;
 what metings and assemblies hee did prepare, 585
 To haue things reformed, thought out of square,
 Where his maiestie in presence did sytt
 Hearinge controversies, for a kinge moste fitt. 588

LXXXV.

Then hees mercifull, and no rigor showes,
 all crueltie Bannyshed from his harte :
 His bountie and love, whoe is it but knowes ?
 In amplest wise gwerdonyng trewe desarte, 592
 and vnto subiectes dothe eache waye Imparte ;
 yee, of stubborne papistes hathe stayde the leasure ;
 But theyle bee reformed at there owne pleasure, 595

LXXXVI.

Or els by treason will cutt out there waye,
 and so Intrude on his highnes favor,
 of hym and his sekinge the sole decaye.
 Dothe this of good religion savor ? 599
 no ! obstinate men ! you doe but glavor¹ !
 where his highnes seekes your quiett and peace,
 you onelie seeke his sorrowes to Increase ! 602

LXXXVII.

Hee is also called the prince of peace,
 ffor whiche all nations to hym haue sente.
 In leauge² with all princes, olde quarrells ceasse ;
 Quyet of his contrie hathe eache waye mente. 606
 But aspiringe myndes are never contente,
 If an angell from heaven hither came downe 608
 To rule here in earthe, and weare Brittaines crownc.

LXXXVIII.

What vertues in anye kinge hathe ever bene, [leaf 36.]
 but in his maiestie wee maye fynde them ?
 Takinge patrone from our late blessed Quene,

¹ to sooth up, or fawn upon.—*Kersey's Phillips* ; to flatter.—*Nares*. ² league.

vnto whose love hee ever combynde hym, 613
 and shee in like love did ever mynde hym,
 as beinge trewe heire of her roiall race,
 Endowed bothe with her vertues and gra[ce]. 616

LXXXIX.

Hee is also wise, hee is Iuste and learned,
 provident and carefull for subiects [g]ood ;
 whose wisdom, withe sallomon, hathe [disc]erned 620
 whoe is the right childe of Harlotts b[lood] ;
 whose learnynge, the truthe sone vnderstoode
 without devydinge the same a-sonder,
 To gods glorye and oure greate wonder. 623

XC.

Hee is likewise provident for the poore,
 restrayninge the canckers of his common-wealthe
 That vagarantlie begg from dore to dore,
 though still they wander vpp and downe by stealthe ; 627
 and for maymed souldiers provided healthe,
 and stipens¹ in places for them to live,
 In all sheres² the contries doe pentions give. 630

XCI.

Hee mayntaynes Hospitalls for the disseasde,
 where the sicke are healde, the lame are cured ;
 But mall-contented myndes are never pleasede,
 when withe ambition theye bee in-vred, 634
 a Disease that never can bee cured,
 Tis so puffed with hate, and [with] furye dothe swell,
 It often drawes downe the sicke soule to hell. 637

XCII.

Nowe to conclude, or³ I haue well begonne [leaf 36, back.]
 to prayse his vertue that dothe prayse surmounte,
 leaste I shoulde darken the glorye of the sonne,
 whose fame is boundlesse, passinge my accounte, 641
 vnlesse withe phaeton I presume to mounte,
 To rule don phebus steedes and fyrye carr,
 That where I shoulde make I shalbe⁴ sure to marre. 644

¹ stipends.³ before.² shires.⁴ MS. shalle.

XCIH.

[G]od blesse and preserve this our roiall kinge !

[And fro]m traytrose practises defende hym,

[In wh]ose harte trewe contente maye daylie springe ;

[A lo]nge and happie raygne ore vs god sende hym ! 648
confounde all suche as evill pretende¹ hym !

God blesse *our* Quene, prince, and nobles of the lande !
protecte them, swete Iesus, with thie mightie hande !

Amen ! 652

Lorde, I am bolde on thie mercyes to persever :
poore williams thus dothe praye, and will doe ever.

finis—R. W.

¹ Fr. *pretendre*, aime at . . lay or put in for ; also, to meane ; intend.—*Cotgrave*.

[If any readers feel that "*poore williams's*" flunkeyism is as bad as his verse, let them remember how much of that quality there was in England in James's time ; let them compare *A Prophecy* in the *Percy Folio Ballads and Romances*, iii. 372-3, and think that, as Williams was evidently begging for relief, he may be excused for laying on the praise and glory thick enough to suit James's taste. R. W. was no worse than hundreds of divines and statesmen of his day.—F. J. F.]

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- No. 3. **Ballads from Manuscripts. Volume II, Part 1: The Poore Mans Pittance**, by RICHARD WILLIAMS, contayning three severall subiects:—(1.) The firste, the fall and complaynte of Anthonie Babington, whoe, with others, weare executed for highe treason in the feildes nere lyncolns Inne, in the yeare of our lorde—1586. (2.) The seconde contaynes the life and Deathe of Roberte, lorde Deverox: Earle of Essex: whoe was beheaded in the towre of london on ashwensdaye mornynge, Anno—1601. (3.) The laste, Intituled “acclamatio patrie,” contayninge the horrib[1]e treason that weare pretended agaynste your Maiestie, to be donne on the parliament howse The seconde yeare of your Maiestis Raygne [1604]. Edited by F. J. FURNIVALL, M.A. (*The Introduction and Index will be issued shortly.*)
- No. 4. **Ballads from Manuscripts, Vol. II, Part 2**, is in the Press, and will contain Ballads on Queen Elizabeth, Essex, Campion, Drake, etc. Edited by F. J. FURNIVALL, M.A.
- No. 5. **Captain Cox, his Ballads and Books**, or, ROBERT LANEHAM's Letter: Whearin part of the entertainment untoo the Queenz Majesty at Killingworth Castl, in Warwick Sheer in this Soomerz Progress .1575. is signified; from a freend officer attendant in the Court, unto hiz freend, a Citizen and Merchaunt of London. Re-edited by F. J. FURNIVALL, M.A.

In Preparation.

The Roxburghe Ballads. Edited by W. CHAPPELL, Esq.

The Civil War and Protectorate Ballads. Edited by E. F. RIMBAULT, Esq., Mus. Doc.

The Ballad Society.

First Report

(BY MR. FURNIVALL.)

JANUARY, 1869.

THE Society's first year's issue will be a far different one from that which I had hoped. When starting the Society, on the conclusion of the Percy Folio in May 1868, I announced that the subscriptions would date from the 1st of January, 1869; that the Roxburghe and Civil-War Collections would be the first issued; and that the Manuscript Ballads would be begun whenever I, or whoever their Editor might be, had had time to collect them. I made sure that after more than eighteen months' work at the Percy Folio, at least three years' rest from Ballads would be vouchsafed to me. But it was not so to be. Professor Child of Harvard, for whom the print of the Percy Folio had been undertaken, for whom the Chaucer Society had been established, at once said that printed Ballads first, and Manuscript ones afterwards, would not do for him; he wanted his horse before his cart, not after it. So, very reluctantly, I resolved to get together a small volume of Manuscript Ballads as soon as I could. Meantime, copiers and artist had been set to work on the Roxburghe and Civil-War Ballads, and they made such rapid progress that, after consulting Dr. Rimbault, I settled with him that his first volume of the Civil-War Ballads, and mine of the MS ones, should be the first publications of the Society, and that both should be produced in or for 1868. The change in the date of subscription was accordingly announced. But as the year wore on, it became clear that Dr. Rimbault's professional and other engage-

ments would not allow of his sending any of the Civil-War Ballads to press; and it was also clear that the necessary preliminaries for Mr. Chappell's work—the indexing and copying of the 4 Roxburghe volumes, the indexing of the Bodleian and Bagford Ballads (some 9 volumes folio,) and the copying of the Indexes to the five Pepys volumes—could not be finished till well on in 1869. Under these circumstances the wisest plan would have been to recur to the original date of subscription, and see what 1869 would produce. But I was unwilling to make this second change, and fancied that a second volume of MS Ballads might without much trouble be added to the proposed first one. The attempt, however, has proved a failure. Though I have for more than four months set aside the whole of my paid work for that of the Ballad and Chaucer Societies, I have only succeeded in producing 300 pages, or Part I, of one volume of Ballads and Poems, and 50 pages of another, for the Ballad Society: (but the text of Part II, and of another small volume, is in type.¹) The cause of this was the newness and difficulty of the subject to me. That subject was fixed by a Ballad of Henry VIII's time, which the Rev. F. W. Russell, the historian of Kett's Rebellion in Norfolk in 1548, had sent me some years ago, *Now a Dayes*. Its complaints seemed to contradict flatly the pleasant view of Henry VIII's time taken in the brilliant sketch in Mr. Froude's first Chapter. So I had to pass from the 14th century to the 16th, and try to find out whether *Now a Dayes* and its mates were right, or Mr. Froude. To a beginner the task was a difficult and laborious one, especially as it had to be done against time. I cannot say that its outcome has been to invalidate any of Mr. Froude's conclusions, but the evidence that I got at and have produced, does certainly give a different view of Henry's time to that shown by Mr. Froude, or at least does complete that view, does justify the words of our original Prospectus with regard to Ballads:

These light hand-glasses reflect for us many a feature of the times that is lost in the crowded scenes which larger mirrors,

¹ I am aware that the substitution of these volumes for the Roxburghe, etc., will be a disappointment to many. To get a historical ballad, when you expected a woodcut of a devil with a nice curly tail, or a man with two odd eyes, two left legs, and a dog with his mouth split up to his ears, must be a shock to any well-regulated mind. But by starting the Society in 1868, the appearance of the woodcuts and devils is not delayed for a day, while some solid gain has been, and will be, obtained for the historian of Henry VIII's and the following reigns.

hung at other angles, present to our view ; and without the sight of the Ballad pictures, as well as the larger and more formal ones of professed Histories, State-Papers, Memoirs, and Treatises, we cannot know faithfully,—or, at least, we cannot know as faithfully as we have the means of knowing,—the lineaments of the ages that have preceded us.

In our Tudor Ballads accordingly, we see the wailing faces of Henry VIII's and Edward VI's days, we see the poor men's hands stretched out to threaten nobles, King, and clergy, for ceasing to seek the commons' weal, for turning from the path of Duty and of Right. The results of the work of Papistry on the English home and the English state are also reflected in detail ; and the view leaves no doubt on the beholder's mind as to the necessity of a Reformation of some kind, however unworthy he may think the chief motive and instrument in the changes after actually made.

Both sides of the time the Ballads show. In them the Papist denounces Luther and his blaspheming English followers as fiercely as the Reformer inveighs against the Pope and his train. The fallen Abbeys are lamented over as pathetically as the burnt books and bodies of the Protestants.

The Second Part of this volume will contain only three or four Ballads (one good) on Wolsey, and one on Anne Boleyn. It is kept back for the Index to the whole volume, which I shall be glad if some Member will volunteer to make. The Elizabethan Ballads originally intended for this volume will now form another small volume by themselves : and these too I desire to hand over to some Editor well-read in the time. The Essex Ballads among these, first led to the joining with them of *The Life and Death of Essex* in a short MS. by Richard Williams,—a poor subject of James the First, who petitioned him for relief,—and then to the printing of the whole of the MS separately. It is issued with this Report, though without any Introduction, which must follow when I have time to write it. *Lanham's Letter* is ready for press, and will (I hope) be printed next month. Its Captain Cox is the chief of early Ballad-owners, and yet no separate account of him is to be had, except in the modernised reprint of Lanham in 1821, which is now extremely scarce. With his list of Ballads will be printed that in the *Complaynt of Scotland*, about 1548 A.D., and the two will be compared and commented on.

I hope that the Texts above-named will be all included in the 1868 issue, but am unable as yet to say that they will, as the establishment-charges of the Society have more than exceeded its first year's income. That income, when all paid, will be £171. 3s.,—of which £144. 5s. have been received,—while the money already paid to copiers, artist, and engraver, has been £184. 5s., and the necessary preliminary work is still far from being finished. I say *necessary*, because, in the editing of large collections of Ballads like those of the Civil War and Protectorate, and Roxburghe, as the editors were not able to work at them for any length of time in the British Museum, it was necessary both to have the whole of the Collections copied before any part could be printed, and also to have Indexes made of all other accessible Collections, so that a late copy of any Ballad might not be printed when an earlier (and probably correcter) copy was known to exist, and that a Ballad occurring in five Collections might not be copied five times over. The Civil-War and Protectorate Ballads were accordingly copied (at a cost of £23), the Roxburghe Ballads were indexed, the first volume copied, the 2nd, 3rd and 4th more than half copied (at a cost of £87), the Bodleian Collections were indexed (at a cost of £11); the Bagford Ballads are nearly indexed, and the copy of the Pepys indexes is in hand. Moreover the artist has drawn on wood above 120 of the Roxburghe and Civil-War Ballads' woodcuts, and these have been all engraved, though not all paid for (£55 paid, £15 due):

Now as this work, when finished, will provide the Society with 10 or more years' material for printing, it would be manifestly unfair to the Members of the first year to charge them with the whole outlay, and give them no Texts for their guinea.¹ The preliminary expenses ought to be distributed over 3 or 5 years at least; but this can only be done by Members advancing their subscriptions for that time, as I am quite unable to give any continued help in this way myself; and it is the business of non-editing Members to find the money for the work to which Editors give time, trouble, and thought. When Mr. Richard Johnson of Langton Oaks, Fallowfield, near Manchester, joined the Ballad Society and the Chaucer and Early English Text Societies, I put the case to him as above-stated, and he answered my note in the

¹ For this reason I put off printing the Society's Cash account till next year.

practical Manchester way by sending back a cheque of £51. 9s.—£15. 15s. for the Ballad Society, £12. 12s. for the Chaucer, £23. 2s. for the Early English Text Society's two Series. In the same spirit the majority of our Members sent in advance their first year's subscription—all that was asked of them by the second Circular;—and I trust that all Members will see the reasonableness of the request that, in their interest, is made for further payments in advance now. In a Society like ours, the view sometimes taken of a Member's duty—that he should pay his subscription only when he gets his books—is manifestly the wrong one. The Society is not a publisher's or an Editor's speculation for his own profit: and when money is required in advance for the doing of work necessary for the proper production of the Society's volumes, every Member will feel that he is bound to bear his share in providing it.

I hope, then, that subscriptions will be forthcoming, and that speedily, to enable the debts of 1868 to be paid, and to provide for the issue of at least one or two volumes of the *Roxburghe Ballads* and the *Civil-War Ballads*, with their woodcuts,¹ in 1869 and every subsequent year. The first volume of the Roxburghe will go to press as soon as the copy of the Pepys Indexes is completed and Mr. William Chappell has collated with the Roxburghe copies such Ballads of that Collection as are in the Pepys Library.

With regard to future Ballads from Manuscripts, I can only say that some are in hand, others in contemplation—including a faithful print, from the MSS, of the Ballads in old faithless editions,—and that one of our late members, Mr. Adam Sim of Coulter, of whose lamented death² I hear as this is passing through the press, had, during his life, most kindly promised to allow the Society to print such parts of his three volumes of MS Scotch Ballads as might be thought advisable. These volumes have been used, but not exhausted, by former Editors.

Finally, I ask every Member to try and get new ones to join the Society; for if we are to make any sensible impres-

¹ Those owners of a print of the Percy Folio who would like to paste into a volume of it a photograph of the old house in which Percy was born, can get one by sending 18*d.* to Mr. Metcalf, Photographer, East Castle Street, Bridgnorth.

² Mr. Sim was a zealous antiquary and book-hunter. Many men of letters, besides those of our own Society, will miss his always-ready sympathy and aid.

sion yearly on the big Collections like the Roxburghe, our Society ought to be doubled in number this year.

To its Local Secretaries in Glasgow and Manchester, Mr. Barclay Murdoch and Mr. John Leigh, the whole Society is indebted, for their efforts to increase its number of Members. The List of Subscribers bears witness to the result of those efforts. Mr. James Richardson of Glasgow has also secured 8 Subscribers.

P.S. On account of the delay in the First issue of Texts, these are posted to such Members as have not stated how their Texts are to be sent to them. But no future Texts will be sent by post unless a special extra payment of 2s. a year is made for the purpose. Those Members who have not yet told the Hon. Sec. or the printers, to what London agent of their country booksellers their Texts are to be delivered, should do so at once.

The Ballad Society's books are printed in demy 8vo, like those of the Early English Text Society, and the Percy Folio (but on toned paper for the sake of the woodcuts), and also in super-royal 8vo, on Whatman's eighty-shilling ribbed paper, tinted expressly for the Society. The subscription for the demy 8vos is *One Guinea* a year; that for the super-royal ribbed papers *Three Guineas*. The subscriptions date from January 1, 1868, and immediate payment of them is asked, as considerable expense has already been incurred for the copiers and artist. The Society's books can be had only by subscribers. The Society's printers are Messrs. TAYLOR and Co., Little Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C., and to them all notices of change of address should be given, and all complaints as to non-delivery of Texts made.

Local Secretaries are wanted.

Subscriptions should be paid either to the account of *The Ballad Society* at the Chancery Lane Branch of the Union Bank, or to—

F. J. FURNIVALL (Hon. Sec.)

3, Old Square, Chancery Lane, W.C.

The Ballad Society.

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DOCTOR DO-GOOD'S INSTRUCTIONS.

 *The Subscriptions for 1871 became due on the First of January, and should be paid at once to the Hon. Sec. ARTHUR G. SNELGROVE, Esq., London Hospital, London, E. The first Text for 1871 will be ready within a fortnight, and the Printers will then want the money for it. The whole of the second Text is in type. No publications will be sent to Subscribers more than 12 months in arrear.*

The Ballad Society.

Second Report.

(BY MR. FURNIVALL.)

M A R C H, 1 8 7 1.

OWING to the heavy outlay necessarily incurred in copying and indexing all the Roxburghe Ballads, besides indexing the Bagford, Pepys, Rawlinson, Wood, and Douce collections, Members have had to be content, for the last two years, with only one Part a year of Mr. William Chappell's edition of the Roxburghe Ballads. This small issue has had the advantage of working off from the Society a few persons who were not able to understand that they had been assumed to be gentlemen who had joined an association of gentlemen contributing to reproduce a part of the earlier literature of their country. These persons could only take the lowest trade view of the Society's work, waited to see what its year's issue was to be, then lookt at that, said 'it's too small for a guinea,' and refused to continue their Membership. We are well rid of such folk.

The balance due to the Treasurer on the 31st of December 1870 was found by the Auditors to be £94. 11s. 5*d*, while the Society had £61. 1s. 1*d* in hand, and a number of drawings made for the second volume of the Roxburghe Ballads, which represented more money than the remainder of the balance. The Society is now therefore in the favourable position of having all its work copied and paid-for many

years in advance, so that printing and woodcutting will be its only expenses.

The first text to be issued for 1871 will be Part III of the Roxburghe Ballads, completing the first volume. To this Mr. Chappell has written a Preface full of matter interesting to the Ballad-student. He has given an account, not only of the Roxburghe volumes, but of all the other chief collections of Ballads, and has added a catalogue of the stock of a ballad-publisher in Charles the Second's time, with a list of about 170 printers and publishers of black-letter Ballads, all within the 17th century, and with the earliest and latest ascertained dates of each. The value and convenience of this list cannot be easily overrated, as it will enable collectors and students to settle approximatively the date of any early printed Ballad that may come under their notice.

With the first Text for 1871 will be presented by the Editor, to those Members who have paid their subscriptions, a thin tract just printed for private circulation,—“*Jyl of Breyntfords Testament* (by Robert Coplande Boke-Prynter) : *The Wyll of the Dewyll, and last Testament : A Talk of Ten Wives on their Husbands' Ware: a Ballad, or two, by Chaucer: and some other short Pieces*, edited by Frederick J. Furnivall:”—a reprint of two black-letter tracts—of which one (before 1552) is unique, and of the other a unique copy of each of two editions (? 1562-6) only remains,—and a print of a few unique manuscript poems and anecdotes; all illustrating the manners and morals of our ancestors.

The second Text for 1871 will be “*Captain Cox, his Ballads and Books; or, Laneham's Letter, 1575 A.D.*,” describing the library of a literary tradesman of Elizabeth's reign, and giving an account of her visit to the Earl of Leicester at Kenilworth Castle. In the Forewords to this Text, all Captain Cox's books mentioned by Laneham, and which are now accessible, are described,—their contents being abstracted,—and his few Ballads are printed. The reader is thus able to see on what literature the average man of Shakespere's time was trained, and to compare it for himself with the books now open to the middle- and working-class men of our Victorian time. The list of the books, tales, songs, and dances, popular in Scotland, and known to the writer of the famous *Complaynt of Scotland* in 1548 or 1549, is also given, with short notes on such of them as are now known. The contrast of the English and Scotch lists is curious and

interesting. By the kindness of Mr. David Laing, the only two unprinted MS copies of the famous Ballad of *Balow*, will be added to the volume, from Pinkerton's 4to MS, now belonging to Mr. Laing.

Whether a third Text can be issued for 1871 must depend on the subscriptions that come in. If one can be sent out, it will probably be the second Part of the *Ballads from Manuscripts I*, on the Condition of Tudor England, so as to complete that volume, and clear it out of the way of the Roxburghe Ballads, to which the whole income of the Society will be devoted as soon as possible. At any rate, Part IV of the Roxburghe Ballads will be sent to press directly Mr. Chappell's other literary engagements allow, and will be produced as soon as the Society's funds are sufficient for it.

During the past year the Society has been fortunate enough to gain the services of an active Honorary Secretary, Arthur G. Snelgrove Esq., of the London Hospital, E., and he has prepared the cash-account of the Society for its first three years. This, audited by Mr. H. B. Wheatley and Mr. Joachim, is subjoined. Mr. Snelgrove reported the Arrears of subscriptions on 31 Dec. 1870, to be upwards of £50. Prompt payment of these, and of the 1871 subscriptions which became due on the 1st of January last, is much needed. New Members are also wanted, as the more paying ones we have, the more Texts we can issue.

The Ballad Society's books are printed in demy 8vo, like those of the Early English Text Society and the volumes of the Percy Folio (but on toned paper for the sake of the woodcuts) and also in super-royal 8vo on Whatman's eighty-shilling ribbed paper, tinted expressly for the Society. The subscription for the demy octavos is *One Guinea* a year; that for the super-royal ribbed papers *Three Guineas*. The subscriptions date from Jan. 1, 1868. The Society's books can be had only by Subscribers. The Society's printers are Messrs. Taylor and Co., Little Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C., and to them all complaints as to non-delivery of Texts should be made.

Local Secretaries are wanted.

Subscriptions should be paid either to the account of *The Ballad Society* at the Chancery Lane Branch of the Union Bank, London, or to—

ARTHUR G. Snelgrove, Esq. (Hon. Sec.)

London Hospital, London, E.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE SHEET OF THE BALLAD SOCIETY FOR THE
THREE YEARS ENDING DEC. 31, 1870.

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January 24th, 1871.

The Ballad Society.

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Early English Text Society.

Fifth Report of the Committee, January, 1869.

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§ 1. THE tide of the Society's success still flows, though not with the force needed to carry the good ship "Early English" home to its haven—its work done—during the life of the present generation. A stronger breeze of enthusiasm, an increased power of steady purpose, must be brought to bear on the vessel, ere it can make sufficient way; and these we appeal to our Members to supply.

Looking back on the course the Society has passed over, looking forward over that which it has yet to sail,—how short is the one, how long the other! True that our log shows progress made, progress such as the records of no other Society of like kind show; but when the ocean of work before us is contemplated, every member must feel that increased exertion on his part is called for to ensure the Society's onward way.

Though in illustration of our Dialects, and the History of our Language, we can point to the Society's editions of the *Early English Alliteratives*, *Sir Gawayne*, *Genesis and Exodus*, *Dan Michel's Ayenbite*, the *Early English Homilies*, part of *Lyndesay*, *Hume*, *Levins*; though in *Arthur* and other Romances we can show our *Arthur*, *Morte Arthure*, *Lancelot*, *Merlin*, *King Horn*, *Floris*, and *Partenay*; though, as touching the life of Early England, we have produced *Hali Meidenhad*, *Hampole*, and other pieces from the Thornton MS., the *Vision of Piers Ploughman*, *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede*, *Myrc*, the *Knight of the Tower*, and the *Babees Book*; though of Religious Poems we have given many, of Political few, of good stories one (the Wright's Chaste Wife),—yet what are they to the hundreds of Manuscripts lying unprinted before us?

§ 2. It is from want of funds alone, during the past year, that the Committee have been obliged to refrain from employing a fourth printer, and to keep back from press the *Cursor Mundi*, the *Catholicon*, *Withals*, *Cato*, the *Lay-Folk's Mass-Book*, the *Rule of St. Benet*, &c., &c.; while from the same cause, want of funds, they have been unable to issue the following works that were printed and ready,—*Merlin*, Part III, *Lyndesay*, Part IV, the *Alliterative Troy-Book*, Part I; and only by a special subscription was the issue of Part II of the important *Early English Homilies* secured. If Members will think of these facts, if they will cast their eyes over the lists of the Society's intended works, noting that as yet Anglo-Saxon has not been touched by the Society, that the Semi-Saxon and the Vernon MSS have only been slightly touched, that the early Psalms and Lives of Saints, the Alexander and Charlemagne Romances, the rhimed Troy-Books, *Hampole* (nearly), *Trevisa*, *Nassington*, *Davie*, *Idle*, *Ashby*, *Lydgate*, *Occleve*, *Campeden*, are yet untouched, they will see what call is on them for fresh efforts to increase the number of the Society's subscribers, so that its work may no longer be stayed for want of funds.

As every Member may feel assured that no day passes without some or one of the Society's Editors working for him, so those Editors would like to feel that no year passed without each Member doing some work for them, bringing in a fresh Member to share in the task that the Society has undertaken. That task is a worthy one, one worth doing at the cost of some, nay much, sacrifice. We are banded together to trace out the springs, and note the course, of the language that shall one day be the ruling tongue of the world, which is now the speech of most of its free men. We are engaged together in

publishing the records of the thoughts, the aspirations, the greatness and the littleness, of those to whom we owe our nation and ourselves; we seek to illustrate the progress of those changes in the nation's life which have led from the declaration of Edward the First's judge to the owner of a serf, "Take him by the neck: he and his issue are yours for ever,"¹ through Henry the Eighth's manumission—

A.D. 1514. "Whereas God created all men free, but afterwards the laws and customs of nations subjected some under the yoke of servitude, we think it pious and meritorious with God, to manumit Henry Knight, a tailor, and John Herle, a husbandman, our natives." *Barrington on Statutes*, 275¹—

to the wide suffrage of our own day, that so the old life of England may be bound to the new, and men may learn from our Texts wherein their ancestors failed in care for the weak, in thought for the poor, and be helped in their own efforts that neither shall be wanting now.

The Society's work is one in which everybody who takes pride in being an Englishman may fairly be called on to take part, and the Committee appeal to every Member to bring the Society's claims for support under the notice of all men within his reach. The examples of our energetic Local Secretaries and other friends in Manchester and Glasgow are evidence of what may be done in this way. Our Manchester subscribers number 57, our Glasgow ones 30 (including 5 outsiders), while the Edinburgh ones are only 16.² This is mainly because the Society has no energetic member in Edinburgh, and has always had one at least in Manchester and Glasgow.

§ 3. Of the awakened interest in the study of Early English there can be no doubt, nor of the share which the Society has had in calling it up. To say nothing of the Society's direct work, its indirect has included the publication of the Percy Folio, the establishment of the Chaucer Society—which will help to fix the poet's text on a sure basis, and which has probably settled, for the first time these 450 years, the true order of his Tales, and his resting-places on his Canterbury Pilgrimage,—the foundation of the Ballad Society,—with its pictures of the Commons' grievances in Henry VIII's and Edward VI's times,—of the Spenser Society—with its sumptuous editions of Heywood and Taylor,—of the Roxburghe Library,

¹ Communicated by Mr. Vernon Lushington, Q.C.

² During last year the *Birmingham Journal* boasted that our Society was nowhere so well supported as in Birmingham. Our subscribers in that town are 11. Will enough would raise them to nearly the Glasgow standard. But this is hardly shown by printing complaints of the Committee because the brown paper of some members' parcels was torn in its journey from London.

with its Paris and Vienne, Browne, and Elizabethan tracts. Dr. Stratmann's excellent edition of *The Owl and Nightingale* is also due to the Society's influence. The Philological Society's Transactions attest the growing attention paid to Early English studies. And the facts that the large editions of Mr. R. Morris's *Specimens of Early English* and *Chaucer Selections* are nearly exhausted, and that the Clarendon Press has commissioned Mr. Skeat to prepare an edition of *The Vision of Piers Ploughman* (contemporaneously with his Text B. for the Society) show that the cause is making way;¹ while the great success of Mr. Arber's admirable *English Reprints* of the Middle Period, to which the Committee rejoice to know that our Members have contributed, is an earnest that from the ground prepared by Mr. Arber his readers will step up to the Society's earlier platform. The Committee are also glad to see that the *English Reprints* will relieve the Society's Extra Series from much of its work, and they have received with pleasure Mr. Arber's offer to help the Society, as his pioneer, by the circulation of its Prospectuses in his excellent Texts. The Committee have been likewise gratified during the past year by the Public Record Office joining the Society, expressly on the ground of the value of its Texts in illustrating the social life of England in early days; and also by the following testimony from the pen of the first Early English scholar in America, which, while our Members will feel that it more than compensates for occasional sneers and snarls from men with less knowledge here, yet pledges us each and all to try and make good our generous reviewer's words:—

“There is no literary publication association which does its work with so little of unnecessary expenditure, or which gives its subscribers so full a money's worth, as the Early English Text Society; and *its unexampled success is simply the measure of its merits.* We only wish that its list of American

¹ The Committee have also heard with pleasure that the first instalments of Wyclif's English and Latin Works are to be published very soon by the Oxford Delegates. Long before the Early English Text Society was thought of, the late Canon Shirley had projected a new Wyclif Society to print our great Reformer's works. He afterwards induced the Oxford Delegates to undertake to publish a selection from those Works, and in 1865 issued his *Catalogue* of them. His lamented death has not stopt the execution of part of his plan, and the Committee trust that the Oxford Delegates will at least print the whole of Wyclif's English Works. The knowledge that Mr Shirley and the Oxford Press were thus engaged, has been the reason why Wyclif's name has not been mentioned in any of the Society's Lists before; but if the Oxford Delegates should not complete his English Works, the Society will try to do so. Mr. Shirley claimed as Wyclif's, *Dan John Gaytryge's Sermon*, which has been edited for the Society. But two MSS assign it to Gaytryge, and none yet known, to Wyclif.

associates could be increased tenfold, and we can assure every student of the past that no matter what his special line may be, he will find in its varied list of issues something every year will richly repay him."—*The Nation*, Oct. 23, 1868, p. 35, col. 8.

§ 4. TURNING now to the finances and publications of the Society during 1868, we find that, nominally, the income asked for by the Committee last year, £1000, has been furnished to the Society; its receipts have been £1229; but as £91 19s. of this belongs to the Reprinting Fund, and £324 8s. to the Extra Series, the actual income available for the Texts of the Original Series for 1868 has been only £761. The new Members for 1868 have numbered 110, while our losses by deaths and withdrawals have amounted only to a dozen. The increase of the Society in numbers, income, and printed pages issued, is shown in the following table:—

ORIGINAL SERIES.					
	1864	1865	1866	1867	1868
Members	145	260	409	580	660
Income	£152	£384	£681	£717+	£761
Pages issued	481	950	2034*	1207	1363
EXTRA SERIES.					
Members	..	..	..	150	250
Income ..	..	..	..	£161	£300
(Publications not complete.)					

Since the close of our first year, then, and disregarding the Extra Series, the Society has in four years nearly quadrupled its Members, its income, and the extent of its publications. Starting from a very low level, the Society has steadily fought its way up to the head of its competitors; and to see and keep it there, pushing it always further in advance, should be the pride and aim of all its Members. The Committee cannot rest content till a thousand Members have been enrolled on the Society's list.

§ 5. Of the publications announced for 1867, in their last Report, the Committee greatly regret the non-appearance of one, and still more the cause of that non-appearance. But the health of Mr Toulmin Smith rendered the postpone-

¹ This statement involves the answer already given privately to those who have complained of the Committee for not 'proceeding systematically,' not exhausting all the 13th or 14th century MSS, or all the Arthur ones, before touching other departments of work. The Committee want to print the whole of our unprinted MS Literature. The way to do that is to get as many subscribers as possible. And the way to get them is, by great variety of subject, to interest and attract as many different sections of students as can be reached.

* The cost of part of these pages—which included the *Ayenbite*,—and also of the copying charges, was paid by 1867.

† Including the Philological and Camden Societies' payments for Levins, £93.

ment of the *English Gilds* imperative; for many months in 1868 he was not able to correct a proof, and both book and printers were reduced to a standstill. Under these circumstances the Committee decided on filling up the vacancy in the issue of 1867, by the first part of Mr Morris's *Old English Homilies*, and on not delaying the issue of the remaining Text of 1868 on the chance of the *Gilds* being ready that year. Events have shown the prudence of the decision.

§ 6. THE Texts of 1868 have in two of our classes exceeded in importance those of any prior year. *a* The *Old English Homilies* edited by Mr Morris must certainly be reckoned the most important contribution that the Society has yet made to the history of the framing of our grammatical forms, and the Semi-Saxon or transition stage of our language from Anglo-Saxon to Early English. Earlier than the *Ormulum*, earlier than *Lazamon*, the *Homilies* have disclosed an unsuspected stage of bewilderment among our noun-inflexions, which resulted in the comparatively settled ascendancy of the final *e* in *Lazamon*'s time. For the history of our language, the documents of this Semi-Saxon period are unquestionably the most important. The duty of printing speedily the whole of them—and it is comparatively small—has been urgently pressed on the Committee by Dr Stratmann and other scholars of his mark; but until funds become more plentiful, the Committee are obliged, in justice to other departments of work, to devote far less than they could wish to the specially linguistic class.

β In our miscellaneous class, or rather in one section of it, 1868 has seen the Society's two most important books. This section is not indeed the most valuable of its class; *Manners* cannot rank before *Morals*; nor the *Master of Deportment* before the *Reformer of Church and State*. Neither the *Babees Book* nor the *Knight de la Tour Landry*¹ can for power or worth be set beside the noble zeal of the author of the *Vision of Piers Ploughman*, or the bitter irony, the simple pathos of the *Crede*.

¹ The Committee very much regret to say that a subsequent collation of the first six sheets of this work, by Mr. E. Brock, has discovered above 250 small mistakes in these sheets. Corrections of these are, according to the Society's usual practice, issued at the end of the year, and they will be followed by such other corrections as are found necessary when the collation of the rest of the sheets has been finished. The Committee will in future take care that the work of all Editors new to them is checked in time; though a clerk was paid extra to read the revises as well as the proofs of all sheets of the *Knight* after the first six. He read the proofs only of the first six sheets, the Editor having undertaken to read the whole of the *Revises* with the MS. The *Knight* was wrongly reckoned among our dated texts in The Society's Report for Jan. 1866, p. 2. The French book was written in 1372 A.D.; the English text is not dated, but the MS is probably about 1440 A.D.

But in their own lower fields of curious illustration of manners and elaborate detail of outward life, the two works named have not been matched by any books the Society has issued. Whether we follow the Angevine knight—Chaucer's contemporary—through the quaint tales of his own and other times which Caxton translated for the English damsels of the succeeding century; whether we "have respecte unto the Booke of Urbanitie," or see the country girl going to market to sell her cloth, or drink where good ale is aloft, track the truant boy to the flogging-block, watch the noble from bed to church or feast, stand by while the carver unlaces a heron, or the marshal exhibits his Soteltees, the pride of his soul, we catch at every turn glimpses of a world so strange, a life so different from our own, that our curiosity is roused, and our interest excited, in no common degree. For the history of women in France and England, the *Knight* is also of considerable importance; and to the archæologist, the historian of Education,¹ Food, and Social Economy, the *Babees Book* must be always of value. Of great interest too is the picture of later manners presented by *The Historie of S quyer Meldrum*. Though it is good that ladies are wooed and won in different fashion now, the *S quyer's Life and Testament* will well repay perusal.

γ In our third class, Religious Treatises, we may perhaps reckon, besides the *Homilies* already noticed, *Myrc's Instructions for Parish Priests*, though it is for its sketch of the life of priests and laymen that most readers will best appreciate it. The book is indeed a valuable contribution to the social history of England, and especially to that section of it which deals with the condition of the clergy, and their relation to their flocks. To the historian of ecclesiastical customs and ceremonies, the worth of the treatise must be greater still.

Of the language of the *Homilies*, mention has been made above. Their subjects cannot be passed over in silence, nor can their words be read without emotion. In the straightforward earnestness with which the preacher speaks to his "dear men;" in the impassioned terms which the "Lovesong of our Lord" uses to its "sweet soft Jesus," the "Wooing" to its "life's love," Christ; in the prayers to the maiden that bare "the blissful bairn;" in the touching confession of sins in the Moral Ode; in the strong assurance that the "Soul's Ward," God, will guard his treasure "from the thief of hell,"

¹ Mr. Anstey's two volumes on early Oxford Life and Studies, *Munimenta Academica*, in the Master of the Rolls' Series are the most important contributions to our knowledge of this subject, and deserve careful study.

we see the power and beauty of the Faith that once our fathers held, and are content to forget the errors that made their descendants in later days reject it.

δ In the first class of the Society's Texts,—that of the Arthur and other Romances,—no book has been issued for the Original Series in 1868, for the simple reason above stated, that there was no money left to pay for Part III of *Merlin*, though it has long been ready.

§ 7. ε BUT in the *Extra Series* the strange weird Romance of *William of Palerne*, with its werwolf protector of the hero and heroine, has been issued during the past year, for 1867, re-edited, with Mr Skeat's well-known care and skill, from the MS that Sir Frederick Madden first put into type with an accuracy and a wealth of illustration that at once secured its fame. Mr Skeat's thorough revision of the Text, Notes, and Glossary; his introduction, his addition from the French original of the last lines at the beginning of the English MS, and also the fragment of the Alliterative Romance of *Alexander*, now first edited from MS Greaves 60, have given a distinctive value to the Society's edition, which has been prepared also under the eye, and with the counsel, of the distinguished scholar who first edited the Romance.

ζ With regard to the second work down in the list of the *Extra Series* for 1867, the Committee must remark, that, when they announced that an Essay upon the Pronunciation of Shakspeare and Chaucer, by Mr. Alex. J. Ellis, F.R.S., would form a part of the Introduction to Chaucer's Prose Works, they supposed that Mr. Ellis's paper on that subject, which had been read before the Philological Society on Jan. 18, and Feb. 1, 1867, and which was complete in MS, would be available at once for the Essay above-named, and that it could therefore be passed through the press in that year. But when Mr. Ellis came to revise his Paper in Oct. 1867, he found that, for the purposes of the Early-English-Text and Chaucer Societies, it would be necessary to re-write and considerably enlarge it, entering into many additional investigations, and arranging it as an independent work instead of a Prefatory Essay. To this labour Mr. Ellis has generously devoted himself exclusively¹ and unremittingly since Oct. 1, 1867, and great attention will be required to complete it during 1869. As about half the work is now printed off, and is complete in itself,—although greatly needing the continuation, illustrations, and indices, which will form the rest of the work,

¹ With the exception of his Paper on the Only English Proclamation of Henry III, in *The Philological Society's Transactions*, 1868-9, Part I.

—and as the part now ready contains not only Mr. Ellis's own investigations on the pronunciation of the xiv, xvi, xvii, and xviiith centuries, but a re-arrangement of Prof. F. J. Child's most valuable memoirs on the Language of Chaucer and Gower (which have hitherto been almost inaccessible to Early English students), it has been thought best to issue this portion as Part I, simultaneously with the first issue of the Chaucer-Society's publications. On account of the greater scope now given to the treatise, it appears as an independent work, under the more comprehensive title of "EARLY ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION, with especial reference to Shakspeare and Chaucer, containing an Investigation of the Correspondence of Writing with Speech in England, from the Anglo-Saxon period to the present day." And in order to give a proper conception of the nature of Part II, which is already in MS (and will be issued, if possible, in 1869 to the Extra-Series subscribers of 1867), a Table of Contents of the whole work is prefixed to Part I. This statement will explain the premature announcement, and apparent delay, of the publication of Mr. Ellis's treatise, which, the Committee are convinced, will begin a new era in the criticism of Early and Middle English poetry and phonetics.

§ 8. *η* The only 1868 Text already issued for the Extra Series, is Caxton's *Book of Curtesye* in three versions: interesting, partly because it reprints a unique Caxton, partly because its version from the Oriel MS restores a stanza omitted by Caxton, and often corrects his text, partly because it continues the Treatises on Manners in *The Babees' Book*; but mainly for its genuine burst of admiration for our old poets,—Father Chaucer, whose language, fair and pertinent, seems "not only the worde, but verily the thyng"; Oocleve, with 'goodly language and sentence passing wyse'; Lydgate, 'my maister . . . Passynge the Muses nine of Elycone'—those ancient fathers who reap the fresh fields, gathered the fresh flowers, and bore off the wealth of silver speech for our delight.

θ The remaining Extra-Series Texts for 1868 will be issued with this report, or very soon after. *The Chevelere Assigne*, or *Knight of the Swan*, is ready; *Havelok the Dane* is all in type; the text of *Chaucer's Boethius* is all in type too, but the Preface is not.

The *Chevelere Assigne* is an interesting and short Alliterative Romance from a unique MS, a section only of a much larger French story. In the family of the Editor, Mr. Henry Hucks Gibbs, is a 14th-century ivory casket, carved with scenes from this Romance, and Mr. Gibbs has been so good as to make

arrangements with a photographer,¹ from whom any Member of the Society may have a set of the five photographs of the sides and top of the casket, for 1s. 9d., the mere cost of printing, mounting, and postage.

κ *Havelok the Dane* is to an old student of Early English a name to conjure withal. How often has he longed for it; how often wished for the spare six guineas that would secure it for him! How little did he expect to see a new edition in his own hands, and within the reach of any one, for a few shillings! Yet now he has the book, and can read leisurely in his own study, the spirited lines, the quaint terms, which tell how the great Grim saved the child lighted with the light of heaven, and marked with the Cross of God; and how the boy won his bride and the crown of England. The best, no doubt, of our early Romances, *Havelok* is; and as in it, again, Mr. Skeat has had the advantage of the co-operation of the original Editor, Sir Frederic Madden, our Members may rest assured that the Text has had all done for it that the widest knowledge of manuscripts, and great literary experience, as well as scrupulous care, can do. On this re-edition of *Havelok*, as well as the Text next to be noticed, the Committee look with special gratification.

κ No trustworthy text of *Chaucer's Boethius* has ever yet appeared, nor has a text of any kind been procurable apart from the poet's other works. And yet the book has a double interest. It is Chaucer's most important prose-work, the translation of a book whose echoes are heard through all his other productions. Its original is the work of one who stands as the most touching figure in Middle-age literary history, 'one of the most important links between' the old world and the new. Gibbon's eloquent sketch of Boethius is well known.² The Philosophy that he studied at Athens, and in his palace of ivory and glass at Rome, did not desert him when disasters came. 'Oppressed with fetters, expecting each moment the sentence or the stroke of death, he composed in the tower of Pavia the *Consolation of Philosophy*; a golden volume not unworthy of the leisure of Plato or Tully, but which claims incomparable merit for the barbarism of the times and the situation of the author.' After his cruel death, 'his genius survived to diffuse a ray of knowledge over the darkest ages of the Latin world; and the writings of the philosopher were translated by the most glorious of English kings,' by the most brilliant of English poets, in the nation's early time. Looked on, as Boethius

¹ Mr. Blanchard, 12, Camden Cottages, N.W.

² Decline and Fall, iii. 474-7, ed. 1846.

was in the Middle Ages, 'as the head and type of all philosophy,' penetrated as all Middle-Age literature is by his spirit, no fitter man could Chaucer have translated, no fitter work can our Society produce, than this translation of the *De Consolatione*,—aiming, as we do, to reproduce the manifestation of all influences that formed the Early English mind. Mr Richard Morris's edition for the Society is edited from the oldest known MS, the Additional 10,340 in the British Museum, which was pointed out to the Committee by the Keeper of the MSS, and found to contain on a fly-leaf the only known complete copy of Chaucer's ballad, 'Flee from the Press.' This MS has been carefully collated with the more grammatically correct, and the more full, but later, Cambridge University MS,—for the knowledge of which the Committee have to thank the University Librarian, Mr. H. Bradshaw,—and full collations are given in foot-notes. If, after the completion of these texts, and Mr. Ellis's works, the Balance at the Bankers will allow of another Text being issued for the Extra Series for 1868, the Committee will take care that one is issued.

§ 9. *Reprints.*—In the last Report the Committee said there could be no doubt that the Reprints of the Texts of 1864 would be completed in 1868. They conceived themselves justified in making that statement, as they had put these Texts into Mr. Austin's hands early in January, and he had assured them that the 480 pages would be easily produced within the year. But the very ease of doing the work led to its neglect till the pressure of the election and other engagements made its completion in time impossible. The Committee have therefore lately entrusted the *Gawaine*, *Lauder*, and *Arthur*, to Messrs. Childs, and they will take care that the Reprints are now pressed forward: indeed, the whole of the *Gawaine* is already in type. The *Arthur* will be kept back for a month, as the Marquis of Bath has kindly promised to bring his *Liber Ruber* to London in February, in order to allow the Society's *Arthur* to be re-read with it.

§ 10. *Original-Series Texts for 1869.* a. The *Merlin* postponed from last year calls first for notice. The completion of the text is issued as Part III, with this Report. Mr. Wheatley's Preface, Index, and Glossary, will form Part IV, and will be issued during 1869. Prefixed to Part III is an Essay by Mr. J. S. Stuart Glennie on *Arthurian Localities, their Origin and Relation*, a recast of his Paper on *Arthurian Scotland*, incorporating the results on this point of Mr. Skene's late able work, *The Four Masters*, and with a Map (of which Mr. Glennie generously bears half the cost) showing the 94 places in Scot-

land to which Arthurian traditions are linked, and thus confirming the hypothesis of Mr. W. D. Nash in his Essay in Part I of *Merlin*, p. iv, that—

“The original locality of the traditions which have furnished the groundwork of these world-renowned Romances is probably the Cumbrian region, taken in its widest extent, from the Friths of Forth and Clyde, southward and westward, along the borders of the Northumbrian kingdom, in which the famous exploits of the British Cymric struggle with the Northumbrian Angles became the theme of a native minstrelsy, transplanted into Brittany by the refugees from the Saxon conquest, and moulded into the romances with which we have been made acquainted by the Norman trouvères.”

The Committee are glad to see this interesting question so well opened, and hope it will be followed up by Welsh, English, and Breton writers, and that a careful examination of the nationalities of the names of Knights and Ladies mentioned in the Arthur Romances will be also made. The Romance of *Merlin* itself deserves attention, not only on account of its own merit as a story, which is considerable, but as the most complete version in English of Robert de Borron's original. The early Auchinleck text, the later Lonelich one (still in MS only), and the still later ones in the Percy Folio, &c., contain only a small portion of the story. The *Merlin* is the first in date, though the second in order, of the French recasts, by English writers in Henry II's and Richard I's time, of the old Arthur Romances. It wanders pleasantly on through adventures, battles, fights, till its hero is 'beclouded and shut in prison because he was such a fool that he loved another better than himself,' and told her the secret that brought on his fate; whereat King Arthur grieved. We long in vain for a like full early version of the *Lancelot*, *Morte Artus*, *Queste*, and *Tristan*, if only to settle what share each had in Maleore's story—that 'injudicious jumble,' as Tyrwhitt calls it,—that delight of our boyhood, the pleasure of many in later life. Our Society may well feel gratified at the completion of the English *Merlin*, and thank Mr. Wheatley for his labour on it, for it was unknown to Arthur writers until the Society brought the unique MS forward.

b. c. The Fourth Part of Sir David Lyndesay's Works, issued with this Report, contains his *Satyre of the Three Estaitis*,—Lords (including the King), Commons, and Clergy,—and is a most curious sketch of the time, A.D. 1535-9; of especial interest to Englishmen, who will compare its bitter satire against the Clergy and Religious Orders with the similar invectives in the early Reformation tracts in England, and particularly in *The Image of Ipocrisy* of 1533 A.D.,¹ whose plain

¹ Dyce's *Skelton*, ii. 413, and the Ballad Society's *Ballads from Manuscripts*, vol. i. p. 167.

speaking the *Satyre* almost exceeds. That the latter was an instrument in effecting the Reformation in Scotland, correcting 'the naughtiness in religion, the presumption of Bishops, the collusion of the Consistory Courts, and the misusing of priests,' is testified by Sir William Eure's Letter to the Lord Privy Seal of England in 1540 (III *Ellis* iii. 279). Another Scotch Text, though a very short one, will be also produced during 1869 by Mr. Fitzedward Hall, the Editor of Lyndesay,—namely, the *Minor Poems of Lauder*. Mr. Christie Miller,—to whom the Society is indebted for the loan to Mr. Hall of Lyndesay's *Satire*,—has been kind enough also to lend him the few remaining poems of Lauder—one of which is against the vices of his time—and these will form a second part to the *Office and Dewtie of Kyngis* in the Society's issue for 1864, at p. ix. of the Preface to which these short poems are noticed.

d. Of the *English Gilds* the Committee can only say that the whole text of the work—exclusive of Appendices, Introduction, &c.—has been in type since last July; and that the re-establishment of Mr. Toulmin Smith's health makes him believe that he shall be able to produce the book within the year,—by April he hopes. But if these anticipations should not be realized, and the book should not be ready by December, the Committee will substitute for it Part I. of the *Alliterative Romance of Troy*, or such other Text as may be most convenient. It should be noted, however, that though our Oxford printers and our Members lose by the enforced keeping-back of *The Gilds*, the book gains; for only two months ago, in the course of cataloguing the Rawlinson MSS in the Bodleian, Mr. G. Parker found the Statutes of a Norwich Gild, which prove to be one of the most interesting sets in Mr. Smith's volume; for not only are they a later and enlarged copy of an older set in the Record Office, which Mr. Smith had already printed, but at their end is a list of Members of the Gild, which shows, by the wide difference in the positions of its members, how the Gilds worked to bind together all classes of society, and included women as well as men within their bonds. This list, being of moderate extent—some 360 names—will be printed at length,—a step Mr. Smith felt he could not take with the far longer list of names (over 2000) to the Latin Statutes of the Corpus Christi Gild at York, which are in the British Museum, and which he has left for the Surtees Society to take in hand, as that Society, with the great local antiquarian knowledge that it has at command, can alone treat this subject properly. Notwithstanding the

destruction of (no doubt) the greater part of the records, those remaining range from Berwick-upon-Tweed to Exeter, from Lynn and Lincoln to Bristol and Birmingham. *The English Gilds* will contain the Statutes of the following number of Gilds,—those in English in full; those in Latin translated and abstracted,—namely, in

London 3	Wynale 5	Lancaster 1	Worcester 3	Bristol 3
Norwich 12	East Wynch 1	Chesterfield 2	Stratford-on-	Reading 1
Lynn 12	Oxeburgh 2	Lincoln 6	Avon 1	Exeter 3
Bishop's Lynn 9	York 3	Kyllingholm 1	Coventry 3	Berwick-upon-
West Lynn 2	Beverley 4	Stamford 1	Birmingham 3	Tweed 1
North Lynn 3	Kingston, Hull 3	Ludlow 1	Cambridge 5	

besides others mentioned in the Introduction; and original documents illustrating the Relations of Gilds to Municipal Bodies, &c. &c. will be given.

e. 1. A short Anglo-Saxon poem on the *Finding of the Cross*; 2. a short Early English verse *Address* to it, and the several materials and instruments used in its construction; 3. a History of it—three curious records of old superstitions,—will be edited by Mr. Richard Morris. The third Poem is a metrical history of the Cross—its growth from a ‘pippin’ to a tree—containing an account of ‘how the Cross was found’ by Elene in May, and of the celebration of Holy Rood Day, in September; and how Eraclius obtained a piece of the true cross from *Cosdre*, a bitter persecutor of Christians, who had enthroned himself in a heaven of his own, calling himself God the Father, together with representations of the other persons of the Trinity. For the illustration of Old English *dialects*, two versions of this Text will be printed in parallel columns, from MSS of the 14th century.

f. Text B of *The Vision of Piers Plowman* by William is already in the press. As the basis of this text Mr. Skeat has chosen the Laud MS 581, which he judges to be clearly the best of its type; and with it he will collate all the other good MSS, as he did in the case of Text A. He has succeeded in fixing the date of this second cast of the poem to 1377 A.D., and will, by a simple system of marks, point out all the new passages introduced by the author into this version. The Committee have much at heart the bringing of this great work of our early Reformer into due notice and honour; and they confidently trust that this result will follow Mr. Skeat's generous labour on the texts of it. Since the issue of the Society's *Parallel Extracts from 29 MSS of Piers Plowman* in 1866, tidings have been received of thirteen more, thus showing that the popularity of the work was nearly as great as that of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, as unquestionably it ought to

have been, and ought now to be. The *Vision* is the necessary complement of the *Tales*; and though its author had not the infinite humour, the grace and play, of Chaucer's genius, yet he had other deeper qualities that entitle him to the reverence of Englishmen of all time. What Dean Milman wrote¹ of William is no more than the truth:—

'It is in his intense absorbing moral feeling that he is beyond his age: with him outward observances are but hollow shows, mockeries, hypocrisies, without the inner power of religion. It is not so much in his keen cutting satire on all matters of the Church as in his solemn installation of Reason and Conscience as the guides of the self-directed soul, that he is breaking the yoke of sacerdotal domination: in his constant appeal to the plainest, simplest Scriptural truths, as in themselves the whole of religion, he is a stern reformer.'

These, then, are the Texts that the Committee hope to issue during the present year for the Original Series. It remains with our Members to say whether the *Gawaine Poems*, the *Hampole's Office*, spoken of last year, shall be added to them. Money is the one thing wanted; and that, Members alone can supply. During the year the Committee hope to get finished the *Alliterative Romance of Troy*, and *Palladius*, Part I, and to get sent to press for 1870, *Piers Plowman*, Text C (Mr. Skeat); *Lyndesay*, Part V (Mr. Hall); *The Lay Folk's Mass-Book* (Mr. Simmons); *Jon the Gardener*, &c. (Mr. Cockayne); the *Five-Text Rule of St. Benet*, or Series 2 of the *Old English Homilies* (Mr. R. Morris); the *Catholicon Anglicum* (Mr. Wheatley); but a considerable increase in the subscription list will be needed to produce all these works in one year. The Committee now turn to

§ 11. *The Extra-Series Texts for 1869.* a. First of these will come,—with its pretty title, newly recovered in the searches for MSS for the Society—Chaucer's *Bred and Mylk for Children*, or his 'Treatise on the Astrolabie,' by which he purposed to teach little Lowis, his sonne, a certaine number of conclusions pertayning to that same instrument. The Committee cannot hope that this tract will be found so entertaining as the *Canterbury Tales*, but they are sure that a study of it will throw much light on certain points in those Tales; as indeed has been already proved by Mr. Skeat's removing from Chaucer,—through the knowledge gained from the *Bred and Mylk*—the reproach of having blundered the Ram for the Bull in l. 8 of his Prologue; and also by the fixing of many of the days of the events in the Knight's Tale. The Treatise will be illustrated by such woodcuts as are necessary, and will

¹ History of Latin Christianity, 4th edit. 1864, vol. ix. pp. 234-5. See also pp. 236-7.

be, for the first time, really edited, and restored to its original understandableness.¹ *The Testament of Love* would have followed the *Bred and Myllk*, had not the Committee been advised by Mr. Bradshaw, Mr. R. Morris, and Mr. Furnivall—following Mr. Payne Collier and prior critics—that the work is not Chaucer's: that there is no evidence for its being so, and much against. This being the case, and no MS of the treatise being known, the Committee have resolved, for the present, at least, not to reprint the old, and evidently incorrect, black-letter text.

Another prose work has of late years been assigned hypothetically to Chaucer, by Mr. Bradshaw, namely, a prose translation of De Guileville's *Pilgrim*,² a work which Lydgate also translated in verse. The MS is in the Cambridge University Library; and as it incorporates into its text—treats as part of it—*Chaucer's A B C*, which we know is translated from this *Pilgrim* of De Guileville, and does not, as Lydgate's translation does, stop, to say 'what follows is my master's, Chaucer's,' Mr. Bradshaw thought that the whole prose treatise in which the A B C is thus found, might be Chaucer's too. Until this slight presumption is supported by phraseological and grammatical evidence drawn from the prose text itself, the matter must remain in suspense. Mr. Bradshaw had undertaken to edit the book for the Roxburghe Club, but has lately resigned the task to Mr. W. Aldis Wright, and the text of the *Pilgrim* is all in type. If, after its appearance in type, the Committee are advised that there is fair ground for supposing this *Pilgrim* to be Chaucer's translation,—though of this there is little chance—the MS will be re-edited for the Society.

β. *Barbour's Brus*, Part I. By determining to issue this, the third Scotch Text in this year, the Committee desire to record, on the one hand, their sense of the warm support given to the Society by Glasgow—in special contrast to the lukewarmness of Edinburgh,—and on the other, their anxiety that the great Scotch contemporary of Chaucer shall become better known to readers south of the Tweed. The greater genius of the English poet need not blind his readers to the merit of the Scotch; and—representing Scottish Chivalry, as Barbour does; writing in the Northern dialect; and in 1375, within fifty years of the death of the Hero-King he celebrates,—his verse

¹ The necessity for Mr. Skeat's seeing the two Rawlinson MSS that have lately been catalogued for the first time, will delay the issue of the *Bred and Myllk* till late in 1869.

² Lydgate's translation of this first of De Guileville's three *Pilgrimages* has been for some time on the Society's List for publication.

must have a treble interest to the English student of antiquity ; while to the Scotchman, it is his national epic.

The *Brus* will be edited by Mr. Skeat from the MS copied by J[ohn] R[amsay] in 1487 A.D., in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge, and will be collated with the MS in the Advocates' Library, copied by the same John Ramsay in 1489. Unfortunately, no other MS than these two is known. Half the work is now ready for press.

γ. A Courtesy or Household Tract of some kind, probably a *Book of Precedence*, with some Varying Versions of certain of the short poems in the *Babees Book*, will be edited by Mr. Furnivall, for the purpose of producing a full and interesting account, by Mr. William Michael Rossetti, of the early Italian books on Courtesy, and a sketch, by Mr. Eugene Oswald, of *Der Wülsche Gast*, the earliest German book on Courtesy, written in the 13th century in German, by an Italian, *Thomasin von Zirclaria*, whose first independent Italian treatise on the subject is lost, though it, or the substance of it, exists as a chapter of his more general work on morals, or steadiness, *Der Wülsche Gast*. These Prefatory Essays will complete the circle begun by the English, French, and Latin poems in the *Babees Book*, and will form a curious chapter in the history of Mediæval Manners.

δ. About the other books of the Extra Series there is some doubt. The Committee are anxious to begin the reprint of Maleore's *Morte D'Arthur*, and, through the kind offices of the Master of Balliol, the Earl of Jersey has been good enough to promise that he will endeavour to arrange with his Trustees that Mr Furnivall shall have access to the Jersey Caxton, in order to collate those parts which are supplied in facsimile from another edition (as Sir E. Strachey found) in the Spencer Caxton,—the volume that Lord Spencer was so kind as to allow Sir E. Strachey and the Society's editor and collater to have access to, at the Museum, two years ago. Pending this arrangement, and pending a further supply of subscribers (which the Extra Series much needs), the Committee cannot yet decide whether Part I of the *Maleore* will be produced this year, or Part I of the Series on the *Condition of Tudor-England*, which they have resolved to undertake, at Mr. Furnivall's request,¹ and in order to work with the Ballad Society's volume of Ballads on this subject, and with Professor Brewer's admirable Calendar of Henry VIII's reign, and the later Calen-

¹ Robert of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne* is necessarily postponed till the Midland MS of it, with the initial *qu*, believed to be in the possession of Jn. Bowes, Esq., of Streatham Castle, Durham, can be collated.

dars of the same series, though these are not, unluckily, on the same comprehensive scale as the Henry VIII Calendar. In this Series will be included, besides Roy's *Rede me and be not wroth*, the celebrated Satire against Wolsey (? A. D. 1527), the following Tracts, some of great rarity :—

A Supplicacyon for the Beggars, 1524 (?)

A proper Dyaloge betwene a Gentillman and a Husbandman, eche complaynyng to other their miserable Calamité through the Ambicion of Clergye, 1530.

Certayne Causes gathered together, wherein is shewed the decaye of England, onely by the great multytude of Shepe, to the vtter decay of housholde kepyng, mayntenaunce of men, dearth of corne, and other notable dyscommodities, approued by syxe olde Prouerbs.

The complaynt of Roderyck Mors, somtyme a gray Fryre, vnto the Parliament Howse of Inggland, his naturall Country, for the Redresse of certen wicked lawes, euell customs, and cruel decreys. Imprinted at Savoy, per Franciscum de Turona. [1536.]

“An informacion and Peticion agaynst the oppressours of the pore Commons of this Realme, compiled and Imprinted for this onely purpose, that amongst them that haue to doe in the Parliamente, som godlye mynded men, may hereat take occacion to speake more in the matter then the Authoure was able to write.”—By Robert Crowley (the first Printer of *Piers Plowman*).

A Supplycacion to our moste soueraigne lorde Kyng Henry the eyght, Kyng of England, of Fraunce, and of Irelande, & moste earnest defender of Christes gospell, supreme heade vnder God here in erthe, next & immediatly of his churches of Englande and Irelande, A. D. 1544.

A Supplication of the poore Commons, A. D. 1546.

The Lamentacyon of a Christen against the Citee of London, made by Roderigo Mors, Anno Domini M. D. XLII. Prynted at Jericho in the Land of Promis. By Thome Trough [Henry Brinklow] from the editions of 1545 and 1548.

Some of Bishop Bale's Comedies.

The Tract headed—

I playne Piers, which can not flatter,

A plowe man men we call :

My speche is fowlle, yet marke the matter,

Howe thynges may hap to fall.

The Wyll of the Deuyll, and last Testament. (Humfrey Powell. ? 1548-9.)

The way to wealth, wherein is plainly taught a most present remedy for Sedicion. Wrytten and imprinted by Robert Crowley the .viii. of Februarye in the yere of our Lorde A thousand fivie hundred & fiftie.

A Myrrour for man where in he shall see the myserable State of thys worlde. By Thomas Chursehard, ab. 1552.

A trewe mirroure or glasse wherin we maye beholde the wofull state of thys our Realme of England, set forth in a Dialogue or Communicacion between Eusebius and Theophilus. Imprinted 1556.

A Compendious or briefe Examination of Certayne Ordinary Complaints, of diuers of our country men in these our dayes : which although they are in some part vniust & iriuolous, yet are they all by way of dialogues throughly debated & discussed. By W. S[tafford] Gentleman. Imprinted at London in Fleetstreate, neere vnto Saincte Dunstones Church, by Thomas Marshe. 1581. *Cum Privilegio.*

The Fal of the Romish Church, with all the abhominations.

The Anatomie of Abuses: Containing A Discoverie or briefe Summaric of such Notable Vices and Corruptions, as nowe raigne in many Christian Countreyes of the Worlde: but (especially) in the Countrey of Ailgna [auglia]: Together with most fearefull Examples of Gods Iudgements, executed vpon the wicked for the same, aswell in Ailgna of late, as in other places elsewhere. Very godly to be read of all true Christians, euery where: but most chiefly, to be regarded in England. Made Dialogue-wise by Philip Stvbs, A. D. 1583, 1585, &c.

The Complaint of England, by William Lightfoote, A. D. 1587.

A Looking-Glasse for Englande. Wherein those enormities and foule abuses may most euidentlie be scene, which are the destruction and ouerthrow of euery Christian Commonwealth, &c., A. D. 1590.

The Mirror and Manners of Men. Written by Thomas Churchyard, Gent. 1594.

To the Kings most excellent Maiestic. The Hvmble Petition of two Sisters: the Chvreh and Common-wealth: For the restoring of their ancient Commons and liberties, which late Inclosure with depopulation, vucharitably hath taken away: Containing seuen reasons as evidences for the same. [By Francis Trigge.] Londini, Impensis Georgii Bishop. 1604.

A volume of Sermons, 1530-92, selected mainly from those quoted from by the Rev. J. O. W. Haweis in his *Sketches of the Reformation and Elizabethan Age from the Contemporary Pulpit*. 1844. &c. &c. &c.

The chief work for the Elizabethan period will be Harrison's Description of England in 1577-87, a work perhaps unique in literature at that early date; a formal description of the whole country, its men and their institutions, houses, manners, diet, and dress; its animals; and the productions of its soil. The writer was a country clergyman, and though he tells us he was never more than forty miles away from his home, and though he complains bitterly of the failure of many of his correspondents to furnish him with the information respecting their neighbourhoods that they had promised, he has yet left us the best and most complete account of Elizabeth's and Shakspeare's England that we possess; and it is astonishing that the book has never been reprinted except in the reprints of Holinshed's Chronicle, where it first appeared, and which, from their cost, can have reached comparatively few readers' hands. The very long topographical first book—more than half the whole work—has perhaps deterred publishers from reprinting the treatise. This chapter the Committee propose to omit, and to confine the Society's edition to the interesting second and third books, marking the many additions in the enlarged and revised 1587-edition by square brackets, and noting the other differences of the 1577-edition from the later one,—a task neglected by the last editor, Sir Henry Ellis. Mr. Edward Viles, a member of the Society, author of a forthcoming Concordance to the Poems and Sonnets of Shakspeare, has kindly undertaken to edit Harrison, and illustrate him from contemporary writers. One or more of the *Condition of Tudor*

England Series may be included in the *Extra Series* for 1869.

Another Text which may also be so included, is, the three fourteenth-century Romances in the Vernon MS — *Ypotis*, *King Robert of Cecily*, and *the King of Tars and the Sowdon of Damas*—which Mr. J. W. Hales has promised to edit for the Society. Of these *Ypotis* is rather a religious legend than a Romance; but as Chaucer called it a Romance, we will not alter his title :

Men speken of romauns of pris,
Of Horn child and of *Ypotis*,
Of Bevys and sir Gy

Tale of Sir Thopas; *Cant. Tales*, l. 15306, ed. Wright.

Ypotis has never yet been printed; but *King Robert* has been edited by Mr. Halliwell, from a late Cambridge MS, and *The King of Tars and Sowdon of Damas* was edited by Ritson, from the Vernon MS. There is obvious fitness in editing the three Romances together; and they will doubtless go to press this year. During this year, also, the Committee hope to get sent to press for 1870, the Second Part of *Barbour's Brus*, and *the Complaynt of Scotland*, about 1548 A. D., a work no less valuable to the student of History than the student of Popular Literature, one that will form an interesting parallel to some of the Tudor-England tracts, on the one hand, and on the other, to works like *Lanham's Letter*, and certain of the tracts of Greene, Dekker, and Rowlands. Its only drawback is its strong taint of Classicism; but that it owed to its time.

§ 12. *The Society's Prizes.* These continue to work to the Committee's complete satisfaction, yearly bringing in a number of young workers at Early English, some of whom are sure to continue at the task they have set their hands to. Most of the Examination-Papers show that the Professors and Teachers who kindly take on themselves the burden of furthering the Society's plans—for which the Committee again thank them warmly—require a sound knowledge of our early language from their pupils, and this must be a gain for all their after-life. The winners of the Prizes in 1868, were

<i>Winners.</i>	<i>Examiners.</i>
John Pickford, Scholar of Brazenose	} Rev. Prof. Bosworth, Oxford.
A. H. Sayce, of Queen's College	
James Colville, of Crieff	Prof. Masson, Edinburgh
Adam Semple	Prof. Nichol, Glasgow.
John A. Honey	} Prof. Baynes, St. Andrew's.
Henry G. Shepherd	
Charles Sheldon	Prof. Ward, Owen's Coll., Manchester.

<i>Winners.</i>	<i>Examiners.</i>
A. H. Scott White, Bridgwater	} Prof. Morley, Univ. Coll., London.
Bewicke	
Magill	} Prof. Yonge, Queen's Coll., Belfast.
Maurice C. Daly, B.A.	
John Moran	Prof. Rushton, Queen's Coll., Cork.
J. Cox	Prof. Moffatt, Queen's Coll., Galway.
H. H. Asquith	} Rev. E. A. Abbott, City of London School.

Prof. Nichol of Glasgow gave a second Prize to Peter Melville, M.A. The Examination at King's College, London, was postponed till Easter next. At Trinity College, Dublin, there was no candidate for the Society's prize, in consequence of the competition being confined to the candidates for Moderatorships (B.A. honours); but Prof. Dowden will take steps to have it thrown open, next Session, to all students in the Sophister classes.

Two Schools have been added to the list of Prize-receivers during the year. The Grammar School, Manchester,—Head-master, the Rev. Frederick W. Walker,—and University College School, London,—Head-master, Professor T. Hewitt Key.—The latter school ought to have been on the list from the first, as the Committee are informed by the Vice-Master, E. R. Horton, Esq., that for many years Chaucer has been read as a text-book by the highest class. A yearly prize has also been promised to the English evening classes at Owen's College, Manchester, conducted by Dr. Ernest Adams, who first started Early English at University College School, London.

§ 13. *Miscellaneous.* This Report has been purposely made of greater length than usual, because the Committee and those Members of the Society who try to interest others in it, have often felt the need of some fuller account of the past and current years' work to put into their correspondents' hands. The Society, having no Yearly Meeting,—and if they had, not a twentieth of our Members could attend it,—needs greater detail as to the Committee's plans than can be given in a mere formal curt Report, wants something more like a Chairman's or Secretary's speech. The more that every Member can know of the Society's work, the better; and the present extent of this prevents the subject being hurried over in a couple of pages. The List of some of the MSS and books to be printed or reprinted in future years, is again repeated, although the Committee have been warned that it has frightened some persons intending to join the Society, and that some Members get sick of seeing the same names repeated year after year. But the convenience of the List for hunters after MSS and old

books, to compare with, and add to, is great; and it is well to keep before every Member, present and future, the extent of the work that lies before him. Though the Committee are sorry to terrify or disgust any one, they must say that the men they want are "the resolute members" referred to in the last Report; men who do not think the right way to get through their work is to be afraid of it or let their stomachs turn at it; but men who know they have a work to do, and mean to do it; men who can look 270 MSS and books in the face, and say quietly, 'Well, at 9 a-year, we shall clear you off in 30 years;' who can look at £60,000 worth of work, and say, 'At £1000 a-year, you're to be cut down in 60 years; and if I can manage 30 of them, my boy can settle the other 30.' The Society has a long job in hand, and a heavy one; but not one that can beat men with a *will*. The Roxburghe Club has lasted from 1812 to 1869, and has lately taken a new lease of its life. May not a Society of that Middle Class which has in great measure superseded the Upper as the mainstay of General Literature and Art, expect to do the same in the case of Antiquarian Literature? A like term of existence to the Roxburghe's, for our Society, in its present condition as to numbers, would leave few MSS within its range unprinted. Till all are in type, the Society's work will not be done. The Committee again repeat, that what Germany has done, England can do, and is bound to do,—put all its old Literature into print. France may then follow the joint example, and give us the much-needed originals, now inaccessible or unknown to us, of many of our early works.

A few points remain to be mentioned: 1. The necessity for prompt payment of subscriptions. The Committee urge on all Members who have a banker that they should sign the order on him, printed for the purpose, which will be sent to them on application, and that all other Members should pay their subscriptions as early in the year as they possibly can. The Committee feel sure that if those Members who have given the Honorary Secretary the trouble of applying to them a second time for their subscriptions, will consider that in addition to the enormous burden of the correspondence of the Society, Mr. Wheatley also bears part of the weight of editing its Texts, they will not again add, by forgetfulness or neglect, to the load he so generously supports for the Society's benefit. The whole Society is under deep obligation to its Honorary Secretary for his generous efforts on its behalf.

2. The Committee have had to consider, during the past year, whether they would insist on the Side-Notes to the

Society's Texts in all cases where they were possible. Considering the great convenience of the side-notes, the help they are to men with little time for reading a Text, or wanting to find a passage quickly, and to other men less conversant than some old students with the early stages of our language, the Committee decided that the putting of side-notes should be the rule for the Society's texts, though with exceptions in the case of double-columned books, &c., &c. That side-notes increase the chances of error, the Committee are painfully aware; but the balance of advantage is largely on their side.

3. The ribbed paper of the large-paper copies of the Extra Series turned out to be more transparent than the Committee had expected. To lessen this the present and future Texts will be printed on it dry, by hand-press; and the next lot manufactured will be made opaque.

4. A few complaints have been received of delay in the receipt of the Society's texts: all have not reached Members in the same neighbourhood on the same day, &c. Mr. Trübner has promised to do what he can to remedy this: but the sending out of a batch of the Society's Texts is no slight matter now; different Members choose different channels of transmission; and economy has to be studied. The profit that the Society can allow its publisher is very little, and the trouble of its issues is considerable when they take place; but what he can do to prevent occasional disappointments to some Members, the Publisher assures the Committee that he will do. Mr. Trübner's services to the Society have been great, and the Committee gladly acknowledge them.

In conclusion, the Committee again call on every Member to do his best to increase the subscription-lists of both the Original and Extra Series.

Further subscriptions are also required for the *Reprinting Fund*. The Texts for 1865 cannot go to press until at least one hundred new names have been received.

The Subscription to the Society is £1 1s. a year [and £1 1s. (Large Paper £2 2s.) additional for the EXTRA SERIES], due in advance on the 1st of JANUARY, and should be paid either to the Society's Account at the Union Bank of London, 14, Argyll Place, Regent Street, W., or by post-office order (made payable to the Chief Office, London) to the Hon. Secretary, HENRY B. WHEATLEY, Esq., 53, Berners Street, London, W.

List of Texts for Publication in future years :

I. ARTHUR AND OTHER ROMANCES.

- The Alliterative Romance of the Destruction of Troy, translated from Guido de Colonna. To be edited from the unique MS. in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, by the Rev. G. A. Panton, and D. Donaldson, Esq. [In 1869 or 1870.]
- The Romance of Arthour and Merlin. Re-edited* from the Auchinleck MS. (ab. 1320-30 A.D.), and the Lincoln's Inn and Douce MSS.
- The History of the Saint Graal or Sank Ryal. By Henry Lonelich Skynner (ab. 1440 A.D.). To be re-edited from the unique MS. in the Library of Corpus Christi Coll., Cambridge, by F. J. Furnivall, Esq., M.A.
- Le Morte Arthur, re-edited from the Harl. MS. 2252, by F. J. Furnivall, Esq., M.A.
- The Arthur Ballads.
- The Romance of Sir Tristrem. To be re-edited from the Auchinleck MS.
- The Romance of Sir Giverides in Ballad Metre, from the unique MS. in Trin. Coll. Library, Cambridge. To be edited by W. Aldis Wright, Esq., M.A.
- The English Charlemagne Romances, re-edited from the Auchinleck MS., Lansd. 381, etc.
- Sir Ferumbras, a Charlemagne Romance in Southern verse (ab. 1377 A.D.): from MS. Ashmole 33. [Part copied.]
- The English Alexander Romances.
- The Early English Version of the Gesta Romanorum. To be re-edited from the MSS. in the British Museum and other Libraries.

II. DIALECTAL WORKS AND DICTIONARIES.

- The Gospel of Nicodemus in the Northumbrian dialect. To be edited for the first time from Harl. MS. 4196, Cotton-Galba, E. ix. etc., by R. Morris, Esq. [Part copied.]
- Lives of Saints, in the Southern dialect. To be edited from the Harleian MS. 2277 (ab. 1305 A.D.), the Vernon MS., etc., by R. Morris, Esq.
- Barbour's Lives of Saints (in the Northern dialect). From the MS. in the Cambridge University Library.
- Audelay's Works in the Shropshire Dialect. To be edited from the Douce MS. 302, by Richard Morris, Esq. [Part copied.]

A Series of Early-English Dictionaries.

- Catholicon Anglicum. An English-Latin Dictionary (A.D. 1480). To be edited from Lord Monson's MS. by H. B. Wheatley, Esq. [Copied.]
- A little Dictionary for Children (W. de Worde), or a shorte Dictionarie for yonge beginners (1554), by J. Withals. (The earliest edition, to be collated with the succeeding editions.) To be edited by Joseph Payne, Esq.
- Abcedarium Anglico-latinum, pro Tyrunculis, Richardo Hulceto exscriptore. Londini, 1552. To be edited by Danby P. Fry, Esq.
- An Alvearie, or Quadruple Dictionarie in Englishe, Latin, Greeke, and French, by John Baret. (The edition of 1580 collated with that of 1573.)
- Also, *Latin-English*,—Horman's *Vulgaria*, 1519, 1530.

III. MISCELLANEOUS.

- The third Version of Langland's *Vision of Piers Plowman*, Text C, with a volume of Notes, Glossary, etc. To be edited from the MSS. by the Rev. W. W. Skeat, M.A. [Preparing.]
- Chaucer. The Household Accounts of Elizabeth, wife of Prince Lionel, in which Chaucer is mentioned; with the other Documents relating to the Poet. To be edited by E. A. Bond, Esq., Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum.
- An early verse Translation of Boccaccio's *De Claris Mulieribus*, to be edited from the Additional MS. 10,304, by W. Michael Rossetti, Esq., and Mr. Edmund Brock.
- Mayster Jon Gardener, and other early pieces on Herbs, etc. To be edited from the MSS. by Oswald Cockayne, Esq., M.A. [Copied.]

* The re-editions may, and probably will, be transferred to the *Extra Series*, as the getting out of the different works must depend on the power and convenience of the Editors who devote their time and energies to the Society's service, and on the relative amounts subscribed to the Original and *Extra Series*. The income of each Series should be raised to a thousand a year. The present lists contain probably £20,000 worth of work. Another £40,000 to that would perhaps finish the Society's task; and with a will the work may be done by the present generation. We have now fair hold of it, and should resolve not to loosen our hold till all the work is down.—*Report, January, 1868.*

- Early English Treatises on Music—Descant, the Gamme, etc.—from MSS. in London and Oxford. [*Part copied.*]
- Carols and Songs, Religious and Secular, chiefly from inedited MSS. To be edited by F. J. Furnivall, Esq., M.A. [*Copied.*]
- Early English Poems from the Vernon MS. To be edited by F. J. Furnivall, Esq., M.A. [*Part copied.*]
- Palladius on Husbandrie; the earliest English Poem on Husbandry. To be edited from the unique MS. in Colchester Castle (ab. 1425 A.D.) by the Rev. Barton Lodge, A.M. Part I. [*In the Press.*]
- Sir David Lyndesay's Works, Part V. To be edited by F. Hall, Esq., D.C.L.
- The Rewle of the Moon, and other Poems illustrating Superstitions. To be edited from MSS. by F. J. Furnivall, Esq., M.A. [*Part copied.*]
- Vegecius of Knyghthod and Chyualrie, from MSS. in the Bodleian and British Museum. To be edited by Danby P. Fry, Esq. [*Copied.*]
- The Siege of Rouen. From Harl. MS. 2256, Egerton MS. 1995, Harl. 753, Bodl. 3562 (E. Musæo 124), etc.
- Lydgate's Tragedies of Bochas, or Falles of Princes. From the fine Harleian MS. 1766.
- Lydgate and Burgh's Secreta Secretorum. From the Sloane MS. 2464.
- The Story of Two Merchants, from the Cambridge Univ. MS. Hh. iv. 12 (ab. 1450, A.D.), with a tale from the Porkington MS., No. 10.
- Lydgate's Translation of Boethius, A.D. 1410; Siege of Thebes, 1448-50, and other Poems.
- Hugh Campden's Sidracke. From MS. Laud, c. 57; Harl. 4294, etc.
- Oceleve's Unprinted Works.
- Oceleve's De Regimine Principum, re-edited from Harl. 4866, Arundel MS. 38, &c.
- Le Venery de Twety and of Mayster John Giffarde, and the Mayster of Game. From MSS. Cot. Vesp. B xii., Harl. 5806, etc. To be edited by Alfred Sadler, Esq.
- An Old English Bestiary of ab. 1250 A.D. To be edited from an Arundel MS. by R. Morris, Esq. [*Copied.*]
- Cato, Great and Little, with Proverbs, etc., from the Vernon and other MSS. To be edited by Mr. Edmund Broek. [*Copied.*]
- Gawain Douglas's Æneis and other Works.
- Barbour's Troy-Book. The Fragments in the MSS. of the Cambridge University Library, and the Douce Collection.
- The Siege of Jerusalem, two Texts: 1. from a Cambridge Univ. MS., Cot. Calig. A. ii., etc.; 2. from an Oxford Univ. MS., and Calig. A. ii. To be edited by the Rev. J. R. Lumby, M.A.
- The Nightingale, and other Poems, from MS. Cot. Calig. A. ii. Addit. MS. 10,036, etc.
- Early Lawes and Ordinances of Warre. To be edited by the Rev. T. F. Simmons.
- George Ashby's Active Policy of a Prince, from MS. Mm. iv. 42, in Camb. Univ. Library.
- Peter Idle's Poems, from the MS. Ee. iv. 37, in Camb. Univ. Library.
- Adam Davie's Poems, from MS. Laud. i. 74, and Hale's MS. 150. To be edited by Rev. J. R. Lumby, M.A.
- A Collection of Early Tracts on Grammar. To be edited (chiefly from MSS. for the first time) by H. B. Wheatley, Esq. [*Part copied.*]
- Municipal Records of England. To be edited from MSS. by Toulmin Smith, Esq.
- Some of Francis Thynne's Works. To be edited from the MSS. by G. H. Kingsley, Esq., M.D.
- Skelton's Translation of Diodorus Siculus, oute of freshe Latin, that is, of Poggius Florentinus, containing six books. To be edited for the first time from the unique MS. in the Library of Corpus Christi Coll., Cambridge.

IV. BIBLICAL AND RELIGIOUS.

- The Life of St. Julianna, in Early English: two Versions from MSS. To be edited by the Rev. J. Oswald Cockayne, M.A. [*In the Press.*]
- The Rewle of Saint Benet, in Anglo-Saxon, Semi-Saxon, and Early English, also in Northern verse of the 15th century, and prose of the 15th and 16th. Five texts. To be edited from early MSS. and Cotton MS. Vesp. A. xxv. by R. Morris, Esq. [*In the Press.*]
- Dan Jeremy's Lay-Folk's Mass-Book, and other Poems on the Mass. To be edited from the 17 B xvii. Royal MS., by the Rev. T. F. Simmons. [*Copied.*]
- Life of St. Katherine, and other early pieces before 1250 A.D. To be edited from the MSS. (with a translation) by the Rev. Oswald Cockayne, M.A. [*Copied.*]

- Early English Homilies ab. 1220-30 A.D. To be edited from the unique MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, by Richard Morris, Esq. [Copied.]
- Cursus Mundi, or Cursus o Worlde, in the Northern Dialect. To be edited from the MSS. in the British Museum and Trinity College, Cambridge, by Richard Morris, Esq. [Copied.]
- The Psalms called Schorham's. To be edited from the unique MS. (ab. 1340 A.D.) in the British Museum, by R. Morris, Esq. [Copied.]
- Robert of Brunne's Handlyng Synne; a treatise on the sins, and sketches of the manners of English men and women in A.D. 1303. To be re-edited from the MSS. in the British Museum and Bodleian Libraries, etc., by F. J. Furnivall, Esq., M.A.
- The Harrowing of Hell. To be edited from MSS. in the Bodleian Library, etc., by R. F. Weymouth, Esq., M.A. [Copied.]
- Hampole's Translation of, and Commentary on, the Psalms, from the Northern MS. No. 10 in Eton College Library, etc. To be edited by R. Morris, Esq. [Part copied.]
- Hampole's remaining Works. Myrc's Liber Festivalis.
- Be Clowde of Unknowyng, from MS. Harl. 2373, Bibl. Reg. 17 C xxvi., Harl. 959, etc.
- A Lanterne of Li3t, from Harl. MS. 2324.
- Early English Directions for the Confessional, from Sloane and other MSS.
- The Old and New Testament in Verse. To be edited from the Vernon MS. by R. Morris, Esq. [Copied.]
- The Stories of Lazarus, Susanna and the Elders, etc. From the Vernon MS. To be edited by J. W. Hales, Esq., M.A. [Copied.]
- The History of Adam and Eve. From the Vernon MS., Harl. 1704, etc. Edited by S. W. Kershaw, Esq. [Copied.]
- Amon and Mardocheus, or Haman and Mordecai. From the Vernon MS.
- Trevisa's Translation of Fitzralf's Sermon. From MS. Harl. 1900.
- Medytacions of the Soper of our Lorde Ihesu, etc., perhaps by Robert of Brunne. To be edited from the Harl. MS. 1701 (ab. 1360 A.D.), etc., by F. J. Furnivall, Esq.
- Guillaume de Deguilleville's Pilgrimage of the Sowle, translated. From MS. Cott. Vitel. c xiii.
- Lydgate's Life of St. Edmund. From the presentation MS. to Henry VI. Harl. 2278.
- William of Nassyngton's Treatise on Sins, etc.
- John de Taysteke's Poem on the Decalogue, 1357 A.D. From MS. Harl. 1022.

EXTRA SERIES (OF RE-EDITIONS).

- Syr Thomas Maleore's Kynge Arthur, from Caxton's edition of 1485.
- Harrison's Description of England. Parts II. and III. From Holinshed's Chronicle. To be edited by Edward Viles, Esq.
- Harman's Caueat or Warening for Commen Cursitors, vylgarely called Vagabones. To be edited by Edward Viles, Esq.
- Henry Fielding's Fytene Ioyes of Mariage. W. de Worde, 1509.
- Blind Harry's Wallace, from the MS.
- The Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundeville, Knight, written A.D. 1356; from the Cotton MS. Titus C xvi., etc. To be edited by Richard Morris, Esq.
- Trevisa's Translation of Bartholomew Glanville de Proprietatibus Rerum. To be edited by E. B. Peacock, Esq., from Addit. MS. 27,944, etc.
- Froissart's Chronicles, translated out of Frenche into our maternal Englyshe Tonge, by Johan Bouchier, Knight, Lord Berners. To be edited by Henry B. Wheatley, Esq. (if not reprinted in *English Reprints*).
- Lord Berners's Translation of Thystory of Arthur of Lytle Brytayne.
- Ancient Mysteries, from the Digby MS.
- The Wyse Chylde of Thre Yere Olde (W. de Worde); with the Civilitie of Childhode, translated by T. Paynell, 1560, Jn. Holt's Lac Puerorum, and other early Treatises on Education. To be edited by F. J. Furnivall, Esq., M.A.
- John Hart's Orthographie, 1569, and Methode to read English, 1570.
- Bullockar's Booke at large for the Amendment of Orthography, 1580, 1586.
- Mulcaster's Positions, 1561, and Elementarie, 1582.
- W. Bullockar's Orthographie, 1580, and Bref Grammar, 1586.
- Brinsley's Ludus Literarius, or the Grammar Schoole, 1627.
- Sir Thomas Elyot's Governor, and other works.
- Juliana Berners' Bokys of Hawkyng and Huntynge, and also of Cootarmuris, 1486, with the Treatyse of Fysshynge with an Angle, 1496.
- Caxton's Curial made by Mayster Alain Charretier (1484-5).
- Book of Good Maners, 1487.

Caxton's Fayt of Armes and of Chyualrye, from Christine of Pisa (1489).
 The Forme of Cury. Coryat's Crambe, 1611. Coryat's Crudities, 1611.
 Andrew Boorde's Compendyous Regyment, or a Dyetary of Helth (ab. 1542).
 Andrew Borde's Introduction of Knowledge.
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No. 31. Myre's Parish Priest				48 15 0
3000 copies of Report, Prospectuses, &c.				28 7 0
<u>77</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>		
Ditto (Childs)				324 8 5
No. 32. Babees Book				27 8 2
35. Lyndesay's Meldrum				351 16 7
Ditto (Clarendon Press)				119 19 6
No. 33. Knight de la Four Landry				125 3 0
23. 34. Early English Homilies £175 3 0				245 2 6
Less paid on account of <i>Gilds</i> 50 0 0				30 17 0
Messrs. Trübner, commission for Packing, Delivery, &c.				82 4 3
Copying, purchase of books, &c.				9 17 5
Petty Expenses, Postages, Stationery, &c.				4 10
Banker's Commission on Country Drafts				...
EXTRA SERIES:				
Printing Account (Childs)	£124	6	6	
I. William of Palerne	70	0	0	
Less paid on Account, 1867				64 6 6
III. Caxton's Boke of Curtesy				28 1 10
Paid on Account of Printing				120 0 0
Copying, Purchase of Books, &c.				45 12 7
Petty Expenses, Postages, &c.				1 0 0
<u>259</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>11</u>		
Balance at Bankers				£ 3 14 8
Extra Series				65 7 1
Reprinting Fund				91 19 0
<u>161</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>9</u>		
<u>£1229</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>		

We have examined this Account with the Books and Vouchers, and certify that it is correct.

WM. CUNNINGHAM GLEN, } AUDITORS.
REGINALD HANSON, M.A., }

HENRY B. WHEATLEY, Hon. Sec.

Captain Cox, his Ballads and Books;

OR,

Robert Laneham's Letter,

A.D. 1575.



Captain Cox,

his Ballads and Books;

OR,

Robert Laneham's Letter:

Wherein part of the entertainment unto the Queen's Majesty at Killingworth Castl, in Warwick Sheer in this Soomery Progress .1575. is signified; from a freend officer attendant in the Court, unto his freend, a Citizen and Merchaut of London.

RE-EDITED, WITH

FOREWORDS DESCRIBING ALL THE ACCESSIBLE BOOKS,
TALES, AND BALLADS, IN CAPTAIN COX'S LIST

AND THE

Complaynt of Scotland,

1548-9 A.D.,

BY FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL, M.A. CAMBR.

LONDON:

Printed for the Ballad Society,

BY TAYLOR AND CO., 10, LITTLE QUEEN STREET, W.C.

1871.

No. 7.

PRINTED BY TAYLOR AND CO.,
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CORRECTIONS.

- P. xii, line 26, *after* Cox's *add* list.
- P. xviii, line 12, 13, *for* T. V. 3 Cr. (a compositor's misreading)
read Tamestrete, Vintre, thre Craned.
- P. lxxviii, *between* lines 9 and 10 *should have been a heading*
"II. CAPTAIN COX'S BOOKS OF PHILOSOPHY AND
POETRY."
- P. 24, *notes*, l. 4, *for* raine *read* traine.

FOREWORDS.

WHEN turning from the England of 1303, from Arthurian Legends and the Holy Grail, from Poems on the Virgin and Christ, to the later Ballads of the Percy Folio, I was faced at every turn by CAPTAIN COX. 'This was in Captain Cox's Library; this wasn't in Captain Cox's list; Captain Cox didn't mention the other:' nothing could be settled without reference to Captain Cox. Either having forgotten this famous man, or never having heard of him before, when I evidently ought to have known his name as well as Shakspeare's, I felt extremely humbled at my ignorance; I at once looked him out in the British Museum Catalogue, and several Biographical Dictionaries, but could find nothing about him. At last I was obliged to submit to the further humiliation of asking (with many apologies) a ballad-loving friend, who this Captain Cox was. My friend referred me to *Lanham's Letter*; and there the great Captain stood revealed to me. The foremost figure in English Story-book and Ballad history the valiant Coventry mason is; and in so bright a picture of merry outofdoor Elizabethan life is he set in *Lanham's Letter*, that on starting the Ballad Society, I resolved to re-edit the Letter, with Captain Cox's name at the head of it, in order, if possible, to bring him into more prominence.

Though we must admit that the Captain was not the first person in Lanham's mind when he wrote his letter, still, it is for the lists of Captain Cox's story-books and ballads that reference has, in our days, been most frequently made to the tract. Walter Scott's 'Kenilworth' revived interest in it for the last generation, and led to its reprint then; Mr. George Adler's 'Amyc Robsart and the Earl of Leicester' has led to its reprint now, since my own was in type. The Rev. E. H. Knowles of Abbey Hill, Kenilworth, has just ready a fresh edition of it, with fine photographs of the ruins of the Castle, etc. Still, the merit of the Letter is great enough to justify its reproduction by any number of

people or societies, each from his or its own point of view, and with comments accordingly.

The Letter is written by one London mercer, Robert Laneham, to another, Master Humfrey Martin, and describes the visit of Queen Elizabeth to her favourite, and Laneham's patron, the Earl of Leicester, at Kenilworth Castle for nineteen days, from Saturday the 9th to Wednesday the 27th of July, 1575. The castle itself, its grounds and appointments, the pageants presented before the Queen, as well as an ancient minstrel with a solemn song, prepared for her, but not shown to her (pp. 36-42), are all described by Laneham with great gusto; but he has unluckily left out the last week of the fun, as he took such slender notes of what went on (p. 43).

Laneham is a most amusing, self-satisfied, rollicking chap. He tells us his history; that he went to school both at St. Paul's (Colet's school) and St. Anthony's (where Whitgift was), was in the fifth form, got through Æsop's Fables, read Terence, and began Virgil, then served Master Bomsted a Mercer in London, then traded in sundry countries—among others, 'in Frauns and Flaunders long and many a day' (p. 1)—and so gat languages, which helpt his Latin (p. 61). Leicester took him up,—for his ready tongue and merry ways, no doubt, as well as his knowledge of 'Langagez,'—gave him apparel, even from his own back, got him allowance in the stable, got him made Doorkeeper of the Council Chamber, helpt him in his license to import beans duty free, and let his father 'serve the stable,'—that is, as I suppose, supply it with grain and fodder—so that our worthy says "I go noow in my sylks, that els might ruffl in my cut canves [or poor men's clothes]: I ryde now a hors bak, that els many tizez mighte mannage it a foot: am knoen to their honors, & taken foorth with the best, that els might be bidden to stand bak my self" (p. 57).

Laneham tells us besides how he spent his days at Kenilworth; and in this account, pages 58-61, the full character of the man comes out in a most amusing way. The reader should turn at once to the passages, and enjoy them: the "jolly & dry a mornings," the being "by & by in the bones of" any listener, or prier, the seating his friends, but "let the rest walk, a Gods name"; his airing his languages before the foreigners, being, "in afternoons & a nights . . . alwayez among the Gentlwemen,"

showing off before company, dancing, playing, singing, making eyes and sighs at Mistress —, whose name he won't tell, being able to "gracify the matters az well az the prowdest of them," give us the very man. "Stories I delight in," says he (p. 61); Music he loves: "take ye this by the way, that for the smal skyl in muzik that God hath sent me, (ye kno it iz sumwhat) ile set the more by my self while my name iz Laneham; and grace a God! A! muzik is a noble Art!" (p. 35). His patron Leicester was perfection in his eyes (pp. 56-8), and Kenilworth nearly Paradise (p. 48-53). He enjoyed the beautiful country round him (p. 2-3), revelled in all the show and bustle about him, delighted in the conceits of the pageants, rejoiced in the stag-hunts (p. 13, 16), thought the bear-baiting fine sport (p. 16-18), threw himself into the rough fun of the country bride-ale and Coventry play (p. 20, 26), quizzed the performers (p. 22-4), took off the old minstrel (p. 40), drank lots of good ale and wine (p. 8, 45), eat to his fill (p. 59); and in the best of spirits with everything about him, and especially with himself, the excellent Robert Laneham, gent., wrote this *Letter* about the whole affair to his friend Master Martin, one of the jovial set they both belonged to in London.

No doubt if there'd been a Superfine Review in his day, it would have called him a coxcomb, reproved him for his vulgarity, and perchance written an article on his "females," as its present representative has on our workingmen's wives and daughters in their holiday-excursions. For my part, I am content to take Robert Laneham and enjoy him as he is; and I only wish that twenty others like him had left us such genuine pictures of the country life and sports of Elizabeth's time. As for his writing so much about himself, I only wish my contemporaries would follow his example, and believe that posterity will enjoy what they write, as much as we do like bits in the writings of our predecessors. Let men *be themselves* in their writings, and let critics, and ~~the~~ "unsuited-to-the-dignity-of-print," etcetera, be blown!

But where is CAPTAIN COX all this while? Well, we're coming to him soon.

In order to make room for him, I have put an abstract of the amusements of each day of the Queen's visit in the *Contents*, above. She arrived at Kenilworth Castle on Saturday the 9th of July 1575. On her first Sunday, the forenoon was spent in "divine

seruis & preaching at the parish church," while in the afternoon—the place not being a People's Park, and there being no Mr. Ayrton to stop the bands playing dance-music, for fear her Majesty's scruples should be offended—"excellent music of sundry sweet instruments" was played, and "dancing of Lords and Ladies, and oother worshipfull degrees" went on. The second Sunday, July 17, 1575, was St. Kenelm's day,—the saint and king who built¹ part of the Castle, and after whom it was called;—and advantage was taken of this anniversary to show the Queen some of the characteristic sports of the country, including especially the old historical Hock-Tuesday play of the men of Coventry—a town so famous for its Mysteries—commemorating the masacre of the Danes on Nov. 13, 1002, or June 8, 1042. In this latter, CAPTAIN COX appears. I therefore refer the reader to pages 20–26 of Laneham's tract, for a description of the acting of the Bride-ale—with our author's quizzical description of the performers, bridegroom, morris-dance, bridesmaids, cupbearer, bride, running at the Quintain, and general shindy following,—and proceed to reprint here the account of Captain Cox, giving a separate half-line and number to each of his tracts, etc.; then, with the help of Mr. Halliwell, Mr. Hazlitt,² Mr. Wm. Chappell, etc., I shall comment on the Captain's list of Story-Books and Ballads, describing each, so far as I can, in order to give my readers a view of the literature on which the reading members of the English middle-class in Elizabeth's time were brought up; and lastly, I shall contrast Captain Cox's with that of the books, ballads, and tunes known in Scotland in 1548 to the writer of the *Complaynt of Scotland*, adding also a few comments on this latter list, by the help of Leyden, etc. Here then is CAPTAIN COX:—

Captain Cox. But aware, kéep bak, make room noow, heer they cum! And fyrst, captin Cox, an od man I promiz yoo: by profession a Mason, and that right skilfull, very eunning in fens, and hardy az Gawin; for hiz tonsword hangs at his tablz éend: great ouersight hath he in matters of storie: For, az for

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| I. King Arthurz book. | VI. The knight of courtesy,
and the Lady Faguell. |
| II. Huon of Burdeaus. | VII. Frederik of Gene. |
| III. The foursuns of Aymon. | VIII. Syr Eglamour. |
| IV. Beuys of Hampton. | IX. Sir Tryamour. |
| V. The squyre of lo degré. | |

¹ That is, is said to have built.

² The information as to old editions is nearly all taken from Mr. Hazlitt's *Handbook*.

- X. Sir Lamwell.
- XI. Syr Isenbras.
- XII. Syr Gawyn.
- XIII. Olyuer of the Castl.
- XIV. Lucres and Eurialus.
- XV. Virgils life.
- XVI. The castle of Ladiez.
- XVII. The wido Edyth.
- XVIII. The King & the Tanner.
- XIX. Frier Rous.
- XX. Howleglas.
- XXI. Gargantua.
- XXII. Robinhood.
- XXIII. Adambel, Clim of the

- clough, & William of cloudesley.
- XXIV. The Churl & the Burd.
- XXV. The seauen wise Masters.
- XXVI. The wife lapt in a Morels skin.
- XXVII. The sak full of nucz.
- XXVIII. The seargeaunt that became a Fryar.
- XXIX. Skogan.
- XXX. Collyn cloout.
- XXXI. The Fryar & the boy.
- XXXII. Elynor Rummung.
- XXXIII. The Nutbrooun maid.

With many moe then I rehearz héere: I beléueo hee hauo them all at hiz fingers endz.

Then, in Philosophy both morall and naturall, I think he be az naturally ouerseene: beside poetrie and Astronomic, and oother hid sciencez, as I may gesse by the omberty of hiz books: whear-of part az I remember,

- XXXIV. The Sheperdz kalender.
- XXXV. The Ship of Foolz.
- XXXVI. Danielz dreamz.
- XXXVII. The booke of Fortune.
- XXXVIII. 'Stans puer ad mensam.'
- XXXIX. The hy way to the Spittle-house.
- XL. Iulian of Brainford's testament.
- XLI. The castle of Loue.

- XLII. The booget of Demaunds.
- XLIII. The hundred Mery talez.
- XLIV. The book of Riddels.
- XLV. The Seauen sororz of wemen.
- XLVI. The proud wiues Pater noster.
- XLVII. The Chapman of a peniworth of Wit.

Beside hiz auncient playz,

- XLVIII. Yooth & charitee.
- XLIX. Hikskorner.

- L. Nugize.
- LI. Impacient pouerty.

And héerwith,

- LII. Doctor Boords breuiary of health.

What should I rehearz heer, what a bunch of ballets & songs, all auncient: Az

- LIII. Broom broom on hil.
- LIV. So wo iz me begon, trolly lo.
- LV. Ouer a whinny Meg.
- LVI. Hey ding a ding.

- LVII. Bony lass vpon a gréen.
- LVIII. My bony on gaue me a bek.
- LIX. By a bank az I lay.

and a hundred more, he hath, fair wrapt vp in Parchment, and bound with a whipcord.

And az for Allmanaks of antiquitée (a point for Ephemerides) I wéene hee can sheaw from (LX) Iasper Laet of Antwarp vnto (LXI) Nostradam of Frauns, and thens vnto our (LXII) John Securiz of Salisbury. To stay ye no longer héerin, I dare say hee hath az fair a library for théez sciencez, & az many goodly monuments both in proze & poetry, & at afternoonz can talk az much without book, az any Inholder betwixt Brainford and Bagshot, what degree soeuer he be.

Beside thiz, in the field a good Marshall at musters: of very great credite & trust in the toun héer, for he haz béen chozen Alecuerner many a yéere,

when hiz betterz haue stond by: & euer quited himself with such estimation, az yet too the tast of a cup of Nippitate, his iudgment will be taken aboute the best in the parish, be hiz noze near so read.

Captain Cox cam marching on valiantly before, cléen trust, & gartered aboute the knée, all fresh in a veluet cap (master Golding *had* lent it him) floorishing with hiz tonsword, and anothers fensmaster with him: thus in the forward making room for the rest.

Of this happy custom of giving lists of the story-books known to the writer of a later book, we have plenty of early instances in English. The *Cursur o Worlde*, or *Cursor Mundi*, many Romances, Robert of Brunne, Chaucer, Lydgate, and others, practised it before Laneham. The latest list before Laneham that I have seen, is given by Mr. J. P. Collier—with what accuracy I am unable to judge—in his *Bibliographical Account*, i. 327, from ‘A Briefe and necessary Instruction etc., by E. D., Svo, 1572: (I italicize the books that are also in Captain Cox’s list:)

Bevis of Hampton, Guy of Warwicke, *Arthur of the round table*, *Huon of Bordeaux*, *Oliver of the Castle*, *the foure sonnes of Amound*, *the wittles devices of Gargantua*, *Howleglas*, Esop, *Robyn Hoode*, *Adam Bell*, *Frier Rushe*, the *Fooles of Gotham*, and a thousand such other.

Among the ‘such other’ are mentioned ‘tales of Robyn Goodfellow,’ ‘Songes and Sonets,’ ‘Pallaces of Pleasure,’ ‘unchast fables and Tragedies, and such like Sorceries,’ ‘The Courte of Venus,’ ‘*The Castle of Love*.’

In passing, we may note the extraordinary omission by Laneham of ‘Guy of Warwick’ in Capt. Cox’s list, as it is incredible that a Warwickshire collector like the Captain should not have had it. The fact lends colour to the supposition that the list is as much one of Laneham’s own books as Capt. Cox’s.

The next list to Laneham’s that I know, is given in a book, the first edition of which is dated 1579. In the 2nd edition of this in 1586, *The English Courtier and the Cuntrey-gentleman*, Vincent, the country-gentleman, says how they amuse themselves ‘in fowle weather’ at dice, cards, and games, and

“Wee want not also pleasant mad-headed knaues *that* bee properly learned, and will reade in diuerse pleasant bookes and good Authors: as Sir Guy of Warwicke, the *foure Sonnes of Anon*, *the Ship of Fooles*, *the Budget of Demaunds*, *the Hundreth merry Tales*, *the Booke of Ryddles*, and many other excellent writers both witty and pleasaunt.” p. 57, ed. 1868, *Roxburghe Library*.

If we turn now to the list of the Scotch writer of the *Complaynt of Scotland*, about 1548 A.D., we at once find a great change. Only two of Captain Cox’s stories are in the Scotch list, namely ‘The Four Sons of Aymon,’ and ‘Bevis of Hampton,’ though the *Complaynt* matches Captain Cox’s I, Arthurz book, and XII, Sir

Gawyn, by its (23) Arthur story or tale in rime, (19) Gauen and Gollogras, (16) Syr Euan (Ywain) and (20) Lancelot du Lac; and Captain Cox's XXII, Robin Hood, by its (29) Robene Hude and Litol Ihone, and its dance-tune of (91) Robene Hude. Still, of the Scotchman's 46 stories, at least twelve are known to us as English ones, as will be noted below. Another marked difference between the lists of the two countries is, the very great number of classical or semi-classical stories in the Scotch list, ten,—(11) Hercules and the Hydra, (37) Actæon, (38) Pyramus and Thisbe, (39) Leander and Hero, (40) Jupiter and Io, (41) Jason and the Golden Fleece, (43) The Golden Apple, (44) The 3 Weird Sisters [*Parcæ* or Fates], (45) Dædalus and the Minotaur, (46) Midas and his ass-ears,—as against Captain Cox's none, for we can hardly call the middle-age necromancer of XV, Virgil's Life, classical, though he may have originated in the poet Virgil. This contrast means, I take it, not that Scotch shepherds or merchants knew more classics, or cared more for them, than our Coventry mason, or Robert Laneham, but that the writer of the *Complaynt* was a far more 'bookish' man—he's brimfull of classics—than Laneham, our London mercer.

Let us now take Captain Cox's (or Laneham's) books separately, and describe shortly such of them as are accessible in the British Museum, etc.

I. *King Arthurz book*. This is Sir Thomas Maleore's or Malory's well-known *Morte Darthur*, or abstract of the several prose French Romances of *Merlin*,—in its two states, shown by Mr. Henry Huth's unique version¹ containing the book of Balin and Balan, and by the ordinary version, of which Mr. H. B. Wheatley has edited an early English prose translation for the Early English Text Society from the unique MS. in the Cambridge University Library, ab. 1440 A.D.—*Les Prophecies de Merlin, Lancelot del Lac, Tristan, Queste del Saint-Graal, Morte d'Arthur*, etc. Sir T. Malcore finished his work in the 9th year of king Edward the Fourth, A.D. 1469, and Caxton printed the first edition of it in 1485. Wynkyn de Worde reprinted Caxton's edition, with a few variations,—on which see Sir Ed. Strachey's modernized and expurgated edition, for Macmillan's Globe Series in 1868, p. xvi.—in 1498, and again in 1529. Then Wyllyam Copland reprinted it again in 1557, at his predecessor Robert's old shop, at the sign of the Rose Garlande

¹ It is still in MS, though copied for printing.

in Fleet Street; and these are all the editions that we know before Laneham's date. So scarce have these early editions become, that we know of only 2 imperfect copies of the Caxton, (Lord Jersey's has no title; Lord Spencer's has 11 leaves in facsimile, not from Caxton's edition); one imperfect of each of the Wynkyn de Wordes (1498, Lord Spencer; 1529, Grenville collection in the British Museum). Of the Copland, Mr. Halliwell—seemingly quoting a copy of his own—says that it is entitled “The Hystorye of the moost noble and worthy prynce, Kyng Arthur,” while Mr. Hazlitt gives the first words of the title as “The Story of the most noble and worthy Kyng Arthur,” and says that copies are in the British Museum (King's books), and the Pepysian Library at Magdalen College, Cambridge (with no title page) and elsewhere; and that it's printed in double columnus with woodcuts.

I do not tell the stories in this book because all my readers must know them well, and must have judged how far Ascham was right in calling the book one ‘of bold bawdry,’ how far Wynkyn de Worde¹ in saying, “me thinketh this present book called *La Morte Darthur* is right necessary often to be read; for in it ye shall find the gracious, knightly, and virtuous war of most noble knights of the world, whereby they gat praising continual. Also me seemeth, by the oft reading thereof ye shall greatly desire to accustom yourself in following of those gracious knightly deeds, that is to say, to dread God, and to love righteousness, faithfully and courageously to serve your sovereign prince.”

Maleore's and Tennyson's conceptions of Arthur differ widely. Our Victorian poet makes him a sinless king,—a type of Christ,—whose work is marred by the guilt of his wife and his friends. Maleore, on the other hand, makes Arthur what a Norman knight, a Keltic chieftain, would certainly have been, a gratifier of his own lust: he sins, not only with Lionors,—he begat Borres on her (ed. 1816, p. 34, bk. i. ch. 15),—but with his own sister Margawse, King Lot's wife, and the son of his incest works his father's death. The prophecy of Merlin on Arthur's committing his crime is fulfilled²; and for his own sin the Flower of Kings withers and dies. The Fate is on him from his youth; and over all his glory hangs ever the dark cloud of unatoned-for sin.

¹ See Strachey's modernized ed. p. xiv., 488.

² “You have done a thing late, wherefore God is displeased with you; for you have lain by your sister; and on her you have gotten a child that shall destroy you and all the knights of your realm.” “What are you,” said king

II. *Huon of Burdeaus.* This is a translation, by the famous Sir Johan Bourcier, Lord Berners,—whose englishings of Froissart's Chronicle and the Romance of Arthur of Little Britain, are so well known—of 'a long, heavy French Romance,' says Mr. Halliwell (*Pop. Tracts*, p. 6); but that is matter of opinion, as Mr. Dunlop speaks of its "singularity and beauty,"—see also page xix—and Lord Berners wasn't a fool. The first edition is supposed to have been printed about 1535 by Robert Redborne, says Hazlitt's *Handbook*; by Pynson, say Mr. Corser and Messrs. Sotheby. The only copy known was Dr. Bliss's, afterwards Mr. Corser's, at whose sale in 1869, 'wanting title and 2 leaves at end, supposed to be printed by Pynson,' it fetched £81. An edition by Thomas Purfoot in 1601 says that it is 'now the third time imprinted.' The second edition is perhaps that mentioned by Mr. Halliwell at p. 6-7 of his *Popular Tracts*: "I have recently seen an imperfect copy of an ancient edition of this translation, printed in folio, in double columns, and illustrated with rude woodcuts, certainly printed before Shakespeare could have commenced writing for the stage, and in all probability not long after the year 1560." The translation was made by Lord Berners at the request of the Earl of Huntingdon, and extracts from it are given in Halliwell's "Illustrations of Fairy Mythology," Shakesp. Soc. 1845. "Shakespeare probably took the name of Oberon from this old romance."

The story of it is told in Dunlop's *History of Fiction*, ed. 1845, p. 123, col. 1; and 'the incidents in the *Oberon* of Wieland' (which Mr. Sotheby translated) 'are nearly the same with those in the old French romance.'

Charlemagne's son, Charlot, waylays Huon, and is slain by him. Huon can only get pardon by going to the Emir Gaudisse of Bagdad, and at table cutting off the head of the bashaw on his right, kissing his daughter 3 times, and bringing a lock of the Emir's white beard, and 4 of his best grinders, to Charlemagne. Huon sets out, goes to the Holy Sepulchre, and then the coast of the Red Sea, whence a naked old French escaped slave, Gerasmes, takes him through Oberon's forest, towards Bagdad. Oberon, a lovely child of 4 years old, and the son of Julius Cæsar (as he

Arthur, "that tell me these tidings?" "I am Merlin, and I was he in the king's likeness." "Ah!" said king Arthur, "ye are a marvellous man; but I marvel much of thy words, that I must die in battle." "Marvel not," said Merlin, "for it is God's will that your body be punished for your foul deeds." (Bk. i. ch. 18, ed. 1816, p. 39.)

says) gives Huon a magic goblet and horn, and afterwards rescues him, in Tourmont, from his traitorous renegade uncle. Huon then kills the giant Angoulaffre, reaches Bagdad, cuts off the head of the lover of Esclarmonde, the Emir's daughter, kisses her 3 times, and asks the Emir for a lock of his beard and his 4 grinders. The Emir has Huon chained and cast into prison; but Esclarmonde visits him, turns Christian, and offers to kill her father. But Huon is set free to conquer the brother of the giant Angoulaffre, which he does, and then asks the Emir to be baptized. The Emir orders Huon to be seized; but his magic horn summons Oberon; the Emir's head is struck off, and the lock of his beard and 4 grinders are soon Huon's. Huon then sails for Italy with treasure and Esclarmonde; but Oberon threatens him with dire punishments if he takes a husband's enjoyment out of Esclarmonde before he marries her. Of course Huon does this, and is shipwrecked; does it again, and has Esclarmonde carried away from him to King Yvoirin's seraglio. To that king's court, by the help of Malebron, one of Oberon's spirits, Huon gets, and there defeats Yvoirin's enemy Galafre. Afterwards, uniting with Gerasmes, who was then Galafre's champion, Huon frees Esclarmonde—still a virgin—sails to Italy, and weds her in Rome. He then sets out for Charlemagne's court, but is betrayed and sent there in chains by his brother Girart. Falsely accused, he is condemned and led to the stake; but Oberon rescues him, has Girart killed, and invites Huon and Esclarmonde to visit him in his fairy land. Here the original story ends. The continuation adds: Huon having cut off the head of the son of Thiery, emperor of Germany, is invaded by that potentate, in Guienne. He sails for Asia to get help from Esclarmonde's brother, and while he is absent, his wife is captured, and Gerasmes slain. On his voyage, Huon's ship is carried into a whirlpool, where he sees Judas Iscariot swimming and lamenting. The ship afterwards strikes on a rock of adamant, whereon the Lady of the Hidden Isle has built a glorious palace to hide her lover Julius Cæsar from the fury of three kings of Egypt. After a long stay here, Huon leaves on the back of a griffin, and is set down on a mountain where he finds the Fountain of Youth—wherein he bathes,—and its apple-tree, 3 of whose youth-giving apples he is let pluck. Then he is borne in a boat down a stream through a subterranean canal, where he gathers magic stones, to the Persian Gulf; and he

lands at Tauris. He wins the favour of the Sultan by the gift of one of his magic apples, and gets an army to free Esclarmonde. Landing at the desert isle of Abillaut, he sees Cain going round the top of a mountain in a cask full of serpents and spikes, and has a ride in the boat of the evil spirits who made the cask. Huon then visits Jerusalem, and makes war on the Sultan of Egypt; then lands at Marseilles, sends off his fleet, gives his 2nd youth-apple to his uncle, the Abbot of Clugny; and with the third gets back his wife from Emperor Thiery. Huon and Esclarmonde return to their own land of Guienne, and then visit Oberon in his enchanted forest, who installs Huon "in the empire of Faëry," and expires shortly after. The remainder of the romance, or rather fairy-tale, contains an account of the reign of Huon, and his dispute with Arthur (who had hoped for the appointment) as to the sovereignty of Fairy-land; and also the adventures of the Duchess Clairette, the daughter of Huon and Esclarmonde, from whom was descended the illustrious family of Capet.

"There are few romances of chivalry which possess more beauty and interest than Huon of Bourdeaux: the story, however, is too long protracted, and the first part seems to have exhausted the author's stores of imagination. Huon is a more interesting character than most of the knights of Charlemagne. . . . The subordinate characters in the work are also happily drawn. . . ."

So says Mr. Dunlop (*Hist. Fiction*, p. 129), who evidently knew more about the subject than Mr. Halliwell. The reader will find another sketch of the story in M. Alfred Delvau's *Bibliothèque Bleue*, Paris 1849, a book otherwise called *Collection des Romans de Chevalerie, mis en Prose française Moderne*, Paris, Bachelin-Deflorenne 1869, i. 145.¹

III. *The Four sons of Aymon.* This is a translation by Caxton about 1489, of one of the French Romances of the Charlemagne cycle.

Of Caxton's edition no perfect copy is known. The colophon of the 3rd edition by Wylliam Copland in 1554, now in Bridge-

¹ M. Delvau is one of the J. P. Collier class who seldom tell you where their originals are; though in this point Delvau sins more than Collier. One of the late originals in the British Museum, 'Les prouesses et faitz merueilleux du noble Huon de bordeaux, per de france, duc de guyenne,' printed at Paris by 'Michel le noir, Libraire jure en luniuersite de paris,' and finished the 26th day of November 1513, has very quaint and jolly woodcuts, and tells the bits of its story that I have read, in most pleasant language.

water House, is the only evidence we have of the existence of a second edition by Wynkyn de Worde in 1504:

Here finissheth the hystory of the noble and valiaunt Knyght, Reynawde of Mountawban, and his three brethren. Imprinted at London by Wynkyn de Worde, the viii. day of Maye, and y^e yere of our lorde MCCCC IIII. at the request and commaundement of the noble and puissant erle, the Erle of Oxenforde, and now Imprinted in the yere of our Lorde, M. ceccc liiii. the vi daye of Maye, by Wylliam Copland dwellyng in Fletestrete at the Signe of the Rose Garland for John Waley. *Bridgewater House.* Hazlitt (from Collier?).

The *Chansons de Geste* of the "Quatre Fils Aimon" consist of two parts, 1. that of the four Sons proper, called by the name of the chief of them "Renaud de Montauban," and which is the English romance; and 2. that of their magician-cousin "Maugis d'Aigremont." These chansons are bound up with that of Girart de Roussillon, who is the protector of his brothers, Duke Beuve of Aigremont, Eude, Odou or Doon of Nanteuil, and Aime or Aimon of Dordone or Dordon.

The oldest text of the *Chanson de Geste* of the *Quatre Fils d'Aimon* is, says M. Paulin Paris (*Hist. Lit. de la France*, xxii. 412), of the end of the 12th century, a recast of an older poem, and tells the following story, which I abridge from M. Paris's analysis of the MSS.

At his court in Paris, Charlemagne notices, that not only is the dispossessed Duke Doon of Nanteuil absent, but also Duke Beuve of Aigremont. This angers Charlemagne, and he declares he'll level Aigremont, castle and city, unless Beuve does homage at court. Aimon takes his brother's part, and Charlemagne sends, first, a messenger, and then his son Lohier, or Lothair, to order Beuve to appear. Beuve answers the insulting mandates by killing both messenger and Lothair, and many of their men. Charlemagne invades Beuve, and makes him beg for pardon. This is granted, but afterwards, with Charlemagne's sanction, Beuve is entrapped and slain.

Aimon then brings his Four Sons, Renaud, Alard, Richard, and Guichard, to the court of Charlemagne, who likes and knights them, and gives Renaud the magic horse Bayard. Bertholais, Charlemagne's nephew, insults Renaud at a game of chess, in return for which, Renaud smashes his skull with the chess-board. The Four Sons are attacked, but make a victorious retreat, though their father Aimon is obliged to disown them, and to swear that he'll give them up. The Sons retire to the forest of Ardennes; there

build a castle, and live hidden 7 years. Then Charlemagne finds them out, besieges and starves them out, and demands the youngest brother Guichard, for his own slain son Lothair. Renaud refuses this; the Four escape, and live in woods, half-starving, for 7 years; all Four Sons having to ride on Bayard, whom three of them at last propose to eat. Renaud refuses, and they go to their father's castle. So changed are they by their hard life, that their mother doesn't at first know them. Their father won't own them, and denounces them, though he orders them to be supplied with all they want. Accompanied by their magician cousin Maugis d'Aigremont, they set out for Spain, defeat a Saracen king for Yon, king of Gascony, build the castle of Montauban, and Renaud marries Yon's sister. Then Charlemagne demands of Yon the Four Sons, though in vain; and Roland—he of Ronceval, Charlemagne's nephew,—comes to his court. Roland, as his first exploit, defeats the Saxons who're besieging Cologne, and takes their chief, Escorfan. For this, Charlemagne wants to give him a worthy steed, even Bayard. To get the horse, and Renaud his owner, the Emperor adopts Naine's treacherous scheme of proclaiming a race with rich prizes. To the race accordingly come Bayard,—turned from brown to white by Maugis's art,—and Renaud, also made to look like a youth of 15. They win the prize, defy Charlemagne, and retire to Montalban. There, say the continuers of the story in the 15th century (*Paris*, p. 430), the Emperor besieges the Four Sons; Yon betrays them; Roland takes Montalban; Maugis gives up magic, and retires to a hermitage; and the Four Sons fly to Dordon. There, again besieged, they make peace, and give up Bayard. Renaud goes to Jerusalem, and he and Maugis rout the Pagan army. Then Renaud's wife dies; he sends his 2 boys to Charlemagne's court; and himself goes as a beggar to Cologne. There he asks for work at St. Peter's Church, and the other workmen, in their jealousy, throw him off the highest tower. As for Bayard, Charlemagne basely has him thrown off the bridge at Liege into the Meuse, with a stone round his neck, and his legs tied together. But the noble steed rises, frees himself, and gains the forest of Ardennes, where, in the 15th century, he still was.

The reader who cares for these things should read M. Paris's interesting comments on this story and the whole cycle, and must excuse me from referring to Caxton's version of it. M. Delvau's

account of it in modern French is in his *Collection des Romans de Chevalerie*, Paris, 1869, i. 97, or *Bibliothèque Bleue*, 1849. The late French prose romance, and the English translation of it, no doubt differ in details from the earlier *Chansons de Geste*.

IV. *Beuys of Hampton.* The earliest copy of this Romance, which is translated from a 'Frensche boke,' is in the Auchinleck MS. ab. 1320-30 A.D. and was printed by the Maitland Club in 1838. Other MSS. are in the University Library, Cambridge, and the Library of Caius College, Cambridge, etc. The first printed version that we know, is from the press of Pynson, without date, and the only copy known is among Douce's books in the Bodleian. Of the next print that we know, Wynkyn de Worde's, 'a fragment of two leaves is in the Bodleian among Douce's books.' Of the third print, William Coplande's, a copy is among Garrick's books in the British Museum. Editions were licensed to Thomas Marshe in 1558 (*Stationers' First Register*, leaf 31¹), to John Tysdayle in 1560-1 (*ib.* leaf 62 back), and to John Alde in 1568-9 (*ib.* leaf 179);—see Collier's *Stat. Reg.* i. 16, 38, 200;—but none of these editions are now known. If they were printed, the book must have been the most popular of those we have yet dealt with in Captain Cox's library. The story it tells is sketched by Ellis in his *Early English Metrical Romances*, from the Caius MS. and Pynson's copy. A king of Scotland's daughter has been given to old Sir Gij or Guy of South Hamtoun, and though he begets Bevis on her, he does not kiss and cuddle her all day as a younger lover would. She therefore sends to Sir Murdour to kill her husband and marry her; which, by her treachery, he does; and then she orders her 7-year old son, Bevis, to be murdered, and as that fails, to be sold as a slave and sent into heathendom. At the court of the Saracen Ermyn, he kills, when 15 years old, 60 knights, and then a monstrous boar, and 9 foresters. Being knighted, mounted on his steed Arundel, and armed with his sword Morglay, he leads Ermyn's small army against the large force of Bradmond, king of Damascus, who has demanded Ermyn's daughter, Josyan. He kills Bradmond's giant Radyson, unhorses and defeats Bradmond, and then induces Josyan to promise to deny her faith and marry him. For this he is sent treacherously to Bradmond, who casts him into a dungeon in Damascus with 2 dragons. These Bevis slays; and after 7 years' imprisonment his chain breaks by a miracle, and he escapes. Killing his foremost

¹ I have verified the references.

pursuer, and then his gigantic brother, Bevis goes to Jerusalem, and thence to Mounbraunt, from the king of which country, Inor, he carries off his love Josyan, who had married Inor, but had remained a virgin. After killing two lions, a giant, and a most terrible dragon, and rescuing Josyan from the people who are about to burn her for hanging Earl Mile who had carried her off, Bevis has Sir Murdour, his father's murderer, thrown into a boiling caldron, while his mother, Murdour's wife, casts herself headlong from a tower. Bevis then recovers his father's Earldom of Southampton, but soon has to give it up—because his horse Arundel has killed King Edgar's son, who wanted to steal it,—and goes abroad. Josyan and her two babies are carried off from him for 7 years, but at length rejoin him, and he defends his father-in-law king Ermyn against Inor. His son Guy is made king of Ermyn's land, and he (Bevis) kills Inor and all his army, and becomes king of Mounbraunt. Thence he returns to England to restore his cousin Robert to his estates. He encamps at Putney, slays the king's steward, and (with his sons) has a fierce long fight in London, in which 60,000 men are slain; their blood runs down to Temple-Bar, and turns the Thames red. The result of this is, that King Edgar marries his daughter to Bevis's son, Sir Mile, who is crowned King of England, while Bevis and Josyan return to Mounbraunt, where they and their steed Arundel all die together.

V. *The Squyre of Lo Degrée* (or "Undo your Dore"). A poem pretty enough to have justified many more editions than the only early ones that have reached us, namely two; 1. Wynkyn de Worde's, of which 4 leaves only are known; 2. Wyllyam Copland's, of which a unique copy is among Garrick's books in the British Museum. (The latter has been reprinted by Ritson in vol. iii. of his *Ancient Metrical Romances*, and by Mr. W. C. Hazlitt in his *Select Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, vol. ii. p. 21-64, 1866). 3. An edition, not now known, was licensed to John Kynge on June 10, 1560; and as two other of Captain Cox's books were licensed with it, I copy the entry from leaf 48 of the Stationers' First Register, (it's also in *Collier*, i. 26) putting in some stops:

Receyvd of John Kynge, for his Lycense for pryntinge of these Copyes:)
 Lucas vrialis¹, nyce wanton / impaciens poverte / The proude wyves }
 pater noster / The squyre of Low degre / and syr deggre: graunted } ijs.
 y^e x of June a^o 1560)

¹ Lucres and Euryalus. See below, p. xxxviii, No. XIV.

The story told in 1132 lines is one of the best and most popular of our early tales, and was no doubt known to Shakspeare: "You called me yesterday mountain-squire, but I will make you to-day a squire of low degree." Fluellin in *Henry V.*, act 5, sc. 1. The poor Squire and Marshal of the King of Hungary loves that king's daughter for 7 years in silence. At length his love finds voice, and he finds it is returned; but his Princess bids him go abroad for 7 years, and earn fame in fight, then visit the holy city Jerusalem, and come back to wed her. She gives him money and arms, and the Squire starts, but, returning to take leave of her, is caught at her door by the King's treacherous Steward with a band of men. The Squire kills 7 men and the Steward, but is taken, and put in prison by the King's orders. The Steward's corpse, dressed in the Squire's clothes, is set against the Princess's door, and his face so hacked, that she thinks the body is the Squire's. She embalms it, and for seven years daily mourns over it. Then, unkuown to her, the King frees the Squire, and sends him abroad to gain fame, and see the Holy Land, during 7 years more. This he does, his love still keeping his supposed corpse by her, and daily mourning over it. The King tempts her with all kinds of pleasure; but she, faithful ever, will have none of them. At last, when the Squire has, like Jacob for his Rachel, served twice 7 years, the King brings the living lover to his daughter; and the Squire of Low Degree is King, and with his Queen leads his life thenceforth in joy and bliss.

As bright as spring, and as tender as evening light, is the old story in its different parts; and besides, it is interesting for its many details of old-world life, its list of trees (l. 29-41), of birds (l. 45-60), of the parts of a knight's armour (l. 203-230), how he is to win renown, etc., and specially the King's description of the pleasures, dress, room and pursuits of his daughter (l. 711-852). There is a poor, much-shortened, version of it in the *Percy Folio Ballads and Romances*, iii. 263, containing only 170 lines, against the 1132 of the original, as we must call Copland's late version of an earlier original, which it has evidently altered in many words and left out several lines of:—see l. 625-7, and compare the story of *Lybius Disconius*.

VI. *The Knight of Courtesy and the Lady Faguell.* The only edition known is by Wyllyam Coplande, not dated, but probably before 1557, as there is no notice of it in the Stationers' First

Register. A unique copy of it is in the Bodleian, which Ritson reprinted (less one stanza) in the third volume of his *Ancient Metrical Romances*, 1802; and Mr. Hazlitt has since reprinted it in vol. ii. of his *Early Popular Poetry*, p. 65-87. It is only 504 lines long, and its story is a sad one of platonic love. The Lord of Faguell, who has a sweet chaste wife, hears such a report of the bravery and courteousness of "The Noble Knight of Courtesy" that he sends for him to dwell in his land. The Knight comes, and he and the Lady of Faguell fall in love with each other. They have a tender scene in the garden, and agree to love one another in chastity. An overhearer of this warns the Lord against the Knight, and the Lord then calls on the Knight to go to Rhodes, and fight for the Christian Faith. To the Lady's great distress, the Knight consents, and she shears off all her yellow hair to put in his helm as a memento of her. Sadly they part. He seeks adventures, wins jousts, slays a dragon in Lombardy, who nearly kills him; and then he goes to Rhodes to help the Christians against the besieging Saracens. The Knight kills all whom he meets, till at last 12 Saracens set on him, and wound him to death, after he has killed 4 of them. He makes his page promise to cut out his heart, after he is dead, wrap it in his Lady's hair, and take it to her as his present. On the way home, the page is met by the Lord of Faguell, who takes away the heart and hair, has the heart cookt for his Lady's dinner, and then tells her what she has eaten. She reproaches him, and says that, after the heart, she will eat no earthly food; then she yields up her spirit, making her moan.

VII. *Fredrik of Gene.* Mr. Halliwell, saying that a fragment of this tract is in Douce's collection in the Bodleian, gives its title (from Herbert's Ames, I suppose.) Mr. Hazlitt adds its colophon. Both follow:

This Mater Treateth of a Merchauntes Wyfe that afterwarde went lyke a man, and becam a Great Lorde, and was called Frederyke of Jennen afterwarde. [Col.] Thus endeth this lyttell storge of lord frederyke. Imprynted in Anwarpe by me John Dusborowghe, dwellynge besyde the Camerporte, in the yere of our lorde God, 1518. 4to. With woodcuts.

The fragments—No. 79 in the Douce Fragments—in the Bodleian are identified with the Romance of *Frederyke of Jennen* by the signature on leaf A iij. As to editions, Douce's MS. notes state that his fragments belong to an edition by Pynson (not otherwise known), and not to a copy of John Dusborowghe's edition.

He has written on the cover of the fragments, "Frederick of Jennen p. by Pynson," and also: "Not in Herbert. P[rinted] also by Doesborowe. See Herbert 1533. Story of Cymbeline." The fragments are as follows:—

Douce Fragments, ¶ How foure marchauntes met a[ll togyder,] whiche were of foure dyuerse lo[ndes, and iorney]de all to Parys. No. 79.

In the yere of our lorde [it] happened that four [marchauntes] out of dyuerse countrye[s went on their journeys and] as they were goyng [it fell so that by] fortune they met all togyder and gyder / for they were all foure goynge [to P]arys in Fraunce & for company sake they rode a [. . . .] into one ynne / & it was about shraftyde, in the moost ioyfull tyme of all the yere¹; and their names were called as here foloweth. *the fyrst* was called Courant of Spayne / *the second* was called Borchart of Fraunce / *the thyrde* was called Joha[n] of Florence / & *the fourth* was called Ambrose of Jennen. Than, by the consent of the other marchauntes, Borcharde of fraunce went vnto the hoste and sayd: "Hoste, now is the meryest tyme of the yere, and we be foure marchauntes of foure dyuerse countrys, & by fortune we met all togyder in one place & our iorney is to Parys. And therefore whyle we be so met, lette vs make good chere togyder / & ordeyne *the best meet that ye can get for money agaynst to morowe,* and byd also some of your beste frendes that you loue mooste, that



[Douce's Pencil Note. "This cut was used in Boorde's Introd." From the title-page of my reprint of that book for the Early English Text Society's Extra Series this year, I borrow the cut. The date of Pynson's edition of *Frederyke of Jennen* must have been 10 years or more before William Coplande's of Boorde's *Introduction* in 1547 or 1548.]

¹ Shrovetide is Shrove Tuesday, and may fall on any day between Feb. 2 and March 8.

we maye make good chere togyder or that we departe fro hense / and we shall contente you all your money agayne." And than the hoste sayde that he wolde do it with a good wyll, and than went he, and bad many of his good frendes and neyghbours to dyner; and he bought of *the* best meet that he coude get for money, and brought it home. And on the morowe he dressed it, and made it redy agaynst dyner, after the best maner *that* he coude. And whan *that* it was dyner¹ o gestes to dyner & the marchauntes them welcome. Than bad *the* mar at he sholde brynge in the meete. & myght go to dyner. And than the wyll. Than when the hoste and meet & set it theron & pray- gestes to them & syt downe togyder good chere al *the* daye longe with good honestey as very late with daunsynge & lepynge. And wh[an they h]ad done / the gestes toke theyr leue of the marchauntes, & thanked them for theyr good chere. And than euery man departed home to his house. And than cam the marchauntes to the hoste, & prayed hym hertely for to come in, & thanked hym that he had ordered & done all thynges so well and manerly.

² ¶ How two of the marchauntes / as Johan of [Florence] and Ambrosius of Jennen hyld one another .v. thousand golde guldens.

whan al *the* marchauntes & the gestes had made merye togyder al the daye longe / at nyght the gestes toke theyr leue of *the* marchauntes / & thanked them for theyr good chere that they had made them / & so departed euery one to theyr lodgyng. And whan that they were departed euery man to theyr house / than waxed it late. And than cam the hoste of *the* house to the marchauntes & asked them yf that they wolde go slepe / & they answered vnto theyr hoste "yes." And than toke he a candel, and brought *the* marchauntes into a fayre chambre / where was .iiij. beddes rychehly hauged with costely curtaynes that euerye marchaunt myght lye by themselfe. And whan that they were all togyder in *the* chamber / than began they to speke of many thynges / some good / some bad, as it laye in theyr myndes. Than sayd Courant of spayne: "Syr, we haue be all this daye mery, and made good chere, & euerye one of vs hath a fayre wyfe at home: howe fare they nowe at home, we can not tel." Than sayd bourcharde of *Fraunce* to the other marchauntes: "What aske you how they do? They syt by the fyere, and make good chere and eate / & drynke of the beste, and laboure not at all / & so get they vnto them hote blode; & than they maye take an other lusty yonge man, and do theyr pleasure with hym, *that* we knowe not of / for we be oftentymes long from them, & for *that* cause may *the* lenne³ a lofe, for a nede, secretly to an other." Than sayd Johan of Florence / "we may all well be called foolles & nydcates that truste our wyfes in this maner as we do; for a womans hert is not made of so hard a stone but *that*⁴ [it] wyll melte / for a womans nature is to be vnstedfaste and tourneth as the wynde dothe, and careth not for vs tyll the tyme *that* we come agayne. And we labour dayely bothe in wynde and rayne, and put often our lynes in iopardy and in auenture on the see, for to fynd them *with*all; & our wyfes syt at home, and make good chere *with* other good felowes, &

¹ [Sign. A. ii. (b).]

² Leaf 2. Sign. A. iiij.

³ they lend.

⁴ The signature is Frederyke of Jennen.

gyue them parte of the money that we get. And therefore, an ye wyll do after my counsayle / let euery one of vs take a fayre wenche to passe *the tyme withal*, as well as our wyfes do / & they shall knowe no more of that / than we knowe of them." Than sayde Ambrosius of Jennen to them: "By goddes grace, that shall I neuer do whyle *that* I lyue! For I haue at home a good & a vertuous woman, and a womanlye. And I knowe [wel that] she is not of that dysposycyon / but *that* she wil eschewe . . . of all suche yll abusyons tyl the tyme that I com home agayn. For I knowe well that she wyl haue non other man but me alone. And yf that I shold breke my wedlocke, than were I but lytell worthe." Than sayd Joh'n of Florence: "Felowe, ye set moche pryce by your wyfe at home, and truste her with all that ye haue. I wyll laye with you a wager of .v. thousande guldens, yf *that* ye wyl abyde me here, I shal departe, & ryde to Jennen, & do *with* your wyfe my wyll." Than sayd Ambrosius to Johan of Florence: "I haue delyuered to my hoste .v. thousand guldens to kepe / put ye downe as moche agaynste it, & I shal tarye here tyll the tyme that ye retourne agayn from Jennen / & yf that you, by ony maner of menes, can get your pleasure of my wyfe, ye shall haue all this money." Than sayd Johan of Florence: "I am content /" and than putted he in his hostes hande other .v. thousande guldens agaynste Ambroses money. And than toke he

[End of Fragment.]

VIII. *Syr Eglamoour.* Of this Romance (translated also from the French) we have at least four manuscript copies: 1. in the University Library, Cambridge, MS. Ff. ii. 38, printed in the *Thornton Romances* for the Camden Society by Mr. Halliwell in 1844; 2. (imperfect) in the Thornton MS.; 3. in the British Museum, MS. Cotton. Calig. A. xii.; 4. in the Percy Folio MS., printed in vol. ii. p. 341-389 of the *Ballads and Romances*. (In the notes there I have mistakenly called the Cambridge MS. printed in Mr. Halliwell's Thornton volume, the Thornton MS.); 5. A single leaf of another early copy, says Mr. Halliwell, is preserved in a MS. belonging to Lord Francis Egerton.

Of old printed editions before 1575, the earliest that we know is in 1508, 'Sir Glamor, Edinburgh, be Walter Chepman and Andro Myllar,' of which an imperfect copy is in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. The other editions are London ones, not dated, by William Copland, (a copy among Selden's books in the Bodleian), and by John Walley (a copy in the British Museum): and one of these, Captain Cox doubtless had.

The story of the Romance is told by Mr. Halliwell in Ellis's *Metrical Romances*, and by me in the side-notes of the Percy Folio print, and narrates how the poor knight Sir Eglamore loves Christabel, the fair daughter of the Earl of Artoys, and how he

undertakes three Deeds of Arms to win her; how accordingly he kills the giant Marrocke and a big Boar, a second Giant, and a Dragon near Rome; how before marriage he begets a boy on Christabell, with which, when born, she is put out to sea alone in a ship, and a Griffin flies away with the boy. She is driven to Egypt, her boy carried to Isarell, while Eglamore, mourning them both as lost, fights and dwells for 15 years in the Holy Land. Then his son, Degrabell, wins his own mother Christabell at a tournament, and weds her; but before the marriage is consummated she discovers that Degrabell is her son, and their marriage void. At the second tourney, Eglamore wins his Christabell; they marry; and rule Artoys.

The romance of *Torrent of Portugal*, edited by Mr. Halliwell, has almost the same incidents as *Sir Eglamore*, and is a version of the same story.

IX. *Syr Tryamoour*. Mr. Halliwell edited this romance for the Percy Society in 1846 from the earliest known MS. of it, of the time of Henry VI., in the Cambridge University Library. Another MS. of it is in the Bodleian Library; and a third in the Percy Folio, printed in the P. F. *Ballads and Romances*, vol. ii. p. 78-135.

Of old printed editions we know only two, both without date, by Wyllyam Coplande: 1. 'imprinted at London in Temes strete vpon the thre crane wharfe,' of which a copy is among Garrick's books in the British Museum; 2. 'imprinted at London,—with a different cut on the title to that of the first ed.,—of which a copy is among Selden's books in the Bodleian. To use, with little change, Mr. Hales's words, "the story tells how a good lord (Arradas) and his gentle lady (Margaret) were estranged by the treachery of their steward (Marrocke); how their son (Triamore), conceived in honour, was born in exile and shame; how, after many a weary year, the execrable fraud was discovered; and how, at last, the son (who has, in the meantime won himself a wife, the beautiful Helen of Hungary, by many doughty deeds of arms) and his mother, are happily united to the grieving husband." As the steed, Arundel, was so prominent a feature in *Sir Eglamore*, so in *Sir Triamore* is Sir Roger's hound, who never leaves his master's grave, except to get food, and who bites that master's murderer, Marrocke, through the throat. Sir Roger is the faithful old knight who accompanies the lady Margaret in her exile, till Marrocke kills him.

X. *Syr Lamwell.* The earliest form of this romance that we know, is Thomas Chestre's *Syr Launfale* in the Cotton MS. Caligula A. 2, leaf 33 etc., printed in Ritson's *Early English Metrical Romances*¹, which is taken from No. 5 of Queen Marie's *Lais*, that Dr. Mall is about to re-edit. This version differs in form, and somewhat in matter, from the later MS. version printed from Bp. Percy's Folio MS. in the *P. F. Ballads and Romances*, i. 142. When the Introduction to the Percy Folio "Sir Lamwell" was written (vol. i. p. 142), the incomplete copy of the Romance in the Rawlinson MS. C. 86, (about 1508 A.D. says Mr. Halliwell) was unfortunately overlooked, though Sir F. Madden had mentioned the piece in his description of the MS. in his *Sir Gawayne* for the Bannatyne Club. From this MS. twenty-nine lines—that which should be the 18th is left out in the MS—are now printed below, as a sample, from a copy made by Mr. George Parker of the Bodleian:—

[Rawl. MS. C. 86. leaf 119b.]

landaball.

<p>Sothly by Arthurs day was bretayne yn grete nobylé; For yn hys tyme a grete whyle He sojourned at Carlile; 4 He had <i>with</i> hym a meyne there, As he had ellys-where, [leaf 120.] Of the rounde table the kynghtes² alle, With myrthe and Joye yn hys halle. Of eache lande yn the worlde wyde There came men on euery syde, 10 Yonge kynghtes² and Squyers, And othir Bolde B[a]chellers, forto se that nobly That was <i>with</i> arthur alle-wei; 14 for Ryche yeftys and tresour He gayf to eache man of honour.</p>	<p><i>With</i> hym there was a Bachiller [And had ben there full many a yeer,] A yonge kynght² of mushe myght; "Sir landevale" for-soithe he highte. Sir landevale spent blythely, And yaf yeftes largely; 22 So wildely his goode he sett, That he felle yn grete dette. "Who hath no good, goode can he none, And I am here in vnchut³ londe, 26 And no gode haue vnder honde; Men wille me holde for a wreche. Where I be-come, I ne reche." He lepe vpon a Coursier 30</p>
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[&c., about 530 ll.—leaf 128. Ab. 1480 A.D.]

We have now, therefore, five different versions, one whole, 4 in part, of the late *Sir Lamwell*—three are in the *Percy Folio Ballads and Romances*—besides the earlier Romance printed by Ritson.

Also, since the publication of the Percy Folio, the Librarian of Cambridge University has shown me a MS. fragment—a page and a quarter, about,—of a much scottified version of Sir Lamwell,

¹ Also in Way's *Fabliaux*, ed. 1815, iii. 233–237, and Halliwell's *Fairy Mythology of a Midsummer Night's Dream* 1845, p. 2–34.

² So in MS.

³ Un-couth, unknown, strange.

differing a little from both the versions printed in the Folio. It is entered in the Index to the Catalogue as "Arthur, on king, iii. 700," and is printed below:—

[Sir Lamuell.]

Listine, Lordings! by the dayis off Arthure was Britan in greet honoure; for in his tyme, as he ane quhyll he sojurneit att coomelic earlille, 4 & hed with him monie ane aire, As he hed oftymes els quhair— Off his round table <i>the knychtis</i> all with muche mirth in boure & hall, 8 off evrie land in World so wyd, thar come to him in eich [a] syd; young knichtis, & squyers eik, & bald baichlers, came him to seik, 12 for to sie <i>the</i> great Nobilnes that was into his court always; for he geve rich gifts & treasour to men of wair & gret honour 16 with him ther was ane baicheleir And hed beene <i>ther</i> monie ane zeir, Ane young knycht, mekill off nicht; 'Sir Lamuell' forsuth he hecht. 20 this Lamuell geve gifts miehtilie, & spaireit not bo' geve largelie; & so libralle he it spent, miche moir nor he hed in rent; 24 & so onvyselie he itt fett, that he came mekill into daitt. and quhen he sau weill all was gaine, then he began to mak his moane. 28 "alas!" he said, "vo is that mann that na gud heth, nor na gud cann! and I am far in ane ferang land, and na gud hes, I onderstand! 32 men wald me hald for ane wrache, Quhair I be pur certes, ne riche." he lapp upon ane fair courseure, with-ouffin Chyld orzit squyeure, 36 and raid so furth in great murning to dryve away his soir langing. his way he tuik toward <i>the</i> west, betuix ane Vater and ane forrest; 40 the sone vas then in eveningtyd, he lichtit down, & wald abyd. for he vas hait in <i>the</i> Wather 43 he tuik his mantill, and fald to gidder, And laid him doune, <i>the</i> knycht so free, Onder <i>the</i> shadoü off ane tree: "Alace!" he said, "na gud I heve,	Nor quhair to go! so god me saiff! 48 And all <i>the</i> knights with ther feires Off <i>the</i> round table that be my peeres, Eich on to heve me vas full glaid; Nou will thai be off me full sadd; 52 Nou wallaway, this is my song." With soir weiping his hand he wrang, With sourou and cair he did zell, Till hevie on a sleip he fell, 56 & all to soipeit and forweipt. Quhen he vakuit out off sleip, Tuo off <i>the</i> fairest maids sau he That ever he did sie with ee, 60 Come out off <i>the</i> forrest, & to him drau; fairer befor he never sau; Kirtils thay hed of purple sendill, Small laceit, setting fall ane weill; 64 Mantils thai hed of rid welvet, Frenzeit with gold ful veill was sett; Thai vaire abowe that over all Upon ther heds a joilie curnall; 68 ther faces as <i>the</i> snou was quhyt, with Lufesum eullor off gret delyt; fairar befor he never did sie he thocht <i>them</i> Angels off hevins he. The on bair ane goldin baising, 73 The uther ane touall off Alifyne; Thai Came him both tovarid twaine; he vas courtess, vent <i>them</i> againe; 76 "Welcome!" he said, "Madams so frie." "Sir Knycht!" thai answeireit him, "Veleun be ze! My Ladie that is brignt as floure, The grathethe, Sir lamuell, para- mour; 80 Sho preyith <i>the</i> cum & speik with hir, ziff it be nou thy plesor, Sir." "I am full faine with you for to fair, for troulie, such as you so rair, 84 On <i>the</i> ground sau I never go:" Washit his face and hands also, & with <i>the</i> maids did glaidlic gang, As merie as marle in hir song. 88 within the forest ther did sie Ane rich Pavillione <i>ther</i> picht ful hie. Ewrie pom. ¹
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Cambridge University Library MS. Kk. 5, 30, leaf 11.

¹ No more written.

The Rawlinson *Landavall* is more like the bit of printed version given to the Bodleian by Mr. Halliwell (and printed in the Appendix to vol. i. of the Percy Folio,) than the text of the Folio itself. Mr. Halliwell says in his "Mythology of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*," 1845, that the copy of *Lamwell* mentioned by Sir F. Madden in the Lambeth MS. 305 "seems to be an error for the *Lybeans Discours* in MS. No. 306." "The fabliau or romance of *Lanval* is printed in Le Grand's *Fabliaux et Contes*, ed. 1829; and an English paraphrase of it appeared in 'Tales of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries' translated from the French of Le Grand (? by George Ellis) 1796." (Hazlitt.)

Of early printed editions of *Sir Lamwell* we know nothing except one fragment of 8 leaves, and another of one leaf, both in the Bodleian, and both printed in the Appendix to vol. i. of the Percy Folio Ballads and Romances, p. 522-535. Perhaps the first of these is part of the edition licensed to John Kynge in 1557-8:—

To John Kynge, to prynte these bokes folowyng; that ys to saye, a
 Jeste of syr gawayne¹ / the boke of Carwyng and sewyng² / syr }
lamwell; the boke of Cokerye;³ the boke of nurture for mens sar- }
 vauntes;⁴ and for his lycense he geveth to the house }

As these old printed texts are more like the Percy Folio version than the Cotton one, we may sketch the story from the Percy MS.

Among the knights who resort to king Arthur 'in merry Carlile' is the young Sir Lambewell. So prodigal is he of his money, that he soon has none left, and rides off westward alone, While he's sleeping under a tree, two lovely maidens wake him, and lead him to their lovelier mistress, the daughter of the king of Million or Amillion—Oleron, in Chestre's version,—who offers him all he wants, and lies with him that night. Next day she sends him back to Arthur, with plenty of money (and more to come), which he gives away right and left; but if he ever mentions her name, he is to lose her for ever. Queen Guinevere makes advances to Lambewell, which he rejects; and answers her taunts

¹ See below, p. xxxiv, No. XII.

² A later edition of Wynkyn de Worde's book which was plagiarised from Russell or his original. Both are in my *Babees Book*.

³ A Proper New Booke of Cookery. Imprinted at London by John Kynge and Thomas Marshe [1558], 12mo in *Corpus Library, Cambridge*.

⁴ Hugh Rhodes's Book, of which Jackson's edition of 1577 is reprinted in my *Babees Book*, with collations of Petyt's edition, before 1554.

⁵ The sum is not entered.

by saying that his mistress's lowest maiden is fit to be queen over her. For this she accuses him of trying to violate her; and he is adjudged to prove his boast about his mistress's maiden, or die. Two ladies then ride up, 'much fairer than the summer's dayes;' then two others, fairer still; at last 'a damsell by her selfe alone; on earth was fairer neuer none.' She is Sir Lambwell's love; she clears him of the charge against him, but speaks no word to him; he has broken faith with her. In vain for him do Arthur and his knights plead. She turns to go alone; but as she passes Lambwell, he leaps on her palfrey, swearing he'll never leave her; and in the 'jolly island' called Amilion, they live in bliss.

XI. *Syr Isenbras.* This Romance was printed by Mr. Halliwell from the Thornton MS. in Lincoln Cathedral Library, in his Thornton Romances for the Camden Society in 1844. Another copy is in the Library of Caius College; and from that and the printed copy in Garrick's plays, now in the British Museum, Ellis sketched the story in his E. E. Metr. Romances. This old printed copy is without date, but 'Imprynted at London by me, Wyllyam Copland;' and one leaf of a different edition is among Douce's books in the Bodleian.

Sir Isumbras is proud, and forgets God. An angel announces to him his degradation; and, as from Job, his cattle and dwelling are taken by death and fire; his wife and 3 children alone are left, naked. They start on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; their eldest boy is carried off by a lion; the second by a leopard; the wife by a Saracen soudan; the youngest boy by a unicorn, and his mantle by an eagle. Seven years Isumbras serves as a labourer and a smith, and then helps the Christians win a battle, and slays the Soudan who has taken his wife. Seven years he wanders in the Holy Land, and then an angel tells him his sin is forgiven. As a palmer he enters the palace of his wife, the widow-queen; is there kindly treated, and takes office; and one day gets from an eagle's nest the mantle his youngest boy was wrapt in when he was carried off. This leads to his being made known to his wife, and his coronation as king of the Saracens. He tries to convert them, on which they all join two princes near, whom they have persuaded to invade him. With his wife, Isumbras encounters the whole hosts, and they are about to perish, when three knights, who prove to be his 3 sons--one on a lion, the second on a leopard, the third on a unicorn,—come to the rescue, slay 23,000 of

the unbelievers, and rout the enemy. Taking the 2 princes' kingdoms for 2 sons, they conquer another country for the 3rd, and then have all the inhabitants of the new lands and Isumbras's baptized.

XII. *Syr Gawyn.* "A Jeste of syr Gawayne" was, as we have seen (p. xxxii), licensed to John Kynge in 1557-8, but no part of his edition has reached us. The last leaf only of another edition 'Imprynted at London in Paule Churche yarde at the sygne of the Maydens heed by Thomas Petyt' is in Bagford's Collections in the British Museum. Four leaves of another edition 'Imprynted at London in Fletestrete at the sygne of Saynte Johan euangelyst by me Johan Butler' are in the Lambeth Library. This fragment was reprinted by Dr. S. R. Maitland in his *List of Early Printed Books at Lambeth*, 1843, p. 297. Of the Scotch romance of Golagros and Gawene, an earlier but titleless copy of 1508 is in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, and its colophon is 'Heir endis the Knightly tale of golagrus and gawene [imprentit] in the south gait of Edinburgh be Walter Chepman and Andrew Millar the viii day of Aprile the yhere of god M. CCCCC. and viii yheris.' This, with all the other poems he could collect about Sir Gawain, Sir Frederick Madden edited for the Bannatyne Club in 1839. The most important of these poems is the very spirited and vigorous romance of Gawain and the Green Knight from the Cotton MS. Nero A x, which Dr. Richard Morris has re-edited for the Early English Text Society, and of which a poor emasculated modernization (of the 16th century, as I suppose) is printed in the *Percy Folio Ballads and Romances*, ii. 58-77, and in Sir F. Madden's Appendix No. III. p. 224-242. However, we may feel quite sure that the old black letter 'Jeste of Syr Gawayne' was the one that Captain Cox read; and as the printed fragments we possess of it agree, except in a few words, with the headless version that Sir F. Madden printed in his *Syr Gawayne*, p. 206-223, from a small 4to MS. of Douce's in the Bodleian, written in 1564, and containing several other romances, all "imperfect, and all, apparently, transcribed from early black-letter editions," we can get the story from this MS. Sir F. Madden also notices the last leaf of Petyt's edition among Bagford's Collections, MS. Harl. 5927, art. 32, and says "It is no doubt this romance which is alluded to under the title of *Sir Gawyn* by Laneham. . . . The original author . . . in this instance, as in so many others, is

French; and in the *Roman de Perceval*, fol. lxxiv. b, we meet with the entire story." This, as Southey (Pref. to *Morte d'Arthur*, p. xxvi.), and Sir F. Madden (*Syr Gawayne*, p. 349-50) note, contains two different accounts of the opening of the tale, 1. making the meeting between Gawayne and the maiden innocent, though judged guilty by her father and brothers; 2, making it guilty (farther on in the work, by Gawayne's confession), as the English adapter made it. The story runs thus.

Gawayne leaves Arthur at the siege of Branlant. After crossing a river and plain, and passing through a wood, Gawayne comes on a magnificent pavilion, in which, on a sumptuous bed, sleeps a lovely girl, Guinalorete, daughter of the king of Lys (or 'Syr Gylberte, a ryche earle,' as the English story calls him). Gawayne kisses her, and she threatens him with the vengeance of her father and brothers. But—and here the English fragment begins—Gawayne fears no threats, and takes his pleasure in the maiden. Her father finds them together, and reproaches and challenges Gawayne. They fight; Gawayne unhorses and wounds the father, and goes back to the daughter. To the wounded father comes his son Syr Gyamoure, hears what has happened, calls up Gawayne from his sister's side, and fights him. But Syr Gyamoure is soon unhorsed and wounded too, and Gawayne returns again to Guinalorete (whose name is given only in the French romance). Then comes Syr Gylberte's second son, Syr Tyrry, to his wounded father and brother. He too hears of Gawayne's misdeed, calls him from the Pavilion, fights him, but is unhorsed, and hurt, nigh to death; and Gawayne goes back a third time to his sweet may in the pavilion. At last comes to the poor Syr Gylberte and his two wounded sons, the pride of their family, son Syr Brandles (or Brandels). The father tells him too of Gawayne's deeds; Brandles calls Gawayne from the pavilion, and they fight so sore that both are glad to separate, vowing to renew the fight whenever they meet, "utterlye," or to the death. Gawayne puts up his sword and departs, asking only Brandles to 'be frend to that gentle woman,' his sister. 'As for that,' says Brandles,—and here the Petyt leaf begins:—

'She hath caused to day moch shame,
parde;
It is pyte she hath her syght!"
"Syr knight" sayd syr gawane "haue
good day!

For on fote I haue a long way;
An horse were me wonder dere.
Somtyme good horses I haue good
wone,
But now on fote nedes must I gone;

God in haste amende my chere!
 Syr gawayne was armed passyng
 heuy,
 On fote might he not endure truelye :
 His knyfe he toke in honde,
 [H]is armoure good he cut hym fro,
 Elles on fote myght he not go ;
 Thus with care was he bonde.
 ¶ Leue we now syr Gawayne in wo,
 And speake we more of syr Brandles
 tho.
 When he with his syster met,
 [H]e sayd, "fye on the, harlot stronge!
 [I]t is pyte that thou lyuest so longe!
 Strypès hardè I wyl set,
 [A]nd betè thè, both backe and syde!"
 [A]nd then wolde he not abyde ;
 But to his fader streyte he went.
 Then he axed hym how he fared ;
 [H]e sayd, "son, for thè haue I cared,
 [I] wende that thou haddest ben
 shent."
 Brandles sayd, "I haue bet my syster ;
 [A]nd the knyght, I made hym swere
 That, when we mete agayne,
 [H]e and I wyl togyder fyght
 Tyl we haue spende eche our myght,
 [A]nd that one of vs be slayne."
 So home they went al togyder,

[Back of leaf.]
 And eche of them helped other
 As wel as they myght go.
 Then the lady gate her awaye ;
 They saw her neuer after that day ;
 She went wandryng to and fro.
 Also syr Gawayne, in his party,
 On fote he went ful weryly,
 Tyl he to the courte came home.
 Al this aduenture he shewed the kyng,
 That with those .iiii. knyghtes he had
 fighting,
 And eche after other alone.
 After that tyme they never met more ;
 Ful glad were these partyes Therefore ;
 So was there made the ende.
 I pray god gyue vs all good rest,
 And those that have harde this lytle
 geste,
 And in hye heuen for to be dwellyng,
 And that we al, vpon domes day,
 Come to the blysse that lasteth aye,
 Where we may here the aungels
 syng.

¶ Imprynted at london in Paule[s]
 churche yarde at the sygne of
 the maydens heed, by
 Thomas Petyt.

Over this, is a separate colophon of Petyt's (No. 31), dated 'In the yere of our Lorde God. M. D. XLij.,' but it clearly does not belong to the Gawayne *Jeaste*. A duplicate of this colophon is on leaf 49 of Bagford's MS. No. 181.

The French romance gives us the sequel of the Geste. It makes Brandelys and Gawayne meet and fight again. Guinalorete, with her child Giglain, interposes between them twice ; and Brandelys, who has been struck down, is persuaded to yield, is made a Knight of the Round Table, and grants forgiveness to Gawayne, 'who begs it on his knees.' (*Madden*, p. 351.)

Sir Thomas Maleore "the compiler of the *Morte d'Arthur* does not insert this episode in his work, but has a distinct allusion to the circumstance, when he says 'Thenne came in Syr Gawayne with his thre sons, Syr *Gyngelyn*, Syr *Florence*, and Sir *Louel* ; these two were *begoten upon Sir Brandyles syster* ; and al they fayled.'—Vol. ii. p. 383. Sir Brandelys was subsequently, together with Florence and Louel, slain by Lancelot du Lac and his party, at the rescue of Queen Guenever. *Ibid.* ii. 401, 403." (*Syr Gawayne*, p. 351.)

XIII. *Olyuer of the Castl.* “Y^e Historye of Olyuer of Castylle and the Fayre Helayne. [Colophon] Here endeth y^e historye of Olyuer of Castylle, and of the fayre Helayne doughter vnto the kynge of Englande. Inprynted at London in flete strete at the sygne of the Sonne by Wynkyn de Worde. The yere of our lorde M. CCCC. and xvijj.” “A Spanish Romance,” says Mr. Halliwell, “very popular throughout Europe, and translated into most European languages.” I have just looked at the ‘Contents’ of Loys Costé’s Rouen edition¹ of ‘L’Hystoire de Ollivier de Castille, et Artus d’Algarbe, Preux & vaillans Cheualiers, Auec les² proesses de Henry de Castille, filz de Oliuier, et de Helaine, fille du Roy d’Angleterre: et les grandes aduentures ou ilz se sont trainez contre leurs ennemys, comme pourrez voir cy apres,” (*Brit. Mus.* $\frac{12450 \cdot c}{1-6}$) and find that it tells how Oliver’s mother-in-law lusts for him—“ce n’estoit que fragilité naturelle de femme, qui suit sa sensualité contre honneur,” says the old French publisher (?) in his *Epilogation*—that he rejects her advances, goes to England, and—being armed by a knight to whom he promises half his prize—beats every one in a 3-days’ tourney, the prize of which is ‘la belle Helaine,’ the lovely daughter of the King of England. Oliver tries to conceal himself, but is taken, and brought to the Court. Then he takes the King of England’s side against the King of Ireland, who has invaded England. Oliver heads the English host, discomfits the Irishmen, follows them to their own country, brings back 7 kings prisoners, and is rewarded by fair Helen’s hand. But soon the son of one of Oliver’s Irish prisoners captures Oliver himself; and Artus of Algarbe, hearing this, comes to London, mistakes Helen for her husband, and lies by her, purely, and then rescues Oliver. Oliver however hears a wrong story of his wife and Artus, and wounds Artus; but on learning the truth, prays forgiveness. Afterwards Artus falls ill, and to save him, Oliver kills his own two children, and gives their blood to his friend. This heals Artus; God brings the children to life again; and Artus and Oliver go to Castille. Then the knight who armed Oliver for his London tourney claims Oliver’s son as his half of Oliver’s prize; but, seeing the grief of Oliver and Helen, restores them their boy, and vanishes into Heaven. Oliver then marries his daughter to Artus of Algarbe. Oliver

¹ It is not dated, but the Museum Catalogue puts ?1625. It is translated from the Latin, by P. Camus.

Orig. lec.

and Helen die; their son Henry is captured, and dies in the Saracens' land; while Artus becomes King of Castille and England.

XIV. *Lucrez and Eurialus.* The original of this Romance was written in Latin by Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius II., born 1405, died 14 Aug. 1464.¹ One copy of the edition of 1443, in the British Museum—which has another copy on vellum, and others in the Pope's Works—has no title, but is headed "Enee Siluij poetæ Senensis . de duobus amantibus Eurialo et Lucretia . opusculum ad Marianum Sosinum feliciter Incipit prefatio." It has sheets a, b, c, d, in eights, and e in four; and the Colophon is "Explicit opusculum Enee Siluij de duobus amantibus In ciuitate Leydensi Anno Domini Millesimo CCCC^o quadragesimo tercio . Leien."

It was translated into Italian in 1554, "Epistole de Dvi Amanti composte dal fausto et eccellente Papa Pio tradutte in uulgare con elegantissimo modo. In Venetia per Matthio Pagan, in Frezaria all' insegna della Fede. M. D. LIIII."

Of English editions we know three.

1. (The goodli / history of the most noble / and beautyfull Ladye / Lucrez of Scene in Tus/kanc, and of her louer Eurialus verve / pleasaunt and / delectable / vnto ye / reder.) 4to, black letter, A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, in fours; but in the unique Museum copy, H iv, the last leaf, is wanting, containing the last verse of the envoy, or "Le. A. to the Reder," and the Colophon. Mr. Hazlitt dates the book 'circa 1549.'

For this copy in the British Museum I had 4 vain searches in the Catalogues, but then found it under 'Lucretia of Sienna,' Case 21. c. It has *y* very often for *i* of No. 2, and has better readings. Mr. Hazlitt says that Bagford speaks of an impression in 4to by William Copland,—perhaps the same as No. 3.

2. Mr. Henry Huth has a unique copy of an edition in small 8vo, dated 1560, 'imprinted at London by John Kynge,' (A B C D E F G H in eights) which he has kindly lent me, and from which the extracts below are printed, though collated for words with the Brit. Mus. ed.; and 3. in the Pepys Library at Magdalen College, Cambridge, Mr. Hazlitt notes an edition of 1567,

¹ He was an able man, but of loose morals, and spent the latter years of his life in extending the power of the Papacy, thus undoing much of the work of his earlier years when he strove to curb that power. He was on an embassy in Scotland, to make peace between the English and Scotch, when James I. was slain. Pius II. was a great patron of learning, and a bitter enemy of the Turks.

‘Imprynted at London in Louthbury by me Wylyyam Copland.’ The date 1567 is no doubt right, as other books of W. Copland’s are known as late.

The story is a somewhat warm one for an embryo Pope to have written, though the moral of it is to warn men against unlawful love, as its pains are greater than its pleasures. As the verse envoy says:

Yet coude I shewe you of many other
mo,
Yf leyser not wanted, but now I let
it pas,
Whiche by theyr loue were con-
strayned also

To mortal death; more pitye alas!
therefore thys boke in Englysh drawo
was
For an example, therby to eschew
the paynes of loue, ere after they it
rewe.

The interest of the book—such as it is—is the curious disclosure of the false notions of honour and right prevailing in Italian society in the middle of the 15th century. Its story is this:—

When the Emperor Sigismund enters the town of Sienna in Tuscany, four ladies meet him, among whom,

Luces the yong Ladie, not yet of twenty yeres, shone in great bryghtnes, yong maryed, in the family of the Camilis, vnto a very rich man named Menelaus, vnworthie too whom suche beautye shulde serue at home, *but wel worthye of his wyfe to be deceyued.* The stature of the Lady Luces was more hygher than the other. Her heare plenteous, and lyke vnto the goulde wyre, which hanged not downe behinde her, after the manner and custome of maydens, but in goulde and stone she had enclosed it; her forhed highe, of semelye space, wythoute wrynkell, her browes *beute*, facioned with fewe heares, by due space deuyded, her eyne shining with such bryghtnes that, lyke as the sonne, they ouercame the behoulders loking; with these she might, whome she woulde, slee, and slayne, when she wold, reuyue. Strayt as thured was her noose, & by euen deuision parted; her fayre chekes, nothyng was more amiable *then* these chekes, nor nothyng more delectable to behold, wherin, when she dyd laughe, appeared two proper pyttes¹, whiche no man did se, that wished not to haue kissed. Her mouth smal and comely, her lippes of corall colour, handson to bite on; her small tethe, wel set in order, sened Cristal, through which the quieryng tonge dyd send furth, not wordes, but moost pleasaunt armony. What shall I shewe the beautye of her chynne, or the whitenesse of her necke? No thyng was in that bodie not too bee praysed, as the outwarde aparauces shewed token of that that was inwarde²: no man beheld her *that* dyd not enuye her husbnde. . . . Nothyng was more sweter, nor soberer, than her talcke. . . . Her apparell was diuers; she wanted nether broches, borders, gyrdels, nor rynges. The abilimentes of her head was sumptuose, many pearles, many diamantes, were on her fingers and in her borders. (Sign. A. ii. back, to A. iii. *ed. Kyng*; A ii back to A iii, *Brit. Mus. ed.*)

This young beauty, and Eurialus of Tuscany, a companion of the Emperor’s, fall in love with one another at first sight, and

¹ pytes, *Kyng*.

² of that was in warder, *Kyng*; of that that was inwarde, *Brit. Mus. ed.*

desire one another, but are unable to meet. At last, Lucrez trusts her secret to Zosias, an old Almayne servant of her husband's; but he only pretends to deliver her messages, and puts her off. Eurialus, unable to get another messenger, sends a letter to Lucrez by a bawd. Lucrez orders the woman off, and tears the letter in pieces before her; but after she is gone, puts the pieces together, and reads the letter. A correspondence follows, and Lucrez, holding back at first, at length consents to receive Eurialus into her house. But her *brother-in-law's* plan to admit him is frustrated by her mother, and then Eurialus is sent to Rome for 2 months. Lucrez mourns; but on his return, his servant finds him a tavern near, out of whose window he can talk to Lucrez. Zosias is then convinced that as the love *will* go on, it must be kept secret; and he lets Eurialus in, disguised as a porter, among other men carrying wheat. Eurialus takes Lucrez in his arms. Her husband comes; she hides Eurialus first in one closet and then, by a trick, in another, till Menelaus her husband has gone, and the lovers are left alone:—

Lucrez was in a lyghte garmente, that without plyght or wrynkell shewed her bodye as it was, a fayre necke, and the lyght of her¹ eyne lyke the bryght sonne, gladsome countenance and a merye face, her chekes lyke lylyes medled wyth roses; swete and sober was² her laughyng, her breast large, and the two papes, semyng aples gathered in Venus gardaine, meued the courage of toucher.³ (Sign. E. iiii. back, *Kynge's ed.*; E. ii. *Brit. Mus. ed.*)

The lovers meet again for an hour when Lucrez's husband has gone to the country, and Zosias brings in Eurialus from the hay-loft. Then, as no other chance of meeting is open to them, Eurialus has recourse to *Menelaus's cousin*, Pandalus, to arrange a meeting for them. Eurialus shows him that if he doesn't do this, Lucrez will either kill herself or run away with him, and thus bring open scandal on her family and her husband's: whereas, if he'll manage the matter quietly, nothing will be known, no harm will be done, but great good, and Eurialus will get the Emperor to make Pandalus an Earl! So one night, when Menelaus is away, Lucrez lets Eurialus into the house, swoons from excitement, but recovers, and they spend the night together.

After long waiting, they avoid Lucrez's watchers, and often meet; but then the Emperor determines to go to Rome, and Lucrez proposes to Eurialus to carry her off with him. He how-

¹ *Kynge* leaves out 'her.'

² as, *Kynge*.

thoucher, *Kynge*.

ever declines to face the scandal and danger of this, hoping to be able to come back to her soon. But the separation makes him fall ill; and when he does get back to Sienna, he can only see Lucrez from the street, and write letters to her. She shortly dies of grief; he loses all pleasure in life,

& yet, though the Emperour gaue hym in mariage a right noble and excellente Ladye, yet he neuer enioied after, but in conclusyon pitifully wasted his painful lyfe.

The fruitless attempt of another knight, Pacorus, to make love to Lucrez, is told in the little book, which shows how corrupt and false the ideas on love of Italian gentlemen and ladies of the time must have been.¹ Two extracts from the book, on Italian women, and servants, are given in the *Notes* to my edition of Andrew Boorde's *Introduction and Dyetary* etc. for the Early English Text Society, Extra Series, 1870.

We are also indebted to another original of Pope Pius II.'s for another English translation:

'Here begynneth the Eglogues of Alexander Barclay, preest, whereof the fyrst thre conteyneth the myserves of courters and courtes, of all prynces in generall. The matter wherof was translated into Englyshe by the sayd Alexander, in fourme of Dialoges, out of a boke named in Latin *Miseria curialium*, compyled by Æneas Silvius, Poete and Oratour, whiche after was Pope of Rome, and named Pius.' Colophon: 'Thus endeth the fourthe Eglogge of Alexandre Barclay, conteyning the maners of riche men anenst poetes and other clerkes. Emprynted by Richarde Pynson, printer to the kynges noble grace.' 4to, black letter, 22 leaves, with woodcuts.

XV. *Virgil's Life.* Not that of the Roman poet Publius Virgilius Maro, but of his Middle-Age representative, when he (Virgil) was turned into a Magician: "This Boke treateth of the Lyfe of Virgilius, and of His Deth, And Many Maruayles that he dyd in hys Lyfe Tyme by Whychrafte and Nygramaney thorough the helpe of the Deuyls of Hell. [Colophon] Thus endethe the lyfe of Virgilius, with many dyuers consaytes that he dyd. Emprynted in the cytie of Anwarpe By me Johau Doesborne dwellynge at the camerporte [*circa* 1520] 4to, 30 leaves. Bod-

¹ A wife's brother-in-law, and her husband's cousin, both help her to commit adultery; lust, called love, is held more binding than marriage; women's passions alone are their guide; wives are watched like criminals; and every married woman is fair game.

leian (Douce)"—*Hazlitt*.¹ Another edition—"the booke of Virgill"—was licensed to William Coplande in 1561-2,² and is no doubt the incomplete copy among Garrick's books in the British Museum. Mr. Thoms says that this edition is so imperfect that he couldn't reprint it, and he had therefore to take Mr. Utterson's reprint of Doesborcke's, which was of course more handy, and saved trouble. This (*Thoms*, ii. 21-59) tells us that Virgilius was the son of a 'knyght of Champanien' and the daughter of a Roman Senator, and was born in the days of the grandson of Remus, whose father slew his uncle Romulus. The boy learnt necromancy from books which he was shown by a devil, who wriggled out of a hole in a hill when Virgil pulled out a board there. The devil had been conjured and shut up there, out of a man's body, till the Judgment-day; and Virgil, having got his books, bet the Devil he couldn't wriggle into the hole again. But the Devil did it, and then Virgil shut him up again. Virgil then taught at Tolenten, came to Rome to recover his heritage, which he did by miraculous magic, shutting up his castle and lands in fixed air, making the Emperor Perseydes and his army lift their feet up and down in the same place for a day, etc. Then he made love to the fairest lady in Rome, and was by her hung out—like Hippocras (see my *Saint Graal*, ii. 31)—in a basket half-way up her tower, for which he revenged himself by making the space between her legs, she being set on a scaffold, the only place where a light could be got for 3 days in Rome. Then he married a wife; then he made a set of idols for all the countries subject to Rome, so that when any of the countries were going to rebel, its idol rang a bell, and gave the Senators notice. Then he made a copper horse, man, and dogs, to hunt and kill all the thieves and night-walkers in Rome; then an ever-burning lamp; then the goodliest orchard in the world; then an image that deprived of lust every woman that lookt at it, which Virgil's wife, at the Roman women's request, twice cast down, for which Virgil hated her, and left the women to work their will. Then he indulged in the Sodan's daughter, whom he carried off by a bridge of air; and, when caught on his second visit, delivered himself by magic, carried the lady away, and built Naples for her; 'and the fundacyon of it was of egges.' Then the Emperor of Rome

¹ This was reprinted by Utterson, and for Pickering in 1827, in Mr. Thoms's *Early Prose Romances*, a work revised and reprinted in 1858.

² Stationers' Register A, leaf 73 back; Collier's *Stat. Reg.* i. 47.

besieged Naples, and Virgil delivered it, and peopled it with scholars and merchants. Then he made a metal serpent to bite off false-swearers' hands; but an artful woman evaded the punishment, and Virgil destroyed his serpent. Lastly, he made a wonderful castle, and told his man to cut him in pieces, salt him, and let oil drop from a lamp for 9 days on him, so that he might get young again. But just before the charm was completed, the Emperor killed the man who lookt after the lamp; on which, a naked chylde—the new Virgil, underdone, no doubt—ran 3 times round the barrel, saying “cursed be the tyme that ye cam euer here,” and vanished; “and thus abyd Virgilius in the barell, dead.”

On the legend, Mr. Thoms's Introduction, vol. ii. p. 1-17, may be consulted.

XVI. *The Castle of Ladiez.* “Here begynneth the Boke of the Cyte of Ladyes the which boke is devyded into iii partes. The fyrst parte telleth how & by whom the wall & the cloystre about the Cyte was made. The seconde parte telleth how & by whom the Cyte was buylded within & peopled. The thyrde parte telleth how & by whom the hygh battylments of the towres were parfytely made” &c. No place or date. 4to. Dibdin (*Ames* ii. 378) calls the copy *he* saw, a very ‘curious and amusing volume,’ says that it's in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and gives an extract from the first chapter which doesn't show the character of the book at all. Mr. Hy. Huth has another copy of the book, which was originally in Mr. F. S. Ellis's hands, incomplete, but Mr. Lily completed it by a facsimile page. Mr. Huth is unluckily in the country when this sheet goes to press; but on his return he will enable me to report on the book and its story in my *Notes*, and settle whether Laneham's *Castle of Ladiez* is this *Cyte of Ladyes*. If it is not, the *Castle* is not now known to bibliographers.

XVII. *The Wido Edyth.* Of this, before Laneham's time, we know two editions, 1. John Rastell's in 1525, ‘Enprynted at London at the sygne of y^e Meremaid at Polls gate next to Chepe syde The yere of our Lord. M. V. C. XXV. The xxiii. day of March,’ of which a copy is at Wentworth,¹

“The Widow Edyth. XII mery gestys of one called Edyth
The lying Wydow which yet still lyueth.”

¹ Of this edition not more than 3 copies are known. It extends to sign. D. iii. Hazlitt's *Jest Books*, 3rd series, p. 28.

2. Richarde Johnes's: "XII mery Jests of the wyddow Edyth. 1573:" and this gives the supposed author's name "Finis. by Walter Smith." Copies are in the Bodleian, and in Mr. Hy. Huth's library. Mr. W. C. Hazlitt reprinted the 1573 edition in his capital collection of Early Jestbooks 1860, 3rd series, p. 27. The *Jests* are anecdotes of how Widow Edyth cheated people by representing herself to be a rich widow; and the poem is written by one Walter Smith,—seemingly a servant of Sir Thomas More's at Chelsea—one of her lovers. The list of the Twelve Jests from Mr. Hazlitt's reprint will be, perhaps, enough account of the book:

The first mery Jest declareth, how this faire and merye Mayden Edith was maryed to one Thomas Ellys, and how she ran away with another, by whom she had a bastard Doughter, and how she deceiued a Gentleman, bearynge him in hand how her Doughter was Heire to faire Landes and great Richesse.

The second mery Jest: how this lying Edyth made a poore man to vntatch his House, bearyng him in hand that she wold couer it with Lead: and how she deceiued a Barbour, makyng him beleue she was a widow, and had great aboundance of Gooddes.

The thyrd mery Jest: how this wydow Edyth deceiued her Hoste at Hormynger, and her Hoste at Brandonfery, and borowed money of them both, and also one mayster Guy, of whome she borrowed iiii. Marke.

The fourth mery Jest, how this wydow Edith deceiued a Doctor of diunitie, at S. Thomas of Akers in London, of v. Nobles he layd out for her, and how she gaue hym the slyp.

The fifth merye Jest: how this wydow Edyth deceiued a man and his wife that were ryding on Pylgremage, of iiii Nobles that they laid out for her; and how she deceiued a scriuener in London, whose name was M. Rowse.

The sixt merye Jest: how this wydowe Edyth deceiued a Draper in London of a new Gowne and a new Kyrte; and how she sent hym for a Nest of Goblets and other Plate to that scriuener whome she had deceiued afore.

The vii mery Jest: how she deceiued a seruantz of Sir Thomas Neuells, who in hope to haue her in Mariage, with al her great richesse, kepte her company tyl al his money was spent; and then she tooke her flight, and forsooke him.

The eight mery Jest: how this wydow Edyth deceiued a ser-

uaunt of the Bysshop of Rochesters, with her coggynge, and boastynge of her great Richesse; who like wise thought to haue had her in Maryage.

The ix mery Jest: how she deceined a Lord, som-tyme Earle of Arundell: and how he sent v. of his men seruantes and a hand-maid to bere her company, and fetch her Daughter, who, as she boasted, was an Heire of great Landes.

The tenth merye Jest: how she deceiued three yong men of Chelsey, that were seruantes to Syr Thomas More, and were all three suters vnto her for Maryage: and what mischaunce happened vnto her.

The xi. mery Jest: how she deceiued three yong men of the Lord Legates seruants, with her great liyng, crakyng, and boastyng of her great Treasure and Jueiles.

The xii. merye Jest: how this wydow Edyth deceyued the good man of the three Cuppes in Holburne, and one John Cotes: and how they both ryd with her to S. Albans to ouersee her houses and landes: and how thei were rewarded [or sold, and had to ride back to London, the widow having slipt away from them: "God saue the Wydow, where euer she wende!" says the forgiving Smith in his last line].

Walter Smith, the writer of the poem, comes-in in 'the Tenth mery Jest' (p. 75). The widow, after taking-in the Earl of Arundel, stops at Eltham for 3 weeks and a day, then walks to a thorp [village] called Batersay, takes a wherry, and is rowed over to Chelsea, where she is housed at Sir Thomas More's. There she boasts so of her property at Eltham—2 worsted looms, 2 mills, a brewery, 4 plows, 15 men-servants, 7 maids, etc. etc.—

'That three yong men she cast in a heat,
Which seruants were in the same place,
And all they woud her a good pace.'

The first was Thomas Croxton, servant to Master Alengton; the second Thomas Arthur, servant to Master Roper—Sir Thomas More's son-in-law; and the third was Walter Smith, who dwelt at Chelsea. After the widow has gammoned Croxton and Arthur, Smith meets her in the cloister, takes her in his arms, kisses her, and tells her how he loves her. She says she loves him, and that when she comes to Chelsea again, she'll bring him a crucifix of pure gold as a remembrance of her;

Then Wa[l]ter stode on tipto, and gan him self avance;
"I thank you," quod he, "euen with all my hart."
He kissed her deliciously, and then dyd depart.

She comes back to Chelsea the same night; but by then, Thomas Arthur has found out what an impostor she is; and they play her a trick, put 'Pouder Sinipari' in her food, give her a violent purging, and then get her put in jail for 3 weeks.

XVIII. *The King and the Tanner.* The notice of the earliest printed edition of this short story is in the Stationers' Register A, leaf 116 back, (Collier, i. 99)

W greffeth Received of William greffeth, for his lycense for pryntinge of a boke intituled "the story of kynge henry the iiijth and the Tanner of tamworth" iiij^d

But no copy of this is now known. The earliest printed copy we know is that by Danter in 1596, which Percy cookt sadly in his *Reliques*, ii. 91, ed. 1812, where it is called "A merry, pleasant and delectable history between King *Edward* the Fourth and a Tanner of Tamworth." Heywood also took Edward as the hero of the ballad, and used its incidents in his *Edward the Fourth*, Shakespere Society, 1842 (*Collier*). The earliest copy of the ballad known to us is a strongly provincial one in the MS. More Ee, 4, 35, in the University Library, Cambridge, which has been printed by Ritson in his *Pieces of Ancient Popular Poetry*, 1791, and by Mr. W. C. Hazlitt in his *Select Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, 1864, i. 1, as "The King and the Barker." It does not name its king, and makes its tanner one of 'Dantre' or Daventry in Warwickshire, but tells the same story as Danter's copy of 1596: 'The kyng' overtakes a tanner riding a cob, and sitting on a lot of black cow hides; the tanner takes the king for a thrifless scamp, and then for a thief, when he sees the king's men; but they talk together, and when Lord Basset kneels to the king, the tanner is afraid for his life. Then the king changes his high horse for the tanner's low one, to go hunting under the branches; the tanner puts his cowhides on the king's saddle, their horns prick the horse, and he breaks the tanner's head against the bough of an oak. The king laughs; they change horses again; the tanner promises the king a drink the next time they meet in Daintry, and the king gives him a hundred shillings.

Ballads and stories of like kind to this are 'John de Reeve' and the 'Kinge and Miller' in the Percy Folio *Ballads and Romances*, vol. ii. 147, 559, 'Rauf Coilzear,' 'King Edward and the Shepherd,' 'The King and the Hermit,' etc. In the East as well as the West, the subject of kings mixing familiarly with their

poor subjects has been popular; Haroun-al-Raschid, as well as King Alfred, is an instance of it. See Percy's and Prof. Child's introductions to 'Edw. IV. and the Tanner of Tamworth,' etc.

XIX. *Frier Rous.* No copy of this book is known before 1620, but Collier, i. 199, gives this entry from the Stationers' Register A (on leaf 179,)

Alde B of John Alde, for his lycense for pryntinge of a boke intituled "Freer Russhe" iij^d

As John Alde's son Edward issued the edition of 1620, which is reprinted in Thoms's *Early Prose Romances*, vol. i. p. 261, ed. 1858, it is probable that the later edition did not differ much from the one that Captain Cox read. "The Historie of Frier Rush: How he came To A House of Religion to Seeke Service, and Being Entertained by The Priour, was First made Under Cooke. Being Full of Pleasant Mirth and Delight for Young People," tells how Rush (or Puck, or Robin Goodfellow,) is 'a divell' sent by Belphegor, Asmodeus, and Beelzebub, as a servant into a Monastery, where he brings to the Prior a fair young gentlewoman, and to all the monks the women they most desire; throws the Cook into a kettle of boiling water, for beating him; gives the friars bacon in their pottage on fast-days; makes truncheons for them and sets them all by the ears, so that they have a regular fight, ending with broken heads, arms, and legs; puts tar instead of grease to the Prior's waggon- (or carriage-) wheels, makes him pay for wine he doesn't drink; breaks the dormitory stairs, so that all the friars come tumbling on one another as they go to matins; and cuts a farmer's cow in two, and cooks one half for the friars. Then comes the old episode of the Devils meeting and reporting their deeds, and he who's made the Religious siu, getting highest praise¹: but the farmer overhears the reports, tells the Prior that Rush is a devil, and he is accordingly turned out. He turns better; goes as servant to a husbandman whose wife is unfaithful with the Priest; and then catches the Priest hidden, first in a chest, afterwards in some straw, and lastly in a basket hung up by a rope. Rush throws the Priest on the dunghill, whacks him, drags him through a pool, and through the town, at his horse's tail. He does the husbandman's heavy work in a trice; gets another devil conjured out of a girl's body by his friend

¹ See R. Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwytt*, etc.

the Prior, carries a load of lead up to the Prior's church-roof, flies home with the Prior on his back; and then the Prior "commanded him to goe into an olde castle that stood farre within the forrest, and never more to come out, but to remaine there for ever. From which Devill and all other Devills, defend us good Lord! Amen!"

XX. *Howleglas.* Of this work we know of three different editions by Wyllyam Copland, though of each only one imperfect copy has survived. One copy has no colophon; the other two were printed after Wyllyam Copland had left his predecessor Robert's old house, the Rose Garland in Fletestrete. The first of these, that in the Brit. Mus., was 'Imprynted at London in T. at the V. on the 3 Cr. Wharfe;' the second, or Bodleian copy, was 'Imprinted at Lothbury;' where W. Copland printed from 1562-3 (see my *Boorde Forewords*, p. 1.) to 1567 (see above, p. xxxix). The earliest ed. must have borne date after 1547 (the latest date of Robert Copland's books) or 1548 (the earliest date of Wyllyam Copland's). To Mr. Collier is due the credit of having brought the Lothbury edition to public notice, and of having shown that the Bodleian copy was possibly the poet Spenser's, and lent by him to Gabriel Harvey¹ (*Bibliographical Catal.* i. 379-381). The title is "Here

¹ [4^o. Z. 3. Art. Seld. (Bodl. Libr.) last page, back of Colophon.]

This Howletglasse, with Skoggin, Skelton, & L[a]zarill[o], giuen me at London, of Mr. Spensar / xx. Decembris, 1[5]78. on condition [y^t I] shoold bestowe y^e reading of them ou[er] before y^e first of January, j[med]iatly ensuing: otherwise to forfeit unto him my Lucian jn fower uolumes. Whereupon I was y^e rather jnduced to trifle away so many howers, as were jdely ouerpasse in running thorough y^e f[oresai]d foolish bookes: wherein methowg[h]t not all fower together seemed comparable for s[utt]le & crafty feates with Jon Miller / whose witty shiftes, & practises ar rep[or]ted amongst Skeltons Tales. [Dyce's *Skelton's Works*, vol. i, p. lxvi.]

[In the same hand, previous page, but crossed through with the pen:—"Skeltons only Jon Miller, worth all Howletglasse, Skoggin, and Skelton besyde."]

The book, says Mr. G. Parker, has evidently been read through, as many passages are underlined, and crosses and strokes occur in the margin; and in the *Table*, at end, there are lines, crosses, and notes, all by the same hand.

TABLE. Thus:—*How howleglas wold flye fro a house top.* [MS. note,] Skoggin's patterne.

„ after chapt. 12, is added in MS.

A miracle upon y^e hault, & lame. Idem jn Mensa philosophica

„ on the next page blynde [MS. note].

how howleglas gaue, xx, gyldens to, xii, poore men for Christes loue,

„ next line A great braggadocia [MS. note].

how howleglas feared his host w^t a dead woulfe.

beginnethe a merye Jeste of a man called Howleglas, and of many maruelous thinges and Jestes that he dyd in his lyffe in Eastlande and in many other places." The book is sm. 4to, without date, printed by Copland. 2 copies of this work are in the British Museum. Here are the Prologue and Contents:—

The Prologue.—For the great desyryng and praying of my good frandes,¹—and I *the* first writer of this boke might not denye them, —Thus haue I comp[y]led² & gathered much knauyshnes & falsnes of one Howleglas, made and done within his³ lyfe, whiche Howleglas dyed *the* yeare of our lorde God. M. CCCC. & L.⁴ Nowe I desyre to be pardoned both before ghostly & worldly, afore highe & lowe, afore noble and vnnoble. And right lowly I requyre all those *that* shall reade or heare this presente Ieste, my ignoraunce to excuse. This fable is not but only to renewe *the* mindes of men or women of all degrees from *the* vse of sadnesse, to passe the tyme with laughter or myrthe, And forbecause *the* simple knowyng persones shuld beware if folkes can see. Me thinke it is better to⁵ passe the tyme with suche a mery Ieste, and laughe there at, and doo no synne, than for to wepe, and do synne.

Contents.—Howe Howleglas, as he was borne, was christened iii. tymes vpon one day. How Howleglas aunswered a man that asked the hyghe waye. How that Howleglas sat vpon his fathers horse, behynde hym. How Howleglas fell fro the rope into the water. How Howleglas mother learned hym, and bad him go to a craft. How Howleglas got bread for his mother. How Howleglas was stolen out of a bye-hyue by nyght. How Howleglas was hyred of a pryest. How Hoglegas was made a paryshe clarke. How Howleglas wold flye fro a house-top. How Howleglas made hymselfe a physicion, and how he begyled a doctour with hys medicines. How Hoglegas made [that] a sicke chyld shylde shyte, *that* afore myght not shyte, and howe he gat great worship therof. How Howleglas made hole all the sycke folke that were in the hospytall, where the spere of our lord is. How Howleglas was hyred to be a bakers seruant. How Howleglas was put in wages with the foster of Anhalte, for to watche vpon a tower to se whan his enemies came, and than for to blowe an horne to

¹ frandes, B.² compled, A; compyled, B.³ dis, B.⁴ The end of the book says 'M. CCC. & fyftie.'⁵ no, A; to, B.

warne them therof. How Howleglas wan a great deale of mony wyth a poynt of foolyshnesse. How the duke of Lunenborough banyshed Howleglas out of his lande. How Howleglas set his hostyse vpon the hote ashes with her bare arce. How Howleglas toke vpon hym to be a paynter. How Howleglas had a great disputacion with all the douctours of Pragem in Bemen. How Howleglas became a pardoner. How Howleglas did eate for money in the towne Banberbette. How Howleglas went to Rome to speke *with* the pope. How Howleglas deceived iii. Jewes with durt. How Howleglas had gotten the persons horse by his confession. How Howleglas was hyred of a blacke smyth. How Howleglas was hyred of a shoemaker. How Howleglas serued a taylor. How Howleglas solde turdes for fat. How Howleglas through his subtle disceytes deceyued a wyne drawer in Lubeke. How Howleglas became a maker of Spectacles, and howe he could fynde no worke in no lande. How Howleglas was hyred of a marchaunt man to be his cooke. How howleglas was desyred to dyner. How howleglas wane a piece of cloth, of a man of the country. How howleglas gave xx. gyldens to .xii. poore men, for Christes loue. How howleglas feared his host *with* a dead woulfe. How howleglas flied a hound, and gaue the skyn for halfe hys dynner. How howleglas serued *the* same hostise another tim[e], and laye on a whele. How Howleglas serued a holander *with* a rosted aple. How Howleglas made a woman that sold erthen pottes to smyte them all in pieces. How Howleglas brake the stayres that the munkes shulde come down on to matyns, and how thei fell downe into the yarde. How Howleglas bought creame of the women of the cuntrey that brought it for to sell. How Howlegl[a]s came to a scholer, to make verses with him to the vse of reason. How Howleglas was secke at Molen¹, and how he dyd shyte in the poticaries boxes, and was borne in the holy ghoste. How Howleglas deceiued his ghostly father. How Howleglas made his testament. How Howleglas was buried.

(¶ Thus endeth the lyfe of Howleglas.

XXI. *Gargantua.* 'The History of Gargantua, a romance translated from Rabelais, and alluded to by Shakespeare. A book entitled "The History of Garagantua," was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company in 1594, but there was no doubt a much earlier edition. The author of Harry White's Humour, 1640,

¹ Mr. Halliwell prints 'moten.'

“is of this opinion, that if the histories of Garagantua and Tom Thumbe be true, by consequence, Bevis of Hampton and Scoggin’s Jestes must needes be authentical.”—*Halliwell*, p. 14. Rabelais was born about 1483; he began to publish his Gargantua and Pantagrue in parts in 1535; and he died in 1553. As we have no notice of an English translation before 1575, it is possible that Laneham had seen the French original in his travels, and spoke of that here, without thinking whether Captain Cox knew French or not.

XXII. *Robin Hood*. The entries before 1575 under this heading in Mr. Hazlitt’s Handbook, are

1. A geste of Robyn hode. (A very imperfect copy of an edition from the press of W. Chepman and A. Myllar, circa 1508, in 4to, black letter, is in the Adv. Lib. Edinb. A perfect exemplar should consist of — leaves.)

2. (a.) Here begynneth a lytell geste of Robyn hode. (Colophon) Explycit. Kynge Edwarde and Robyn Hode & Lytell Johan. Enprented at London in Flete strete at the sygne of the sone By Wynken de Worde. n. d. 4to, 32 leaves. With a woodcut on the title page, and Caxton’s device at end. In verse. Public Library, Cambridge (held to be unique).

(b.) A lytell Geste, etc. 4to, black letter. Printed with the same types as W. de Worde’s edits. of Memorare Novissima and Thordynary of Christen men. Bodleian (Douce’s fragm.).

(In a bookseller’s Catalogue for 1865 were several leaves of this tract, ascribed to Pynson’s press, but query.)

3. (a.) A mery geste of Robyn Hoode and of hys lyfe, wyth a newe playe for to be played in Maye games very plesaunte and full of pastyme. (This title is over a woodcut of Robin Hood and Little John.) (Colophon) Thus endeth the play of Robyn Hode. Imprinted at London vpon the thre Crane Wharfe by wyllyam Copland. [ab. 1561.] 4to, black letter, 34 leaves, or J 2, in fours. Br. Museum (Garrick). (The Geste commences on the back of the title page, thus; Here begynneth a lytell geste of Robyn hoode and his mery men, and of the proude shyryfe of Notyngham: concluding on H 2 recto with, ‘Thus endeth the lyfe of Robyn hode.’ On H 2 verso begins the Play, and occupies 9 pages, ending on J 2 verso.)

4. As Robyn Hood in Barnesdale stood. (Mentioned in

Udall's translation of 'Erasmi Apothegmata,' 1542, but no early copy has yet been found.)

5. A ballett of Robyn hod. Licensed to John Alde in 1562-3.

As Wyllyam Copland's edition of the *Mery Geste and Play* is the one nearest to Laneham's time, we'll suppose that 'the black Prince' and Captain Cox had it, and say what it contains.

The well-known *Lytell Geste* tells in 8 fytttes how 1. Robin,—with Little John, Scathelock, and Much, the miller's son,—feeds and clothes, and lends £400 to, a knight who is mourning for the almost certain loss of his lands, pledged for £400 to the Abbot of St. Mary's, York, because his son has slain a Lancashire knight and a squire. 2. The day for redemption of the mortgage arrives; the Abbot makes sure of getting the land, and has bribed the Justice to take his side, when the knight comes to beg for longer time to pay off the mortgage in, and offers to serve the Abbot till he can repay him. The Abbot refuses scornfully, and appeals to the Justice to declare that the place is his. On this the Knight pulls out Robin's £400, and gets back his land. He afterwards saves up the money, and starts with 100 bowmen, carrying 100 bows etc. as a present, to pay Robin; and on his way releases a strange archer at a match, who has beaten all the other shots, and is to be slain from envy. 3. Little John¹ turns man-servant to the Sheriff of Nottingham, gets up a row in the house because he has to wait for his dinner, fights the big cook, and then persuades him to join in robbing the Sheriff, and going off to Robin Hood. In the forest, Little John finds the Sheriff, and by a trick brings him to Robin, who makes him sleep in the forest, and lets him go, on his swearing never to hurt Robin or his men. 4. Little John, Much, and Scathlock, take a monk of St. Mary's Abbey, York, and frighten away 50 of his 52 followers. Robin gives the monk a dinner, and takes away all his gold, £800 and more. The knight to whom Robin had lent £400, then brings it him back, with 20 marks interest, and a present of 100 bows with arrows, etc. Robin accepts the bows, but refuses the £400, as he's already been paid by the monk of St. Mary's. He then gives the knight another £400 for his bows. 5. The Sheriff

¹ He is represented in the woodcut on Copland's title-page as a fierce little man in complete armour, with his right hand on a very big scimitar, sheathed, and his left hand carrying a battle-axe longer than himself, while Robin Hood is a very tall archer, with bow, arrows, and feather to match.

of Nottingham proclaims a shooting-match. Robin wins the prize. The Sheriff tries to take him and his men; but they make good their retreat to Syr Rychard-at-the-Lee's friendly castle. 6. There the Sheriff besets them, but Sir Richard bids him off, and says he'll answer to the king for his acts. To London the Sheriff goes; and the king promises him that he'll come to Nottingham in a fortnight, and take Robin. Meantime the Sheriff waylays Sir Richard; but his wife at once tells Robin; and he overtakes the party, kills the Sheriff, and frees Sir Richard. 7. The King comes to Nottingham, finds all his deer gone, and is very wroth, but can't find Robin Hood. At last, drest like an Abbot and monks, the king and five of his knights soon meet Robin, are robbed of all their money, £40, and the Abbot (or King) invites Robin to dine with the King. Glad at this, Robin gives the Abbot dinner, serves him, has a shooting-match for him, and takes a buffet from him when he, Robin, misses putting his arrow inside the rose-garland bull's-eye. Then Robin and Sir Richard recognize the King; kneel, and crave pardon, which is granted. 8. The King gets Robin to clothe him and his knights in green; they all go together to Nottingham, and Robin stays at court for 15 months till all his money's gone. Then he journeys home to 'Bernysdale' and dwells 'in grene wode' twenty-two years, till the wicked Prioress of Kyrkesley, incited by Sir Roger of Donkestere, lets him blood, to his death.

The 'newe playe for to be played in Maye games, very plesaunte and full of pastyme' as the title-page says, or 'verye proper to be played in Maye games,' as the heading on leaf H ii back (unsigned) has it, is a dramatization, with changes, of 'Robin Hood and Friar Tuck,' and 'Robin Hood and the Potter.' Ritson says in his *Robin Hood Ballads* that he has reprinted the Play 'in another place.' Robin tells his men how he fought with a Friar, and the Friar took his purse. Who will go and fetch the Friar? Little John volunteers; but Friar Tuck appears; and after much mutual abuse, the Friar takes Robin on his back, and throws him into the water. They fight; Robin blows for his men; the Friar whistles for his men, not dogs:—

Now cut and bause,
Bring forth the clubbes and staues,
And downe with those ragged knaves,—

when Robin proposes to the Friar to serve him, and have not

only golde and fee, but also 'a Lady free.' The lady or 'huckle duckle' as the Friar calls her, he eagerly accepts; and then comes the second incident. Robin complains of a proud Potter who won't pay passage-money for his use of the road. Who'll make him? Little John says that none of 'em can; but Robin undertakes to do it. Then the potter's boy appears, and Robin smashes all his pots. The Potter comes up, abuses Robin, and offers to fight him with sword and buckler. Robin accepts, tells Little John

Be the knaue neuer so stoute,
I shall rappe him on the snoute
And put hym to flyghte.

Thus endeth the play of Robyn Hode.

Whether the Potter got rapt on the snowt, 'wyllyam Copland' of 'the thre Crane wharfe' does not say; but doubtless the play, when acted, wound up with the Potter's beating and flight.

Six imperfect versions of Robin Hood ballads differing somewhat from any others known are in the *Percy Folio Ballads and Romances*, vol. 1, p. 13-58. 'Robin Hoode his Death,' p. 50, is the most important.

We know from Latimer and Stubbes what a hold the Robin Hood games had on the common folk in their days. In Henry the VIII's time Robin was popular at Court too. Witness Hall's accounts, of which here is one:—

"The kyng, sone after [Henry VIII, after 12 Jan. 1509-10] came to Westminster with the Quene, and all their train: And on a tyme beyng there, his grace, therles of Essex, Wilshire, and other noble menne, to the number of twelue, came sodainly in a mornyng into the Quenes Chambre, all appareled in shorte cotes of Kentishe Kendal, with hodes on their heddes, and hosen of the same, euery one of them his bowe and arrowes, and a sworde and a bucklar, like outlawes, or *Robyn Hodes men*; whereof the Quene, the Ladies, and al other there, were abashed, as well for the straunge sight, as also for their sodain commyng: and after certain daunces, and pastime made, thai departed." *Hall's Chronicle*, p. 513, ed. 1809. See too the Maying of 1515, when the king's guard dressed up as Robin Hood and his men, and gave the king and queen a venison breakfast at Shooter's Hill, *ib.* p. 582.

XXIII. *Adam Bel, Clim of the Clough, and William of Cloudesley.*

Of this well-known ballad on the three bold outlaws of the north we know only, 1. an early fragment which Mr. Hazlitt thinks was printed by Wynkyn de Worde (*E. Pop. Poetry*, ii. 132) and which Mr. J. P. Collier said in 1865 was 'not long since discovered as the fly-leaf to another book' (*Bibl. Catal.* i. 11); 2. a complete though incorrect edition among Garrick's books in the British Museum, 'Imprinted at London in Lothburye by Wyllyam Copland', doubtless after 1561, though it is not in the Stationers' Register A. But in this MS., on leaf 24, next to an entry of a license to 'William Coplande,' stands, under the year 1557-8, this:

To John Kynge, to prynte this boke Called Adam bell &c.; and for his lycense he geveth to the howse [no sum.]

We get a notice of another edition (no doubt) before 1575¹ in Register B, (*Collier's Stat. Reg.* ii. 155) by Awdeley who wrote the *Fraternitie of Vacabondes*,² and was called John Sampson, or Awdeley, or Sampson Awdeley.

[1581-2] 15 Januarij.

John Charlwood. Rd. of him, for his lycence to printe theis Copies hereafter mentioned, &c. Copies which were Sampson Awdeleys, and now lycenced to the said John Charlwood &c. . . . Adam Bell.

Some pleasant talk and bibliographical cram on the ballad and its subject, the reader will find in Mr. Hazlitt's introduction to it in *Early Pop. Poetry*, ii. 131, and Mr. Collier's *Bibl. Catal.* i. 11, while a slightly differing copy of the ballad is in the *Percy Folio Ballads*, iii. 76-101. The story of the ballad is so widely known as hardly to need mention. William Cloudeley goes from the green forest to see his wife and children in the town: there he is betrayed by an old woman he has kept for charity 7 years; his house is burnt, and he taken, and condemned to die. Adam Bell and Clim of the Clough get into the town, cut Cloudeley loose at the foot of the gallows, rescue him, and all get away to the merry greenwood. There Cloudeley finds his wife and children; then goes with his son to London, and, by the Queen's intercession, gains the King's pardon for himself and his friends. But afterwards, when the King hears of 300 men, the Mayor, Con-

¹ 'No book with a date being known from Awdeley's press after 1576.' (*Collier's Stat. Reg.* ii. 156.)

² See our edition of it, with Harman's *Caueat*, etc., E. E. Text Soc. Extra Series 1869.

stables, Catchpolls, Bailiffs, Beadles, and Serjeant-at-law, of Carlisle, all slain by the outlaws,—besides 40 of his own foresters,—he regrets that he hasn't hanged the outlaws all three. Cloudesley then beats all the king's archers, and, like Tell and other mythic folk, splits an apple on his son's head at sixscore paces with an arrow, is made a gentleman, his wife chief gentlewoman of the Queen's nursery; and all the three outlaws live with the King, and die good yeomen all. Thus were the merry men wont to 'fleet the time carelessly, as they did in the golden world.'

XXIV. *The Churl and the Burd.* Of this popular poem by Lydgate we have no less than seven printed editions before Captain Cox's time, besides more manuscript copies. Caxton's first edition, about 1479, is in the University Library, Cambridge; his second, about 1480, is in the York Chapter Library, and has been reprinted for the Roxburghe Club. Wynkyn de Worde's first edition was printed in Caxton's house, about 1500 A.D.; his second 'in the Fletestrete in the sygne of the Sonne,' and a copy is in the University Libr. Cambr. Of Pynson's edition a copy is in the Grenville collection in the British Museum. Johan Mychell's edition was 'printed at Cantorbury in Saynte Paules parysshe' about 1540, and copies are among Selden's books in the Bodleian, and at Bridgewater House. Lastly, Wylliam Copland's edition was 'Imprinted at London in Lothburi ouer against Sainct Margarytes church' after 1561, and was reprinted by Ashmole in his *Theatrum Chemicum*, 1652, 4to. In 1840 Mr. Halliwell printed the poem from the Harl. MS. 116, leaves 146-152, in his *Minor Poems of Dan John Lydgate* for the Percy Society, p. 179-193. There must be several other MS. copies of it. The moral of the poem, translated 'out of the Frenssh,' and that taken from the Latin, is, that you're not to be too fast to believe all the tales you hear, not to cry for spilt milk, and not to covet what you can't get. A Churl is very fond of his garden, and adorns it with trees, alleys, a fountain, etc. On a laurel in its midst, a beautiful gold-bright Bird sings often 'a verray heavenly melodye.' This Bird the Churl catches, and proposes to put it in a cage to sing to him. But the Bird says it can't sing in thralldom, only in liberty; the Churl'd better let it go, and then it'll come and sing to him every day, and will also tell him 'thre grete wysdoms . . . more of valewe . . . thane al the golde that is shet in [his] cofre.' On this the Churl sets the Bird free; and the Bird tells him 1. Give not

too hasty credence to every tale or tidings; 2. Desire not a thing which it is impossible to recover; 3. 'For tresoure loste, maketh¹ never to [=too] gret sorowe.' Then the Bird tells the Churl that he's been a great fool to free her, for she has, inside her, a wondrous *jagounce* stone which would have made him victorious in battle, given him plenty of treasure, kept him from all hurt, made every one love him, kept his heart light, etc. The Churl believes it all, feels his heart part in twain at the treasure he has thus lost, and bitterly laments that he has misst the chance of living like a king. Then the Bird comes back and mocks him, says it's all nonsense, and his dull wits have forgotten all her 3 wisdoms; she warned him not to believe every tale he heard, not to sorrow for things suddenly lost, not to covet what he couldn't recover. He's broken all three maxims; it's no good teaching a churl terms of gentleness; and so she flies her way.

XXV. *The Seaven Wise Masters.* This set of stories is better known to manuscript men by its verse title of "The Seven Sages," as Weber has printed it from the incomplete earliest English text in the Auchinleck MS. ab. 1320-30 A.D., with a head and tail from the later Cotton MS. Galba E ix.—'The Proces of the Sevyn Sages,'—in his *Metrical Romances*, i. 1-153, and Mr. Thomas Wright has printed it from the MS. Dd. i. 17, in the Cambridge University Library, for the Percy Society, 1845, with a separate long Introduction, to which I must refer the reader. M. Paulin Paris and divers French and German critics have written on the subject since. The earliest English prose version known to us—made from the early printed Latin *Historia Septem Sapientum*²—was printed by Wynkyn de Worde:

Here begynneth thystorye of y^e. vii. Wyse Maysters of rome conteynnyng ryght fayre & ryght ioyous narracions, & to y^e reder ryght delectable. [Col.] Thus endeth the treatyse of the seuen sages or wyse maysters of Rome. En-
 printed in flet strete in y^e sygne of the sone by me Wynkyn de worde. [circa 1505.] 4to, black letter, 80 leaves. With several page woodcuts. Brit. Museum. (*Hazlitt.*) Incomplete. One cut is repeated for each Tale of the Empress, and another cut for each Tale of the Masters; but it's a pretty book.

The next is Wyllyam Copland's (? 1548-1560) at the sygne of the Rose Garland. Of two editions entered as licensed in the Stationers' Registers we know no copy: 1558 A.D., lf. 31, "Thomas marshe / Thomas marshe ys lycensed to prynte y^e pronostication

¹ make ye.

² Ellis's *Specimens*, p. 409 (Bohn).

of Lewes Vaughan; Bevys of hampton; The vij wyse masters of Rome. [etc.] . . . *xxd.*" A.D. 1566, MS. leaf 141. "purfoote / R of Thomas purfoote, for his lycense for prynting of a boke intituled the vij masters of Rome &c. / . . . *vjd.*"

Mr. Hazlitt enters two early editions of a poetical version, but the second is not noticed in the Stationers' Register A, and the first is too early for it:—

(a.) "Sage and prudente Saynges of the Seuen wyse Men, in English Verse, by Robert Barrant, with a Comment. Lond. by Rich. Grafton, 1553. Sm. 8vo, black letter.

(b.) Lond. by John Tisdale, 1560. Sm. 8vo, black letter.

As Captain Cox couldn't have had the poetical version from the MS. noticed above, and I don't know where any copy of Graton's or Tisdale's edition is, we will assume that the Captain had the prose book, and sketch it as well as we can from the imperfect copy of Wynkyn de Worde's edition in the Museum.

When the wife of Poncianus, Emperor of Rome, dies, she beseeches her husband not to let the 2nd wife that he'll take, have any control over her son Dyoclesian¹. She dies, and the Emperor gives his boy over to the care of Seven Wise Masters, 1. Pantyllas, 2. Lentulus, 3. Craton, 4. Malquydrac, 5. Josephus, 6. Cleophas 7 not named. Then, urged by his lords, the Emperor marries again; but his second wife cannot conceive, and therefore wishes and plots the death of his son Dyoclesian. (*Leaf B i. out.* The Empress gets the Emperor to send for his son. The youth, after 16 years' training, finds from the stars that unless he keeps dumb for 7 days, he'll be killed;) and so, when Dyoclesian comes to the palace, he won't speak to his father. The Empress takes him to her room, says she wants to have joy of his person, and shows him her breasts and body. He rejects her advances, and she screams, and declares he's tried to violate her. The Emperor orders his son to be hanged, but his lords persuade him to put the youth in prison, and have him tried. The Empress is angry at this, and by a tale (*Empress I.*) warns the Emperor that he'll meet with the fate of the burgess of Rome who (*leaf B 6 out*) had a tree with an 'imp' or sucker, had the old tree cut down to let the sucker grow, and when that was a tree, cut that down too. Thus Dyoclesian will cut down the Emperor. On this the Emperor orders Dyoclesian to be taken to execution; but as he's going

¹ In *Ellis*, the Emperor is Diocletian, and the son Florentin.

there, Pancyllas stops him, and tells the Emperor a tale (*Masters I.*) of how a wife, not looking under an upset cradle for her child, persuaded her husband to kill his best greyhound, which had, in fact, upset the cradle while killing a serpent who was trying to bite the child. The Emperor respites his son for that day; but then the Empress tells him another tale that makes him order his son's death; and the next Master tells him another that makes him countermand it. So they go on till, after the seven days, Dyoclesian can speak, and expose his step-mother, who is then handed over to the law, to be judged to death. The tales or 'examples,' after the first on each side given above, are:

Empress II. The Boar and the Shepherd. An Emperor promises his only daughter to the man who'll kill a great boar. A shepherd tries to do it, climbs up a tree, and throws down fruit to the boar which it eats till it gets to sleep. Then the shepherd holds on to the tree with one hand, claws the boar's back with the other, and at last drives his knife into its heart.

Masters II. (leaf C6 out.) The Husband out of doors. A burgess of Rome marries a fair proud well-born girl. At nights she leaves him when she thinks he's asleep, and goes to her lover. Now, as the Roman watch take up all persons found in the streets after curfew, put 'em in prison for the night, flog 'em, and set 'em in the pillory next day, the old husband one night locks his door while his wife's out, to let her get punished. She begs hard for admission, says she'll drown herself rather than be shamed, and then drops a big stone into a well. The old husband, taken-in by this, rushes down-stairs to the well, lamenting his drowned wife; but she slips in-doors, locks the old man out, and there the watch catch him, and give him the customary punishment.

Empress III. The Father murdered by his son. A spendthrift knight gets his son to help him rob the Emperor Octavian's treasure, by digging a hole under the tower it's kept in. To catch the thief, the treasurer puts a vessel filled with pitch and gums into the hole. Father and son come again; the father falls into the vessel up to his neck, and tells his son to cut his head off, and then run home. The son does this. To find out the robber, the father's dead body is drawn through the streets. When his daughters see it, they shriek, and the officers rush up; but the son wounds his mouth, and declares his sisters shrieked at that. So they avoid discovery: the father's body is hung up, and the son doesn't bury it or his head.

Masters III. The Magpie. A merchant has a fair false wife, whose misdeeds his magpie tells him, and he upbraids her for them. One time that he is away, his wife lets in her lover, and the Magpie declares he'll tell his master. The wife gets up a ladder to the roof of the house, makes a hole in it, and pours sand, stones, and water, on the Magpie. When the merchant comes home, the Magpie tells him of his wife having her lover last night when snow, hail, and rain, fell on the pie's back. The wife declares it's all a lie; the weather was quite fair. So too say all the neighbours; and accordingly the merchant wrings the Magpie's neck. Then he sees the ladder, and pots of sand, stones, and water; and goes off sorrowing to the Holy Land. [Comp. Chaucer's *Maucciple's Tale*.]

*Empress IV.*¹ *The Emperor [Herowdes, Ellis] and Merlin.* An Emperor has 7 wise Masters who make him blind whenever he goes out of his palace, and who oppress his people, and charge them a florin apiece for every dream they interpret. At length the Emperor threatens the 7 Masters with death unless they cure him. They can't do it, but, hearing a wise child, Merlin, interpret a dream truly, they take him to the Emperor. The child orders the Emperor's bedclothes etc. to be taken off, and there appears a well, with 7 springs, which are the 7 wise Masters. By Merlin's direction, the 7 Masters' heads are cut off, the springs and well vanish, and the Emperor regrets his sight.

Masters IV. The old wise man who bleeds his naughty wife. A wise old knight is persuaded to marry the fair young daughter of the Provost of Rome; but he lies too still in bed for her, and so she resolves to have in the Priest, as spiritual men keep such things more secret than laymen². However, her mother persuades her to try her husband first, and see whether he'll stand her adultery. So, she tries him thrice, 1. she cuts down his favourite tree in his garden, 2. she kills his favourite greyhound before his eyes, 3. at a feast they give their friends, she pulls the tablecloth and everything on it, off the table on to the ground. Then the old knight tames her; has a barber up, and makes him bleed her in both arms till she thinks she'll die; when she repents, and says 'The deuyll may the preest confounde and shame. I wyl neuer loue other but my husbonde.' (See *Le Menagier*, i. 164-5.)

¹ This is the Empress's 6th tale in Ellis.

² See *Le Menagier de Paris*, vol. i. p. 162: "Mère," dit la fille, "j'aimeray le chapelain de ceste ville, car prestres et religieux craignent honte, et sont

Empress V. Is the story of Virgilius and his Images (above, p. xlii) or *Cressus, the rich man*, as Ellis calls it: how 4 knights, enemies of Rome, persuade the Emperor to let them undermine Virgilius's tower and break his images; and how the Romans pour molten gold down the Emperor's throat, and are themselves all destroyed by their enemies. Another short incident is, how Virgil's light, and his hot and cold baths for the citizens, are destroyed.

Masters V. Hippocrates and his nephew (Ellis), or *Ypocras and Galienus*. The famous physician Ypocras has a clever nephew, Galienus, whom he teaches, and sends to the King of Ungary to cure his son. Having seen the child's urine and felt its pulse—'tasted his pounces'—Galienus says the child is not the King's son. The Queen says it is, and threatens the doctor; but is at last obliged to confess that the Kyng of Burgondyen is its father. Then Galienus can prescribe for it, gives it 'to ete, beef, or of an oxe to drynke,' cures it, goes home, and tells Ypocras what he has done. The old uncle, filled with envy, gets Galienus to stoop to pick a herb, and kills him. After that, Ypocras falls sick unto death, and dies because his nephew is not there to help him.

Empress VI. The Emperor and his Steward's Wife. A very ugly Emperor resolves to attack Rome, and take away the bodies of Peter and Paul. He also wants a fair woman to lie with him, and offers his steward £1000 to get him one. The steward, to get the money, takes his own Wife to the Emperor, who likes her so much that he won't let her go again; and when the Steward confesses she's his own wife, the Emperor banishes him. Then the Emperor proposes to attack Rome, but 6 of the Wise Masters dissuade him from it for 6 days; and on the 7th, the 7th Master clothes himself in a marvellous vesture of peacocks' and other birds' tails, and stands on the highest tower with 2 bright swords in his mouth. The Emperor and his host take the Master for 'Jhesus, the god of y^e crysten folke,' flee, and are nearly all killed by the Romans.

Masters VI. The Murderous Knight and his Wife. A poor knight has a fair young wife who sings well, and accepts the offers of 3 knights to give her 100 florins each, and lie with her. She then persuades her husband to let them in at the gate one after the other, at different times, take their money, and cut off their

plus secrets. Je ne voudroie jamais amer un chevalier, car il se vanteroit plus tost, et gaberait de moy, et me demanderoit mes gages [?] à engager."

heads. Then the trouble is to get rid of the bodies. Her brother is governor of the watch at Rome, and she makes up a story to him, that her husband quarrelled with a friend and killed him. The brother takes the corpse in a sack, and throws it into the sea. But no sooner has he got back to his sister's, than she says, "The knight you cast into the sea has come back again," and so she makes him get rid of the 2nd corpse, and then the 3rd. To make sure of the 3rd, her brother burns it; and when he afterwards sees a strange knight warming himself at the fire, he thinks it is the corpse come to life a 4th time, and therefore throws the knight and his horse into the fire. After a time the wife and her husband fall out, and he smites her. She waxes angry, and says 'O wretche! wyll ye kyll me as ye haue done the thre knyghtes?'" This is over-heard; and the husband and wife are found out, 'drawen atte an horse tayll, and hanged vppon the galowes.'

Empress VII. The two Dreams¹, or The King that didn't know his own Wife. A king loves his wife so, that he locks her up in a strong castle, and keeps the key himself. She and a knight in far parts each dream of the other, though neither has seen that other. The knight searches for, and finds, the Queen; she throws him a letter; he does valiant deeds at her husband's court, gets his leave to build a place near his tower, and has a secret passage made into it. There the Queen yields to him, and gives him a ring that the King had given her. This the king sees one day; and the knight has to sham ill, and get home to the Queen and give her back the ring, to prevent being found out. Then the knight first gets the Queen to dress up in foreign clothes as his love, and entertains the king at a feast; and secondly, the knight gets the King to give the Queen away to him as his bride, at his wedding. The wedded couple set sail; and the king discovers the trick, but too late.

Masters VII. The ungrateful Widow. A loving knight dies of distress at having accidentally cut his wife's finger. She at first pretends to be very sorry, and refuses comfort; but afterwards, to make another knight marry her,—a sheriff who has let some one steal a thief's body from the gallows,—helps to take up her husband's corpse, and then mangles it frightfully—knocks its teeth out, wounds its head, and cuts off its ears and stones.—Then she claims fulfilment of the Sheriff's promise to marry her; but he re-

¹ In Ellis, this is made the Wise Masters' 7th story.

proaches her for ill-treating her first husband's corpse, and cuts her head off.

After this, Dyoclesyan exposes his step-mother's adultery, and her attempt to corrupt him; she is left to the law; and Dyoclesyan tells a concluding tale or Example:

*Dyoclesyan's Tale. The Two Friends: Alexander and Lodowyke.*¹ A knight had a son whom he gave up to a master of a far country to teach. When the son came back, a nightingale sang, and the Father askt his boy to tell him what the bird said. 'That I shall become a great lord; my father shall bring water to wash my hands, and my mother shall hold my towel.' For this the father throws the boy into the sea; but he swims to a land, is pickt up by a ship, and sold to a Duke, with whom he grows into favour. Three Ravens follow the King of this Duke wherever he goes; and he offers his daughter and realm to whoever will rid him of the Ravens. The boy tells him that the Ravens have a dispute: they are father, mother, and child. In a time of famine, the mother left the child and flew away, while the father stopt with it and fed it; yet now the mother wants the child; so does the father: which is to have it? If the King gives right judgment, the Ravens will trouble him no more. The King gives judgment for the Father, and is free of his pests. The boy, Alexander, stays with the king (of Egypt) for a time, then goes to the court of the great Emperor Tytus. There he is made Carver; and Lodowyke, the king of France's son, who is very like Alexander, but weaker, is made cupbearer. Lodowyke falls violently in love with Florentyne, Tytus's daughter; and Alexander makes her such rich presents for his friend, that she lets Lodowyke come to her at night whenever he likes. Alexander is then called home by the death of the king of Egypt, and Guydo, son of the King of Spain, is appointed Carver in his place. Guydo soon finds out, and tells the Emperor of, Lodowyke's tricks with his daughter. Lodowyke denies them, and challenges Guydo; but as he is weak, and Guydo strong, Florentyne bids him go to Alexander. He does so, and finds Alexander preparing for his marriage, and unable to put it off; but as Guydo must be fought, Alexander leaves Lodowyke to personate him, and marry his bride, while he

¹ Compare the Prince's Tale in Ellis. The present one comprises that and another old story.

goes back to fight Guydo. This is done accordingly. Alexander, after a hard struggle, cuts off Guydo's head, and explains his victory to the Emperor by the fact that God always favours the innocent. Lodowyke marries Alexander's bride, but lays a naked sword between her and himself at night. Then Alexander returns, and the sword is no longer needed; but his wife is so indignant at her supposed husband's long neglect of her charms, that she gives her love to another old lover, and with him concocts a poison for Alexander, which nearly kills him, and quite turns him into a leper. Then they dethrone him, and he goes, as a leprous beggar, to Lodowyke, who, by the death of his father and Tytus, has become Emperor of Rome and France. For Alexander's sake, Lodowyke lets the leprous beggar eat before him, and drink out of his own cup; and when the beggar makes himself known, Lodowyke treats him with the greatest kindness. It is then revealed to Lodowyke, that by killing his twin sons, and washing Alexander in their blood, he can cure him. Lodowyke at once cuts his boys' throats, and heals Alexander, and then sends him some way off, that he may come again as a visitor to him. Florentyne is overjoyed to see Alexander; and when Lodowyke asks her whether, if Alexander had been like the leprous beggar, she'd give her twins' lives to cure him, she says 'Yes! ten sons if I had them. We owe our lives and all our happines to him!' Lodowyke then tells her that her boys are dead; but notwithstanding they are soon found, singing praises to the Virgin, with a gold thread round their throats where the knife cut. Lodowyke restores Alexander to his kingdom of Egypt, burns to powder his wife and her paramour, and gives him his own sister in marriage. Then Alexander, as King of Egypt, visits his father and mother; his father holds the basin and water for him, and his mother holds the towel; on which he reminds them of the nightingale's song, and their son, who he is.

Dyoclesyan's father offers to give-up the Empire to him; but he refuses it, helps his father till he dies, and then reigns long and happily. On the history and sources of this Romance of the Seven Sages, see the Introduction to it in Ellis, the preliminary essay in Warton's History of English Poetry, Mr. T. Wright's Preface or Essay for the Percy Society, M. Paulin Paris, etc., on the French *Dolopathos*, besides numerous Germans.

XXVI. *The Wife Lapt in a Morels Skin.* This is an interesting

and amusing old poem on the Charming or Taming of a Shrew, long before Shakspeare's famous play, of which the quarto edition bears date 1594. The only old edition now known is,

Here begynneth a merry Jeste of a shrewde and curste Wyfe, lapped in Morrelles skin, for her good behauyour. Imprinted at London in Fleetestrete, benethe the Conduite, at the signe of Saint John Euangelist, by H. Jackson. (No date, 4to, 23 leaves.)

Modern reprints are Mr. Utterson's in his *Select Pieces of Early Popular Poetry*, 1817; Mr. T. Amyot's for the Shakespeare Society, 1844; Mr. W. C. Hazlitt's, in his excellent *Early Popular Poetry*, vol. iv. p. 179-226, A.D. 1866. The Poem tells, in 1114 lines, how a good meek man had a curst wife—that is, one with the devil's own temper—and two daughters, one meek like himself, and the other curst like her mother; how the meek daughter got well married; and how, notwithstanding the father's strong warnings, a young man would marry the curst daughter. The courtship, the getting the mother's consent, as well as the girl's and the father's, the wedding-feast, first night and next morning, are all capitally told. The new couple begin business, and everything goes well till the curst bride falls foul of her husband's servants, and then, on his reproving her, abuses him violently. He, much grieved, rides away to let his wife's temper blow over; but when he comes back, she abuses him worse than before. So he has his blind old horse, Morell, killed and flayed; salts the skin that it mayn't stink, and gets a stock of new birch brooms. Then he asks her whether she will be master: she swears she will, and hits him; on which he catches her up, and locks her in the cellar. There they have a regular wrestling-match; he throws her, tears her smock off her back, and lays into her well with a rod in each hand till she bleeds freely, and swoons. Then he wraps her in old Morell's salted hide, which makes her smart; and he declares he'll keep her in it all her life. On this, she promises to amend, and obey him; and he promises never to hurt her again. Her sores are soon cured; and, to test her, her husband gives a feast to his father- and mother-in-law, and friends, and makes his wife wait on them. This she dutifully does, to her mother's great disgust. The mother abuses her son-in-law for his cruelty, and vows she'll see his heart's blood for it. But he tells the old woman that if she doesn't keep quiet, he'll make her dance too, and put her in old Morell's hide. She thinks he means what he

says, and gets out of the house as soon as dinner is done. All the neighbours hold that the bridegroom has done right; and, says the author unknown,

He that can charme a shrewde wyfe
 Better then thus,
 Let him come to me, and fetch ten pound
 And a golden purse.

XXVII. *The Sak full of Nuez.* This story-book or jest-book was licensed to John Kynge, with two other books, in 1557-8, "a sacker full of newes" (Stat. Reg. A, leaf 22; *Collier*, i. 3). It was afterwards Awdeley's, and then licensed to John Charlwood on 15 Jan. 1581-2, and to Edward White on 5 Sept. 1586 (*Collier*, ii. 155, 215) but the earliest edition now known is, says Mr. W. C. Hazlitt, that of 1673; from which Mr. Halliwell reprinted it in 1861, and Mr. Hazlitt also reprinted it in his *Old English Jest Books*, second series, p. 163. It is a collection of 22 tales, of which Mr. Hazlitt has in his edition suppressed two, as being too gross for publication. I take a sample at random, from p. 173-4. "There was a priest in the country which had christned a child; and when he had christned it, he and the clark were bidden to the drinking that should be there; and thither they went with other people; and being there, the priest drunk, and made so merry, that he was quite foxed, and thought to go home before he laid him down to sleep. But having gone a little way, he grew so drousie that he could go no further, but laid him down by a ditch side, so that his feet did hang in the water, and, lying on his back, the Moon shined in his face. Thus he lay, till the rest of the company came from drinking; who, as they came home, found the priest lying as aforesaid, and they thought to get him away; but, do what they could, he would not rise, but said: 'do not meddle with me, for I lie very well, and will not stir hence before morning: but, I pray, lay some more cloathes on my feet, and blow out the candle, and let me lie and take my rest.'"

XXVIII. *The Sergeaunt that became a Fryar.* This is a jocose poem of 288 lines, said to be by Sir Thomas More, and printed in the posthumous 1557 edition of his English *Workes*. An earlier edition of it, "A mery Gest how a Sergeaunt wolde lerne to be a Frere" was "Enprynted at London by me, Julyan Notary, dwellyng in Powlys churche yarde, at the weste dore, at the syng of saynt Marke," no date, 4to, black letter, 4 leaves; and auother

edition was "Imprinted at London by Rycharde Jhones," also without date, in 4to, in one little volume with, but after, *The Mylner of Abyngdon*.¹ From this edition of Jhones's, collated with that in Sir T. More's *Workes*, Mr. W. C. Hazlitt printed the poem in his *Early Popular Poetry*, iii. 119-129. The moral of the tale is, that a man who has been brought up to one trade shouldn't take to another, but stick to his own business. A young spendthrift drinks away all the money his father has left him, and then borrows more, right and left, which he squanders 'in mirth and play.' Then he goes to 'Saint Katherine'—wherever that may be,—and defies his creditors. One of them asks a Serjeant how to proceed; and the Serjeant undertakes to arrest the Debtor. The Serjeant accordingly disguises himself as a Friar, gets admission to the Debtor's room, and there tries to arrest him. But the Debtor knocks the Serjeant down, and they have a regular fight. At last 'the maide and wife' of the place come up, and beat the Friar-Serjeant about the noll and crown 'till he was well nighe slaine.' Then they throw him headlong down stairs; and the author counsels every man, "His own crafte use; all newe refuse."

XXIX. *Skogan.* On this old collection of Jests, which is attributed to Andrew Boorde, I have commented in my Forewords to Boorde's *Introduction and Dyetary* for the Early English Text Society's Extra Series, 1870. I do not believe it to be Boorde's work, though "many of the Jests turn on doctors and medicine . . . and many are concerned with Oxford life, which we assume Boorde to have passed through. Read the Prologue to the *Jests* :

"There is nothing beside the goodness of God, that preserves health so much as honest mirth used at dinner and supper, and mirth towards bed, as it doth plainly appear in the Directions for Health: therefore considering this matter, that mirth is so necessary for man, I publish this Book, named *The Jests of Scogin*, to make men merry: for amongst divers other Books of grave matters I have made, my delight had been to recreate my mind in making something merry; wherefore I do advertise every man, in avoiding pensiveness, or too much study or melaucholy, to be

¹ "A ryght pleasaunt and merye Historie of the Mylner of Abyngdon, with his wife, and his fayre daughter, and of two pore scholers of Cambridge. Where-vnto is adioyned another merye jest of a Sargeaunt that would have learned to be a fryar." 4to, 14 leaves. The *Mylner* is not by Andrew Boorde.

merry with honesty in God, and for God, whom I humbly beseech to send us the mirth of Heaven, Amen.

“and then compare it with the extracts from Boorde’s *Breuiary* on Mirth and honest Company, p. 88, etc.¹; lastly, compare the first *Jest* with Boorde’s chapters on Urines in his *Extravagantes*, and remark the striking coincidence between the *Jest’s* physician saying, ‘Ah . . . a water or urine is but a *strumpet*; a man may be deceived in a water,’ and Boorde’s declaring that urine ‘*is a strumpet* or an harlot, for it wyl lye; and the best doctour of Phisicke of them all maye be deceyued in an vryne, and his cunningg and learning not a tote the worse.’ (*Extravagantes*, Fol. xxi. back.)”

“*Scogin’s Jest*s, an idle thing unjustly fathered upon Dr. Boorde, have been often printed in Duck Lane,” says Anthony a Wood, *Ath. Oxon*, i 172. The first edition known to us is in the Bodleian, A.D. 1613; the second is in the British Museum: “The first and best parts of Scoggins Iests: full of witty Mirth and pleasant Shifts done by him in France and other Places; being a Preservative against Melancholy. Gathered by An. Boord, Dr of Physicke.” London, F. Williams, 1626. Lowndes names an earlier edition in black letter, undated. The work was licensed to Colwel in 1566² (*Collier’s Stat. Reg.* i. 120). We see that Laneham doesn’t give *Skoggan* to “Doctor Boord,” as he does the *Breuiary of Health*. “A. B.” may be Any Body, and some of the stories are old ones put into Scogin’s mouth, like the following from the edition of 1796, which is altered a little from one in *The Seven Sages* (No. XXV, p. lx, above), and *Le Menagier de Paris*, 1393, p. 158-65.

How Scogin caused his wife to be let blood.

After that Scogin’s wife had played this prank, she used so long to go a gossiping, that if her husband had spoken any word contrary to her mind, she would crow against him, that all the street should ring of it. Scogin thought it was time to break his wife of such matters, and said to her, “I wish you would take other ways, or else I will displease you.” “Displease me!” said she, “beware that you do not displease yourself!” “yea,” said Scogin, “I will see that one day, how you will displease me:” she still continued her approbrious words: at last, Scogin called her into a

¹ Of my ed. of the *Introduction and Dyetary*.

² *Ib.* p. 31.

chamber, and took one of his servants with him, and said to her. "Dame, you have a little hot and proud blood about your heart, and in your stomach; and if it be not let out, it will infect you and many more; therefore be content; there is no remedy but that blood must be let out:" "I defie thee," said Scogin's wi'e, and was up in the house top: "yea!" said he: "come," said Scogin to his servant, "and let us bind her to this form." She scratched and clawed them by the faces, and spurned them with her feet so long, that she was weary: so at the last she was bound hand and foot to a form. "Now," said Scogin to his servant, "go fetch a chyrurgeon, or a barber that can let blood." The servant went and brought a surgeon. Scogin said to him, "sir, it is so, that my wife is mad, and doth rave; and I have been with physicians, and they have counselled me to let her blood: she hath infectious blood about the heart, and I would have it out:" "sir," said the chyrurgeon, "it shall be done." Scogin said, "she is so mad, she is bound to a form;" "the better for that," said the surgeon: when Scogin and the surgeon entered into the chamber, she made an exclamation upon Scogin. Then said Scogin, "you may see that my wife is mad; I pray you let her bleed both in the arm and the foot, and under the tongue:" Scogin and his man held out her arm, and they opened a vein named Cardica. When she had bled well, "now stop that vein," said Scogin, "and let her blood under the foot." When she saw that, "sir, said she, forgive me, and I will never displease you hereafter:" "well," said Scogin, "if you do so, then I do think it shall be best for us both." By this tale is proved, that it is a shrewd hurt that maketh the body fare the worse, and an unhappy house where the woman is master.

There are 59 anecdotes of Scogin and his tricks in the edition of 1796; but the one above will perhaps be enough for the reader.

XXX. *Collyn Clout.* This is the well-known vigorous satire of Skelton¹, poet-laureat to Henry VIII, against the pride and ill deeds of Cardinal Wolsey², the clergy, monks, and friars; the

¹ I assume that it is not Barnes's skit against Andrew Boorde for his attack on beards,—“The treatyse answerynge the boke of Berdes, compiled by *Collyn Clowte*, dedycatyd to Barnarde barber, dwellyng in Banbery” (1542 or 1543?), reprinted at the end of my edition of *Boorde's Introduction* etc. 1870, p. 305-316.

² Skelton's special satire against Wolsey is his “*Why come ye nat to Courte?*” Works, ed. Dyce, ii. 26. Compare Roy's bitterer satire against the Cardinal, *Rede me and be not wroth*, 1527; and the *Impeachment of Wolsey* in my ‘Ballads from Manuscripts,’ Pt. 2, Ballad Soc. 1871.

neglect of learning and politics by the nobles, and the anti-church and heretical spirit among the commonalty. It was edited by Mr. Dyce in his *Poetical Works of John Skelton*, 1843, vol. i. p. 311-360, from three old editions, and the only manuscript known, in the Harleian MS. 2252, leaf 147. Here are the opening lines from that manuscript:—

Harl. MS. 2252, fol. 147.

quis resurgat Ad Malynnantes? aut quis stabit mecum aduersus
operantes iniquitatem? nemo, domine!

Whate Can hyt Avayle To dryve forthe A snayle, or to make A Sayle of an heryng tayle?		þe nayle on the hode, hyt stondythe ³ in no stede:	
to Ryme or to Rayle, to wryte or to endyte, eythyr for to endyte or else for to desyte,	4	The devyll, they sey, ys dede. hyt may so welle be. or else they wolde see hoþerwyse, & flee	36
or <i>bokis</i> to compyle of dyvers maner of style, vyeis to revyle, & syn ¹ for to exile,	8	From worldly vanyte, & fowlle Covetosnes, & hoþer wrechydnes, And fykyll falsenes, & varyabulnes	40
To teche or to preche as Reason wolde reherse?	12	with vnstedfastnes: And yf they stonde in dowte whoo browghte þis Ryme Abowte,	
say thus or say that, hys hede ys so ² fatte, & saythe he wott not whate, nor wherof he spekythe:	16	My name ys Colyn Clowte, And [I] purpose to shake owte all my Connyng Bagge, lyke A clarkely hagge;	48
he Cryethe, he Crekythe, he priethe, he prekythe, he Chydethe, he Chaters, he pratythe, he patyrs,	20	for thowe my Ryme be Ragge[d] Tateryde & Iaggyde, Rvdely Rayne-betyn, Rusty & mothe-etyn,	52
he Cleteryth, he claters, he medelythe, he smaters, he glosythe, he Flaters;	24	And yf thow take well þat wytthe, hyt hathe in hyt sam pythe; for, as fer as I Can see, hyt ys wronge with eche degre;	56
or yf he speke playne, Then he lackythe brayne;	28	for the Temporalte Accusythe the spyrytualte;	60
he ys but A foole; lett hym go to scole, on A iij ^e foyde stole þat he may downe sytte, for he lackythe wytte;	32	The spiritualti Agayne dothe groge & complayne vppon the Temporall men: Thys, ⁴ eche with hothyr blen, þe tone ayenste þat hother.	64
& yff þat he hytte			

Laymen say the Prelates are so haughty, they take no heed to feed their sheep, but only to pluck their wool. The Bishops pervert justice, creep within noble walls to fatten their bodies, disdain to preach, and have little wit in their heads; but two or three are good men, though hen-hearted; they daren't reform abuses, are

¹ The final ens and ems have curls over their backs.

² MS. fo.

³ MS. stondythe.

⁴ thus.

loth to hang the bell round the cat's neck, and have forgotten Becket's example. Other spiritual fathers hunt, hawk, fornicate, sell the grace of the Holy Ghost, eat flesh in Lent; many are 'bestiall and untaught,' drunken, can't construe their lessons, haunt ale-houses, adulterize with women, can hardly read. Mitres are bought and sold, simony prevails; Bishops ride mules with golden trappings and stirrups, all richly clad, and grind poor Gil and Jack.

See what lies the people tell of you! Isn't it sad? They say you Clergy and Monks pillage the people, and pervert the laws; that Abbesses and Prioresses are as bad; and that it's all the fault of the Bishops, who turn monasteries into mills, and abbeys into granges, to get money to spend among wanton lasses and live in luxury. Except you mend, you'll have a fall; sour sauce after sweet meat!

But I must denounce also those laymen who labour to bring the Church to the ground. Some argue against the Sacraments, Predestination, Christ's manhood &c.; and, when good ale's in their foretop, rail against priestly dignities. Some have a smack of Luther's heresy, of Wycliffe's, of Huss's; and say the clergy have much; also that they can't keep their wives from them.

Isn't it too bad that the laymen talk of how Prelacy is sold and bought; how men of low degree are made prelates, and forget all humility? Yes, you Prelates are so puft up with pride that no man may abide you! you lord it over lords, and those of royal blood; and you boast and brag! If our lords did but understand how Learning would help them, they'd pipe you another dance! But alas, they scorn Learning, do but hunt and hawk¹, care nothing for politics; and therefore have to crouch to you. Well do the commonalty call you prelates 'Idols of Babylon,' proud upstarts from the dung-cart, you who *now* reign and rule, and late lay your drowsy heads in lowsy beds! But mind your foot doesn't slip, and you go to the devil! You are blinded by flatterers! Why don't you rouse yourselves, and be lights to the people?

Now, teaching's only to be got from some poor clerk with but 10£ a year, or some Friar. And it's your work; you should do it! What good can drunken old Doctor Dawpate teach, or a Friar

¹ See my Forewords to the *Babees Book*, and to *Queen Elizabethes Acha-demy* &c. Also, especially, *Starkey's Dialogue*, Pt. 2, p. 182-6 (E. E. Text Soc. 1871 (Extra Series)).

that must preach to get money, and who sets people against their own clergy? You Bishops are so tainted with covetousness and ambition that you lead not your flocks. Laymen call you Barrels of Gluttony and Hypocrisy! All is fish that comes to your net! You build fine palaces, painted with loose heathen tales of lusty Venus and naked Diana, and "naked boyes strydyng, with wanton wenches winkyng." Yet [Wolsey!] beware of a Queen's yelling! It's a busy thing for one man to rule a King! (l. 899-992). Some of you have so checkmated great lords lately, that the rest dare do nothing except it please the "one that ruleth the roste alone" (l. 1021). No one can get at the King except through our President. But mind, man, you don't get cast into the mire! Seek sound footing; give up at once all your wrong schemes! And don't murmur at me, Colyn Clout, for my writing: I write not against the good, but only the bad. Therefore let all, clergy or lay, who feel my reproof, amend. Don't be high and mighty, and order me off to the Fleet or the Tower! Don't say, 'See how the villain calls us Clergy shameless and merciless, incorrigible and insaciate, full of partiality, turning right into wrong!' Drop your threats of sawing, hanging, slaying, beating, those who go against your will, you who will not

.. suffre this boke
By hoke ne by croke
Prynted for to be¹,
For that no man shulde se
Nor rede in any scrolles
Of theyr dronken nolles,

Nor of theyr noddy polles,
Nor of theyr sely soules,
Nor of some wyteles pates
Of dyuers great estates,
As well as other men.

(l. 1239-1249, *Works*, vol. i. p. 359.)

May our Saviour Jesus send us grace to set right the things that are amiss, when His pleasure is!

Southey has well said of Skelton: "The power, the strangeness, the volubility of his language, the audacity of his satire, and the perfect originality of his manner, made Skelton one of the most extraordinary writers of any age or country." His *Colyn Cloute* gave rise, in 1533 or 1534, to even a fiercer diatribe against the whole crew of Clergy, Monks, and Friars, *The Image of Ypocresye*, edited from the unique copy in the Lansdowne MS 794 by Mr. Dyce in his *Skelton's Poetical Works* ii. 413, and by me, with an Introduction, in my *Ballads from Manuscripts*, Vol. i. p. 167-274 (Ballad Society 1868).

¹ Some of the allusions in the Poem may have been introduced into it after it was first written.

Of old printed editions of *Colyn Cloute*, Mr. Dyce and Mr. Hazlitt between them note the following:—

q 1. "Here after foloweth a lytell boke called collyn clout, compyled by mayster Skelton, poete Laureate.

Quis consurgat mihi adversum malignantes &c. Cum privilegio regali.

[Colophon] Imprynted at London by Thomas Godfrey. Cum privilegio regali," Svo. black letter. D in eights, the first and last leaves blank; at Woburn Abbey, the only copy known.

2. Colophon: "Imprynted at London by me Rycharde Kele dwelling in the powltry at the long shop under saynt Myldredes chyrche," 12mo. no date. 30 leaves. Henry Huth Esq. has a copy.

"An edition by Kele, 4to. n. d. is mentioned in *Typogr. Antiq.* iv. 305, ed. Dibdin: but qy.?" says Mr. Dyce.

3. Colophon: "Imprynted at London in Paules Churche yarde at the Sygne of the Rose by John Wyghte," 12mo, no date, b. l., D 6 in eight, or 30 leaves; in the British Museum.

4. Col. "Imprynted at London by Jhon Wallye dwelling in Fosterlane," [? about 1550]. Svo. b. l. 30 leaves. A copy without the title-page was sold among Mr. Jolley's books in 1844.

5. a. Col. "Imprynted at London in Paules Churche Yard at the Sygne of the Sunne by Anthony Kytson." 32 leaves; in the British Museum.

b. Colophon in some copies:—"Imprynted at London in Paules Churche yarde at the Sygne of the Lambe by Abraham Veale." 12mo. n. d. 32 leaves, the first and last blank; in the British Museum.

6. In "Pithy, pleasaunt, and profitable workes of maister Skelton, Poete Laureate. Nowe collected and newly published. Anno 1568. Imprynted at London in Fletestreate, neare vnto saint Dunstones churche by Thomas Marshe" 12mo., the 15th piece is "Colyn Clout."

XXXI. *The Fryar and the Boy.* This merry and most popular poem has been printed at least 3 times in modern days from Manuscripts: 1 by Mr. Thomas Wright in his series of *Early English Poems*, 1836, from a MS at Cambridge; 2. by Mr. J. O. Halliwell for the Warton Club 1855, in "*Early English Miscellanies in Prose and Verse from the Porkington MS.*," p. 46-62, in 426 lines; 3. by Mr. Hales and myself in '*Bp. Percy's Folio MS: Loose and Humourous Songs*,' p. 9-23; which is the completest copy, though imperfect, in 507 lines.

Of old printed editions we have 1. Wynkyn de Worde's, not

dated, in 4to, black letter, 7 leaves: "Here begynneth a mery Geste of the Frere and the Boye." This was reprinted by Mr. W. C. Hazlitt in his *Early Popular Poetry*, ii. 54-81, with collations from the next edition, and contains 480 lines, in 6-line stanzas up to l. 456, and in 4-line stanzas to the end. 2. Edward Allde's in 4to, about 1585, says Mr. Hazlitt: if so, after Captain Cox's time; but the two following editions, of which no copies have yet been catalogued, are licensed in the Stationers' Register A, leaf 22; *Collier*, p. 1:—

[1557-8] To mr. John Wally these bokes, called Welthe and helthe / the treatise of the frere and the boye / stans puer ad mensom¹; a nother, youghte, charyte, and humylyte²; an a b c for cheldren, in engleshe, with syllabes; also a boke called an hundredth mery tayles³. . . ijs.

[1568-9] Received of Jonn Alde for his lycense for pryntinge of a boke intituled the Freer and the boye . . . iiijd.

Later, a second Part was added to the story, and it became a common chap-book. The reader should consult Mr. T. Wright's preface to his edition of 1836, and Mr. W. C. Hazlitt's to his of 1866.

The story of the poem is one of a boy, little Jack, whom his stepmother spites. She gets his father to make him tend the cattle, and gives him such bad food that he can't eat it. The boy gives the food to an old hungry man, and he in return grants the boy three wishes: 1. a Bow that'll always hit the mark; 2. a Pipe that'll make every one who hears it, dance; 3. that his Stepmother, whenever she looks spitefully at him, shall 'a rap let go.' At nightfall the cattle follow Little Jack's pipe; and he goes home, asks his father for some supper, and gets a capon's wing, at which his stepmother scowls. She 'lets go a blast' that makes the people laugh, and another when she scowls again; so that she has to look good-tempered; but she asks a Friar whom she loves, to revenge her. Next day the Friar goes to beat the boy; but Little Jack shoots a bird for him, and when he goes into the briars to fetch it, Jack pipes up, and makes the Friar dance till he's scratcht so that he bleeds fast. Then he vows he'll not touch Jack if he'll stop the pipe; and the boy lets him go tattered and bleeding home. At night the Stepmother complains to Jack's father, and he insists on hearing the Pipe. The Friar is bound to a post to stop his being obliged to dance; but when Jack

¹ See No. XXXVIII below.

² See No. XLVIII below.

³ See No. XLIII below.

begins, the Friar knocks his pate against the post, and Father, Stepmother, and every one near, dance through the streets, some rushing naked out of their beds to join in. When Jack's tired, he stops; and here the original story ended, I believe, as the Porkington MS. does, with a moral; but the Percy and De Worde copies give us a second scene, of the Friar summoning Jack before the Official or Archdeacon, for witchcraft. The Stepmother joins in; but 'her tail blows,' and she has to stand mute. Then the Official orders Jack to play up; which he does, and a mad scene follows,—judge, proctors, summoners, prisoners, etc., all dancing and smashing against one another.—At last, the Official promises to forgive Jack if he'll stop his Pipe, and he does so.

XXXII. *Elynor Rumming.* This is a most life-like picture by Skelton of a Surrey ale-wife of the time of Henry VIII, and of a drinking-bout by country women at her inn. The coarse loose life of the time is painted with the faithfulness of a Dutch painter, and with a most powerful and humourous hand. The scene is laid by Skelton on a hill in Surrey, in a certain stead beside Leatherhead; but tradition has it, that 'Elynour on the hyll' dwelt at the foot of glorious chalk Boxhill, on the road from Leatherhead to Dorking—that hill which we Sunday walkers from the Working Men's College used to know so well, in storm of snow, fresh green of spring, parch of summer, and golden stretch of autumn at its foot, with the after tongues of flame-red leaves shooting up its dark-green Burford sides.—The place is alive with beauties of nature, and memories of distinguished men and happy days. But it's a coarse picture that Skelton sets before us, repulsive to any one who doesn't care to know how people really lived in 'the good old times' when Mr. Froude tells us working men were, in the main, so much better off than they are now.

Elynour herself is scurvy and lowsy, slaver running from her lips, and dropping from her nose; blear-eyed, jawed like a jetty, footed like a plane, and legged like a crane. Her customers are no better: Kate, Cysly, and Sare, with their legs bare, their feet full unsweet, their kirtles all jagged, their smocks all ragged;

Some wenches come vnlassd,
Some huswyues come vnbrased,
Wyth theyr naked pappes,
That flyppes and flappes,

That wygges and that waggess
Lyke tawny saffron bagges;
A sorte of foule drabbes
All scurvy with scabbes.

The hogs come and dirt in the house, the hens in the mash tub, which Elynour skims with her mangy fists—or doesn't.—Some women pay coin for their ale; some a coney, or honey, a salt-cellar, spoon, hose, a pot, meal, a wedding ring, a husband's hood or cap, flax or tow, distaff or spinning wheel, thread, yarn, piece of bacon, &c.: all *must* have ale. Then they gossip and drink, let it out as they sit, etc. Then another and another lot of women come, who pledge all kinds of things for ale; then drink, and tumble about. Among them, a pretended witch, and stubby-legged Margery Mylkeducke, are described, and a prickmedainty quiet dame (? a nun) who pledges her beads for her ale . . .

. . . my fyngers ythe;
I haue written to mytche
Of this mad mummynge
Of Elynour Rummynge.

Thus endeth the gest
Of this worthy fest,
Quod Skelton, Laureat.

No separate old printed edition of this poem is known. It occurs in a collection of some of Skelton's works:

1. "Here after foloweth certaine bokes compyled by mayster Skelton, Poet Laureat, whose names here after shall appere.

Speake Parot.

The death of the noble Prynce Kynge Edwarde the fourth.

A treatyse of the Scottes.

Ware the Hawke.

The Tunnyng of Elynoure Rummyng."

[And 5 Minor Poems.]

Colophon. "Thus endeth these lytle workes compyled by maister Skelton, Poet Laureat. Imprynted at London, in Crede Lane, by John Kynge and Thomas Marche." 12mo, no date.

2. "Imprynted at London by Jhon Day." 12mo, no date.

3. "Printed at London by Richard Lant, for Henry Tab, dwelling in Pauls church-yard, at the sygne of Judith." 12mo, no date.

4. Mr. Dyce says 'An edition printed for W. Bonham, 1547, 12mo, is mentioned by Warton, *Hist. of E. Poetry*, ii. 336 (note) ed. 4to.

XXXIII. *The Nutbrooun Maid.* 'One of the most exquisite pieces of late Mediæval poetry,' rightly says Mr. Hales in the *Percy Folio MS. Ballads and Romances*, iii. 174, where a poor shortened copy of the poem is printed in the text, and a full copy, from Richard Hill's MS. at Balliol, in the notes.

In answer to the reproach that women's love is utterly decayd, the Nutbrown Maid records "that they love true, and doe con-

tinue." Her Lover—a squire of low degree—comes to her, a Baron's daughter, and tells her that he is a banisht man; he must either die, or take to an outlaw's life in the greenwood, alone. She says 'I love but you alone.' He tells her that she'll soon get over it, and forget him; but she declares she is ready to go with him, she loves but him alone. Then he tries to dissuade her: if she goes, people will say it's to fulfill her wanton will; she'll have to bear a bow, and live as a thief; if he's hung, there'll be no one to help her; if not, she must endure thorns, snow, rain, and heat, lodge on the bare ground, get no dinner, ale, or wine, have no sheets but leaves and boughs; must cut her hair to her ears, and her kirtle to her knees, and fight for him, if need be. But always she says 'I love but you alone.' Then her Lover tries another tack: women are soon hot, soon cold; soon she'll change too. Then what a cursed deed it were for a baron's child to be fellow with an outlaw. But still she says she'll risk all for him: 'I love but you alone.' Comes the hardest trial: the Lover says he has another fairer maid than she, whom he loves better. But still comes the sweet iteration, 'I love but you alone;' for his sake she'll wait on paramours, one or a hundred. The proof is over; the Lover clasps his own dear love; he is no banisht man, but the Earl of Westmoreland's son, and will wed her as soon as he can.

Here may ye see, that women be
 in love, meke, kynd, & stable.
 Lett never men reprove them then,
 yf they be charytable,
 But rather pray God that we may
 to them be comfortable. . .

The reader should turn to the poem itself again; no doubt he knows it well. It runs with the *Squire of Low Degree*, p. xxiv. above. The first printed edition of it is in *Arnold's Chronicle* (at sig. N 6,) 'which is supposed to have appeared at Antwerp, from the press of John Doesboreke, about 1502.' The 2nd edition of *Arnold* was in 1521; to the 3rd edition no date has been assigned. From the first two editions Mr. Thomas Wright printed the *Nutbrown Maid* in his set of *Early English poems* in 1836, and Mr. W. C. Hazlitt reprinted this text in his *Early Popular Poetry* ii. 271-94. Mr. T. Wright says "I am told that in a manuscript of University College, Oxford, there is a list of books on sale at a stall in that city in 1520, among which is the '*Not-broon Mayd*,' price one penny." I wrote to the Librarian of University to ask

if this list existed, and his substitute said he believed not. On leaf 31 of the Stationers' Register A (*Collier* i. 16) we find an entry

John Kyng ys fyned for that he ded prynt the nutbrowne mayde without lycense ijs. vjd.

We have now finisht Captain Cox's "matters of storie"—thirty-three of the famous books of Elizabeth's early time,—and turn to the "philosophy both morall and naturall: beside poetrie, and astronomie, and oother hid sciences."

XXXIV. *The Shepherdz Kalender.* Translated from *Le compost et Calendrier des Bergers*; and of this handbook of Popular Philosophy, including 'astronomy, ethics, politics, divinity, physiognomy, medicine, astrology, and geography,' many editions before Captain Cox's time have come down to us.

1. The Kalendayr of The Shyppars. [Colophon] Heyr endyth the kalendar of shyppars, translatyt of franch in englysh, to the lowyng of almyghty god, & of hys gloryous mother mary, and of the holy cowrt of hywyn: prentyt in parys the .xxiii. day of iuyng, oon thowsand .cccc & III. Folio, A to M, in eights. With woodcuts. A unique copy at Althorp, imperfect.

2. Printed by Julian Notary, about 1502, in folio, with woodcuts, many of which Dibdin has copied in his edition of Herbert.

3. A copy without printer's name or date, in the Bodleian; but probably from Pynson's press. See *Dibdin's Ames*, ii. 526.

4. Robert Copland's translation, printed by Pynson in 1506¹, folio, with woodcuts. An imperfect copy is at Althorp.

5. Robert Copland's new translation printed by himself, under Wynkyn de Worde's name, Dec. 8, 1508. No. 6 in Dibdin's list.

6. Wynkyn de Worde. 24 January, 1528. (No. 8 in Dibdin's list.)

7. The Kalender 'newely augmented and corrected.' Imprinted by Wyllyam Powell A.D. 1556.

8. An edition of 1559, newly augmented and corrected, is noted

¹ So says Mr. Hazlitt, from whom I take this and like lists; but the Brit. Mus. Catalogue, under *Ephemerides*, Compost, 8561 f, has 1505?. The book has no printer's name, and uses woodcuts used by Robert and William Coplande, K iii back; and another, B iii back, used or copied in the Roxburghe Ballads. Ballad Soc. Reprint, ii. 370. On first seeing it, I said this copy couldn't be Pynson's; and on looking at it a little, fixed on William Coplande as its probable printer. Mr. Russell Martineau afterwards examined it thoroughly for the Museum, and found that the first date in the Calendar was 1560 (sign Cv) so that that is the probable date of the book. See note below, p. lxxxiii.

in *Ames* ii. 735 from the Catalogue of Benet (Corpus) Coll. Library, Cambridge, p. 208 etc.

9. An undated edition by John Waley 'newly augmented and corrected,' is among Malone's books in the Bodleian. Folio, 102 leaves, or A to N in eights, except that M has only 6 leaves. Waley printed from 1546 to 1575.

10. An edition by T. East, no date, folio.

The book is a very curious and interesting mixture of all kinds of learning of the time, with many quaint cuts¹, and certainly deserves reproducing. To show its range of subjects, I copy its Table of Contents from the 1604 edition 'printed at London by G. Elde for Thomas Adams, dwelling in Paules Church-yard at the signe of the white Lion. 1604,' which is evidently a page for page reprint, with changed spelling, of the edition of 1540-60 I say,—but 1505?, by Pynson?, says the Brit. Mus. catalogue—of which an imperfect copy beginning on B ii. is in the British Museum (8561 f.).

"This is the table of this present booke, of the Shepheards Kalender, drawne out of French into English, with many more goodly editions than be chaptered, newly put thereto.

First the Prologue of the Authour, that saith that euery man may liue lxxiiii. yeares at the least, and they that die before that terme, it is by euill gouer[n]ment, and by violence, or outrage of themselfe in their youth. Cap. primo.

The second Prologue of the great maister Shepheard, that proueth true, by good argument, all that the first shepheard saith. cap. ii.

Also a Kalender with the figures of euery Saint that is hallowed in the yeare, in the which is the figures, the houres, and the moments, and the new Moones. cap. iii.

The table of the mouable feasts, with the compound manuell. cap. iiiii.

The table to knowe and vnderstand euery day what signe the Moone is in. cap. v.

Also in the figure of the eclipse of the Sunne and the Moone, the daies, houres, and moments. cap. vi.

The trees and branches of vertues and vices. [See Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, and Chaucer's *Parson's Tale*.] cap. vii.

The paines of hell, and how that they be ordayned for euery deadly sinne, which is shewed by figures. cap. viiii.

¹ Mostly copied from the French. The planets, Moon etc. are each shown at the fork of the legs of a naked man or woman walking.

The garden and fielde of all vertues, that sheweth a man how he should know whether he be in the state of the grace of God or not. cap. ix.

A noble declaration of the seuen principall petitions of the Pater noster, and also the Aue Maria: of the three salutations, of which the Angel Gabriell made the first, the second was made by saint Elisabeth, and the third maketh our mother holy Church. cap. x.

Also the Credo in English of the xii. articles of our faith. cap. xi.

Also the ten commaundementes in English¹; and the five commaundementes of the Church Catholike. [Not given; but they are "in the booke of Jesus," leaf F viii. not signed.] cap. xii.

Also a figure of a man in a shippe, that sheweth the vnstable-nesse of this transitory worlde. cap. xiii.

Also to teach a man to know the fielde of vertues. cap. xiiii.

Also a Shepherdes ballad, that sheweth his frailty. cap. xv.

Also a ballad of a woman shepheard, that profiteth greatly. cap. xvi.

Also a ballad of death, that biddeth a man beware betime. cap. xvii.

Also the ten commaundements of the deuill, and the reward that they shal haue that keepe them². cap. xviii.

¹ One God onely thou shalte loue & worshyp perfytely.
 God in vayne thou shalte not swere, nor by y^e he made truely.
 The sondayes thou shalt kepe, in seruinge God deuoutlye.
 Father & mother thou shalt honour, end shalt lye longely.
 Mansleer thou shalt not be, in dede, ne wyllngely.
 Lecherous thou shalt not be of thy body, ne consentyngely.
 No mans goods thou shalt not stele, nor witholde falsely.
 False wytnesse thou shalte not bere, in any wyse lyngely.
 The worke of the fleshe desyre not, but in maryage onely.
 The goodes of other, couet not to haue them vniustly.
? Coplande's (called Pynson's) ed. leaf F 7 back, not signed.

² Here after foloweth the .x. commandements of the deuill. (sign. G 6 back, ed Coplande?)

WHo so will do my commaundements,
 And kepe them well and sure,
 Shall haue in hell great torments
 That euermore shall endure.

- [1] Thou shalt not feare God, nor thinke of his goodnes.
- [2] To dampne thy soule, blaspheme God and his saintes,
 Euermore thine owne will be fast doing;
 Deccaue men and women, and euer be swearing;
- [3] Be dronken hardely vpon the holy day,
 And cause other to sinne, if thou may.
- [4] Father nor mother, loke thou loue nor drede,
 Nor helpe them neuer, though they haue nede.
- [5] Hate thy neighbour, and hurt him by enuy;
 Murder, and shed man's blood hardely;
 Forgeue no man, but be all vengeable.

Another ballad that sainct John sheweth in the Apocalips, of the black horse that death rideth vpon. cap. xix.

[*Sign.* A 3.] A ballad how princes and states should gouerne them. [? Lydgate's 'estate and order of euery degree'.] cap. xx.

The trees and branches of vertues, and vices, with the seauen vertues against the seauen deadly sinnes. cap. xxi.

Also a figure that sheweth howe the xii. signes raigne in mans body; and which be good, and which be bad. cap. xxii.

A picture of the phisnomy of mans body, and sheweth in what parts the seauen planets hath domination in man. cap. xxiii.

And after the number of the bones in mans body, followeth a picture that sheweth of all the veyns in the body, and how to bee let bloud in them. cap. xxiiii.

To knowe whether a man be likely to be sicke or no, and to heale them that be sicke. cap. xxv.

And also heere sheweth of the replexion of euill humors, and also for to clense them. cap. xxvi.

Also, how men should gouerne them the iii. quarters of the yeare. ca. xxvii.

Also, how men should do, when phisicke doth faile them, for health of body and soule: made in a ballad royal. ["The Diatorie" in the *Babees Book*, 1858, Pt. 1, p. 54-8, enlarged.] cap. xxviii.

Also, to shew men what is good for the braine, the eyes, the throate, the breast, the heart and stomacke, properly declared. cap. xxix.

Also the contrary, to shew what is euill for the braine, the eyes, the throat, the breast, the heart, and the stomack, following by and by. cap. xxx.

Also of the foure elements, and the similitude of the earth; and how euery planet is one aboue another, and which be masculine & feminine. cap. xxxi.

[7] Be lecherous in dede, and in touching delectable;
Breake thy wedlocke, and spare not; [leaf G 7, not signed.]
And to deceaue other by falschode care not.

[8] The goodes of other thou shalt holde falsly,
And yelde it no more though they speake curtesly.

[9] Company often with women, and tempte them to sinne;

[10] Desire thy neighbours wife, and his goodes to be thine.

Do thus hardely, and care not therfore,
And thou shalt dwell with me in hell euermore;
Thou shalt lye in frost and fyre, with sicknes and hunger;
And in a thousand peeces thou shalt be torne a sunder;
yet thou shalt dye, and neuer be deade;
Thy meate shalbe todes, and thy drinke boyling leade.
Take no thought for the blud that God for thee shed,
And to my kingdome thou shalt be straight led.

Here foloweth the rewarde of them that kepeth these commaundementes aforesayde. [17 lines of verse. But no doubt the reader has had enough of it.]

A crafty figure of the worlde, with the xii. signes going about, and also of the moouings of the heauen with the planets.

cap. xxxii.

Also of the Equinoctiall and the Zodiake which is in the ix. heauen, which contayneth the firmament, & al vnder it, with a picture of a spire.

cap. xxxiii.

Of Solstitium of Summer, Solstitium of Winter; with a figure of the Zodyake.

cap. xxxiiii.

Of the rising and descending of the signes in the horyson.

cap. xxxv.

And also of the diuision of the earth, and the regions; with a picture of the mobile.

cap. xxxvi.

[This 'picture' is the rose-shaped woodcut, with a mansion and landscape in the centre, used on the title of Andrew Boorde's *Pronostycation* for 1545. There is no cut at all in the French edition of 1529, 'Imprime a Troys par Nicolas le Rouge,' nor in that 'Imprime a Lyon / par Jehan Cauterel / en la //¹ mayson de feu Barnabe Chaussard / pres // nostre dame de Confort. en Lan // Mil cinq cens. lj. Le // xxvij. iour du // moys // Daoust. // 1551.'//]

Of the variation that is in many habitations and regions of the earth.

cap. xxxvii.

Also of the xii. starres fixed, that sheweth what shall happen vnto them that are borne vnder them.

cap. xxx.viii.

Also a figure of the xii. houres, as much in earth as in heaven.

cap. xxix.

Also pictures of the vii. planets; to know in what houre they do raigne the day and night; that telleth which be bad, and which be good; & sheweth how the children shalbe disposed which shalbe borne vnder them.

cap. xl.

Also, pictures of the foure complections to shew and know the condition of each complection, and to know by a mans colour what he is of any of al foure, and how he is disposed of nature.

cap. xli.

[*Sign. A 3 back.*] Also heere followeth the iudgmentes of the mans face and body, as Aristotle wrote to king Alexander the conditions of man, & the properties in *the visages of man*; but, by the grace of God, good conditions, grace, prayers, fastings, and blessings, these fiue withstand vnkindly condition.

cap. xlii.

Also a picture of the Pomyaw [see leaves A 4 and L 7 and 8 not signed], that sheweth a man to know, euery houre of the night, what is a clocke, before midnight and after.

cap. xliii.

Also then follow pictures of the impressions of the aire, of the flying dragon, and the leaping kiddes, the way to saint James [of

¹ // marks the end of a line. The /'s are in the original.

Galicia, the Milky Way], and the seuen starres of the burning piller, and of the fire speare, and of the flaming bushes or trees that otherwile faileth, and the flying starre, and the blasing starres, and of fue-tailed starres, and of the bearded starre, with the epitaph of a thunder stone. cap. xliiii.

Also, how the Moone changeth twelue times in the yeare, so likewise mans conditions change twelue times in the yeare. cap. xlv.

Of the commodities of the xii. monethes in the yeare, with the twelve ages of man. cap. xlvi.

Of an assault against a snaile [for eating the vine-buds,—by a Lady, and several men of arms, all of whom the snail defies, M. 4.] [cap. xlvii.]

Also followeth the meditation of the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, that shepherdes and simple people ought to haue in hearing of their diuine seruice. cap. xlviii.

The saying of the dead man [a Poem of good advice]. cap. xlix.

¹Also certaine orisons and prayers; and first, a diuision theologicall on a question, to knowe if prayers, orisons, and suffrages, done to the soules in Purgatory, bee meritorious and auailable for their health and deliuerance. cap. l.

How euery man and woman ought to cease off their sins at the sounding of a dreadfull horne. [The ? Coplande copy (or Pynson so-called) wants the leaves after "Thus endeth the horner," a big negro for Death, with 'to to' coming out of his horn.] cap. li.

To know the fortunes and destinies of a man borne vnder the xii. signes, after Ptolemeus, prince of Astronomie. cap. lii.

Also followeth the xii. moneths, with the pictures of the twelue signes, that sheweth the fortunes of men and women that are borne vnder them, so that they may know in what moneth and day they were borne. cap. liii.

Also, here telleth of the ten christian nations, that is to say, to shew the certaine poyntes that much heathen people doe beleeeue of our faith; but not in al, and therefore we begin first with our faith. cap. liiii.

Also followeth a few prouerbes. cap. lv.

The authors ballad. cap. lvi.

Also a good drinke for the pestilence, which is not chaptred [and is not printed after ch. 56. *Finis* follows that.] cap. lvii.

Thus endeth the table of this present booke.

The length of this 'Table' prevents my giving some good extracts from the prose parts of the book which I had markt; but

¹ This chapter is left out in the English copies of the so-called Pynson, and of Elde 1604, in the British Museum: its Popery wouldn't suit a Protestant time. This confirms my doubt as to the earliest B. M. copy being a Pynson. It's by William Coplande or his predecessor, I believe.

I must take a few of the Proverbs, from the end of the imperfect copy of Jhon Wally's edition, 1580 (?) in the Museum.

- ¶ And also an other, forget it nat :
Kepe your owne home as doth a mouse ;
For I tell you, the deuil is a wyly cat ;
He will spye you in another mans house.
- ¶ And in espetiall, God to please,
Desyre thou neuer none other mans thinge :
Remember that many fingers is well at ease,
That neuer ware on, no gay golde ringe.
- ¶ And this I tell you for good and all,
Remember it, you that be wyse :
That man or woman hath a great fall,
The which slyde downe, and do neuer ryse.
- And one also forget not behynde,
That man or woman is likely, good to be,
That banisheth malyce out of their mynde,
And slepeth euery night in charitie.
- I rede you worke by good counsell,
For that man is worthy to haue care
That hath twice fall¹ into a well,
And yet the thirde tyme cannot beware.
- Say that a fryer tolde you this :
[H]e is wyse that doth forsake sinne :
[T]hen may we come to heauen blysse.
[G]od giue vs grace, that place to winne.

FINIS

The following extract shows how Man is a microcosm, and includes in himself all animals :

And they say that God ne formed creature for to inhabite the world, wyser then man ; for there is no conditione maner in a beaste, but that it is founde comprehended in man. Naturally, a man is hardy as the Lyon, true and worthy as the oxe, large and liberall as the Cock, auaricious as the Dog, and aspre as the Hart, debonayre and true as the Turtle, malicyous as the Leoparde, prey and tame as the Doue, dolerous and guilefull as the Foxe, simple and debonayre as the lambe, shrewde as the ape, light as the horse, soft and piteable as [the] Beare, dere and precious as the Oliphant, good & holesome as the Unicorne, vyle & slouthfull as the Asse, fayre and proude as the Pecocke, glotonous as the Wolfe, enuyous as the Bitch, debel & inobedient as the Nightingale, humble as the Pygeon, fel and folish as the Oystrich, profytable as the Pysmare, dyssolute and vagabund as the Gote, spytefull as the Fesaunt. Soft and meeke as the Chekin. Movable and varying as the Fish. Lecherous as the Bore. Stronge

¹ false, ed. 1604.

XXXIV. *Shepherdz Kalender*. XXXV. *Ship of Foolz*. lxxxv

and puissant as the Camell. Traytor as the Mule. Advised as the Mouse. Reasonable as an aungell. And therefore he is called the little world, for he participeth of all, or he is called all creatures; for, as it is sayd, he participeth and hath condicion of all creatures.—*From Cap. xlii.* The iudgementes of mans body. Back of L vij not signed.

XXXV. *The Ship of Foolz*. Of this work there are two old versions, one in prose and another in verse. The prose version was translated by H. Watson, and printed by Wynkyn de Wordo in 1517; and of this a copy is among Douce's books in the Bodleian.

From Herbert, in *Ames* i. 158, we find that Watson says: "this booke hathe ben made in Almayne language / and out of Almayne it was translated in to Latyn / by mayster Jacques Lócher / and out of Latyn in to rethoryke Frensshe. I haue consydered that the one delyteth hym in latyn / the other in Frensshe / some in ryme / and the other in prose / for the whiche cause I haue done this" in prose.—"Consyderynge also that the prose is more familiar vnto euery man than *the* ryme, I, Henry Watson, haue reduced this present boke in to our maternall tongue of Englysshe out of Frensshe / at y^e request of my worshypfull mayster wynken de worde / through the entysement and exhortacyon of the excellent prynces Margarett / countesse of Rychemonde and Derby / and grandame vnto our moost naturall souerayne lorde kynge Henry y^e VIII. whome Jhesu preserue from all encombraunce.—¶ By the shyppe we may vnderstande *the* folyes and erroures that the mondoynes are in / by the se this presente worlde /—Syth that it is so / we must serche this booke, the whiche may wel be called 'the doctrynall of fooles.'" Imprinted—M. CCCC. & xvii. The nynthe yere of the reygne of our souerayne kynge Henry *the* viii. The xx. daye of June.

The poetical version of *The Ship of Fools* is the chief work of Alexander Barklay, who was probably a Scotchman, was "educated at Oriel College, Oxford, accomplished his academical studies by travelling, and was appointed one of the priests or prebendaries of the college of saint Mary Ottery in Devonshire. Afterwards he became a Benedictine monk of Ely monastery; and at length took the habit of the Franciscans at Canterbury." (*Warton*, ii. 419, ed. 1840). He finished "*The SURF OF FOLYS*, translated in the colège of saynt Mary Otery, in the counte of Devonshyre,

oute of Laten, Frenche, and Dotch, into Englishe tonge, by Alexander Barclay, preste and chaplen in the sayd colledge, M. CCCC. VIII." John Cawood printed a second edition of the book in 1570. "About the year 1494," says Warton, i. 420 Sebastian Brandt, a learned civilian of Basil, and an eminent philologist, published a satire in German with this title [*Navis Stultifera Mortalium*]. The design was, to ridicule the reigning vices and follies of every rank and profession, under the allegory of a Ship freighted with Fools of all kinds, but without any variety of incident or artificiality of fable; yet although the poem is destitute of plot, and the voyage, of adventures, a composition of such a nature became extremely popular. It was translated into French; and, in the year 1488, into tolerable Latin verse by James Locher, a German, and a scholar of the iuventor Brandt. From the original, and the two translations, Barklay formed a large English poem, in the balade or octave stanza, with considerable additions gleaned from the follies of his countrymen. It was printed in 1509 by Pynson¹, whose name occurs in the poem:

How be it the charge Pynson has on me layde,
With many foees our nauy not to charge.
(leaf 38 back, Cawood's ed. 1570.)

Barclay's paraphrase is not at all so bright or biting as one would have hoped it would be; nor do his special envoys or addresses to each class of Fools at the end of his enlargements of the Latin text, give one a good sketch of the vices and ways of his time: still, one is thankful to have them; and as each of us is bound to think first, wherein he is a fool himself, suppose we get Mr. G. Parker of the Bodleian to give us Brandt's and Barclay's sketches of us Fools who 'books assemble,'—though we do read some—adding Watson's translation too, to show how he treats his original. For more, the reader can turn to the volume itself: he'll enjoy its quaint cuts, if he doesn't the text.

[P. 1. 16. Jur. Seld. (Bodl. Libr.).]

THE SHYP OF FOLYS.

translated in the College

of saynt mary Otery in the counte of Deuonshyre: out of Laten / Frenche / and Doche into Englysshe tonge by Alexander Barclay

¹ The Granville copy in the Brit. Mus. is in beautiful condition, though cut down grievously by one of that cursed race of binders.

Preste: and at that tyme Chaplen in the sayde Colledge. translated . . . 1508. Inprentyd in the Cyte of London in Fletestre (*sic*) at the signe of Saynt George By Rycharde Pynson to hys Coste and charge: Ended . . . 1509. The 13 day of December.

[The title-page is covered with one large Coat of Arms and a Crest above it: at the back of this, towards the bottom of the page, is the title copied above.]

[fol. 12.]

Argumentum in narragoniam.

AD humani generis foelicitatem: documentumque saluberrimum: stultorum classis ad Narragoniam constructa fulget: quam quidem omnes conscendunt: qui de se mita / veritatis / et aperto sani intellectus calle vagantes: in varias et vmbrosas mentis tenebras: ac corporis illecebras corruunt. Potuisset presens hic noster libellus / non inconcinne satyra nuncupari: sed auctorem nouitas tituli

Satyra.

delectauit. sicuti enim prisei satyrici: variis poematibus contextis: [etc.].

HERE after foloweth the Boke named the Shyp of Foles of the worlde: translated out of Laten / Frenche & Doche into Englysse in the Colege of saynt Mary Otery By me Alexander Barclay to the felicite and moste holsom instruccion of mankynde the whiche conteyneth al suche as wandre from the way of trouth and from the open Path of

[*fol. 12b.]

holsom vnderstondynge & *wysdom: fallynge into dyuers blyndnesses of the mynde / folysshe sensualitytes / and vnlawful delectacions of the body. This present Boke myght haue

Satyra interpretatur reprehentio.

ben callyd nat inconueniently the Satyr (that is to say) the reprehencion of foulysshnes. but the neweltye of the name was more plesant vnto the fyrst actour to call it the Shyp of foles: For in lyke wyse as olde Poetes Satyriens in dyuers Poesyes conioyned repreued the synnes and ylnes of the peple at that tyme luyunge: so and in lyke wyse this our Boke representeth vnto the iyen of the redars the states and condicions of men: so that euery man may behold within the same the cours of his lyfe and his mys-gouerned maners / as he sholde beholde the shadowe of the fygure of his visage within a bright Myrrour. But concernynge the translacion of this Boke: I exhort *the*

Speculum stultorum.

reders to take no displeour for *that* it is nat translated word by worde accordinge to *the verses* of my actour. For I haue but only drawn into our moder tunge / in rude langage, the sentences of the verses as nere as the parcyte of my wyt wyl suffer me / some tyme addynge / sontyme detractinge and takinge away suche thinges a[s] semethe me necessary and superflue. wherfore I desyre of you reders, pardon of my presumptuous audacite, trustynge that ye shall holde me excused if ye consyder *the scarsnes* of my wyt and my vnexpert youthe. I haue in many places ouerpassed dyuers poetical digressions and obscurenes of Fables, and haue concluded my worke in rude langage¹, as shal apere in my translacion. But the speciyl cawse that mouethe me to this besynes is, to auoyde the execrable inconuenyences of ydilnes,

¹ What follows on fol. 12 b is not translated or paraphrased.

whyche (as saint Bernard sayth) is moder of al vices : and to the vtter derision of obstynat men delitynge them in folyes & mys gouernance. But bycause the name of this boke semeth to the redar to procede of derysion : and by that mean that the substance therof shulde nat be profitable : I wyl aduertise you that this Boke is named the Shyp of folos of the worlde : For this worlde is nought els but a tempestuous se, in the whiche we dayly wander and are caste in dyuers tribulacions, paynes, and aduersitees : some by ignoraunce, and some by wilfulnes : wherefore suche doers ar worthy to be called folos, syns they gyde them nat by reason as creatures resonable ought to do. Therefore the fyrst actoure, willynge to deuyde suche folos from wysemen and gode lyuers, hathe ordeyned vpon the se of this worlde this present Shyp to conteyne these folys of the worlde / whiche ar in great number. So that who redeth it, perfytely consydeyinge his secrete dedys / he shall not lyghtly excuse hym selfe out of it / what so euer good name that he hath outwarde in the mouth of the comontye / And to the entent / that this my laboure may be the more pleasaunt vnto lettred men / I haue adioyned vnto the same the verses of my Actour, with dyuerse concordauces of the Bybyll to fortyfy my wrytynge by the same / & also to stop the enuyous mouthes (If any suche shal be) of them that by malyce shall barke ayenst this my besynes.

[fol. 13.]

De inutilibus libris.

Inter precipuos pars est mihi reddita stultos
 Prima : rego docili vasta que vela manu.
 En ego possideo multos : quos raro libellos
 Perlego : tum lectos negligo : nec sapio.

Invtilitas librorum.

Quod si quis percurrere omnes scriptores cupiat opprimetur : tum librorum multitudine : tum diuersa scribentium varietate : vt haud facile verum possit elicere. distrahit enim librorum multitudo. et faciendi libros plures non est finis.

Diodorus Siculus. li. i. Ecclesi. xij. Dabitur liber nescientibus litteras.

PRImus in excelsa teneo quod naue rudentes
 Stultiuagosque sequor comites per flumina vasta :
 Non ratione vacat certa : sensuque latenti :
 Congestis etenim stultus confido libellis
 Spem quoque nec paruam collecta volumina præbeut :
 Calleo nec verbum : nec libri sentio mentem.
 Attamen in magno per me seruantur honore :
 Pulueris et cariem plumatis tergo flabellis.
 Ast vbi doctrine certamen voluitur : inquam
 Aedibus in nostris librorum culta supellex
 Eminent : et chartis viuo contentus opertis :
 Quas video ignorans : iuuat et me copia sola.
 Constituit quondam diues Ptolomeus : haberet
 Vt libros toto quesitos vndique mundo
 Quos grandes rerum thesauros esse putabat :
 Non tamen archane legis documenta tenebat :
 Quis sine non poterat vite disponere cursum
 En pariter teneo numerosa volumina / tardus
 Pauca lego : viridi contentus tegmine libri.

Ptolomeus philadelphus Cuius meminit. Josephus lib. xij.

[fol. 13b.]

Qui parum tudet parum

profcit glo. in
l. vnicuique C.
de. prox. sacr.
scri. (sic).

Cur vellem studio sensus turbare frequenti?
Aut tam sollicitis animum confundere rebus
Qui studet / assiduo motu / fit stultus et amens.
Seu studiam : seu non : dominus tamen esse vocabor
Et possum studio socium disponere nostrō:
Qui pro me sapiat : doctasque examinet artes.
At si cum doctis versor : concedere malo
Omnia : ne cogar fors verba latina profari
Theutonicos inter balbos sum maximus auctor :
Cum quibus incassum sparguntur verba latina.
O vos doctores : qui grandia nomina fertis :
Respicite antiquos patres : iurisque peritos.
Non in candidulis pensepant dogmata libris :
Arte sed ingenua sitibundum pectus alebant.
Auriculis asini gitur sed magna caterua :

Prouerbio. v. ff.
de Corigi. iur.
l. ii. post origi-
nem Persius.
(sic.)

¶ Here begynneth the foles : and first, inprofytable bokes.

I Am the firste fole of all the hole nauy
To kepe the pompe / the helme and eke the sayle
For this is my mynde / this one pleasoure haue I
Of bokes to haue grete plenty and aparayle
I take no wysdome by them : nor yet auayle
Nor them perceyue nat : And then I them despyse
Thus am I a foole and all that sewe that guyse.

Diodorus Sicu-
lus li. i.
Ecclesi. xij.

THat in¹ this shyp the chefe place I gouerne
By this wyde see with folys wanderynge
The cause is playne / and easy to dyscerne
Styll am I besy bokes assembynge
For to haue plenty it is a plesaunt thyng
In my conceyt and to haue them ay in honde
But what they mene do I nat vnderstonde

Dabitur liberne
scientibus lite-
ras esaie. xxix.

But yet I haue them in great reuerence
And honoure sauynge them from fylth and ordure
By often brusshynge / and moche dylygence
Full goodly bounde in pleasaunt couerture
Of domas / satyn / or els of veluet pure
I kepe them sure ferynge lyst they sholde be lost
For in them is the counnyng wherin I me bost

[fol. XIII²,
right.]

But if it fortune that any lernyd men
Within my house fall to disputacion
I drawe the curtyns to shewe my bokes then
That they of my cunnynge sholde make probacion
I kepe nat to fall in altercacion
And whyle they comon my bokes I turne and wynde
For all is in them / and no thyng in my mynde

¹ Printed 'u.'

² The book is foliated properly, like the Vernon MS, the 2 pages shown on opening the book, being a *folium*, and the two here being headed FOLIUM (on the left page,) XIII (on the right). Later printers stupidly transferred the

Ptolomeus
philademetus
meminit Jo
Sephus. li. xij.
(sic.)

Tholomeus the riche causyd longe agone
Ouer all the worlde good bokes to be sought
Done was his commaundement anone
These bokes he had and in his stody brought
Whiche passyd all ertly treasure as he thought
But neuertheles he dyd hym nat aply
Unto theyr doctryne / but lyued vnhappely

Qui parum
studet parum
proficit glo.
L. vnicuique C
dex sacr. scri.
(sic.)

Lo in lyke wyse of bokys I haue store
But fewe I rede / and fewer vnderstande
I folowe nat theyr doctryne nor theyr lore
It is ynoughe to bere a boke in hande
It were to moche to be it (sic) suche a bande
For to be bounde to loke within the boke
I am content on the fayre couerynge to loke

Why sholde I stody to hurt my wyt therby
Or trouble my mynde with stody excessyue
Sythe many ar whiche stody right besely
And yet therby shall they neuer thryue
The fruyt of wysdom can they nat contryue
And many to stody so moche are inclynde
That vtterly they fall out of theyr mynde

Eche is nat lettred that nowe is made a lorde
Nor eche a clerke that hath a benefyce
They are nat all lawyers that plees doth recorde
All that are promotyd are nat fully wyse
On suche chaunce nowe fortune throwys hir dyce
That thoughe one knowe but the yresshe game
yet wolde he haue a gentyll mannys name

So in lyke wyse I am in suche case
Thoughe I nought can I wolde be callyd wyse
Also I may set another in my place
Whiche may for me my bokes excercyse
Or els I shall ensue the comon gyse
And say concedo to euery argument
Lyst by moche speche my latyn sholde be spent

[fol. XV², left.] I am lyke other Clerkes whiche so frowardly them gyde.
That after they ar onys come vnto promocion
They gyue them to plesour theyr stody set asyde.
Theyr Auaryce couerynge with fayned deuocion.
yet dayly they preche: and haue great derysyon
Agaynst the rude Laymen: and al for Couetyse.
Though theyr owne Conscience be blynded with that vyce.

name *folium* to a leaf, two pages back to back, and sheepish librarians etc. have followed suit, re-leafing already-foliated MSS, under the idea that they were foliating them for the first time. The difference between a leaf and a *folium* has yet to be drilled into the bibliographic mind. ¹ Printed XX.

But if I durst trouth playnely vtter and expresse.
 This is the special cause of this Inconuenyence.
 That greatest foles / and fullest of lewdnes
 Hauynge least wyt : and symplest Science
 Ar fyrst promoted : and haue greatest reuerence.
 For if one can flater / and bere a hawke on his Fyst
 He shalbe made Person of Honyngton or of Clyst¹.

But he that is in Study ay ferme and diligent.
 And without al fauour prechyth Chrystys lore
 Of al the Comontye nowe adayes is sore shent.
 And by Estates thretened to Pryson oft therefore.
 Thus what auayle is it / to vs to Study more :
 To knowe outhr scripture / trouth / wysedom / or vertue
 Syns fewe / or none without fauour dare them shewe.

Prouer. quinto. But O noble Doctours / that worthy ar of name :
 Consyder our olde faders : note wel theyr diligence :
 Ensue ye theyr steppes : obtayne ye suche fame.
 As they dyd lyuynge : and that by true Prudence.
 Within theyr hartys they planted theyr scyence
 And nat in plesauzt bokes. But nowe to fewe suche be.
 Therefore in this Shyp let them come rowe with me.

ff. de origine.
 iur. l. ii. post
 originem.

¶ The Enuoy of Alexander Barclay Translatour exortynge the Foles
 acloyed with this vice to amende theyr foly.

SAY worthy doctours and Clerkes curious :
 What moueth you of Bokes to haue such number.
 Syns dyuers doctrines throughe way contrarious.
 Doth mannys mynde distract and sore encomber.
 Alas blynde men awake / out of your slomber
 And if ye wyl nedys your bokes multiplye
 With diligence endeuer you some to occupye.

Translatio a
 somniantibus.

Now for Watson's translation.

[Douce B. subt. 254.]

The grete shyppe of fooles of this worlde.

[Title wanting ; the Colophon follows.]

¶ Thus endeth the shyppe of fooles of this worlde. Imprynted at
 Londod (*sic*) in flete strete by Wynkyn de Worde. the yere of our
 lorde. M. CCCC. and. xvii. ¶ The nynthe yere of the reygne of our
 souerayne lorde kynge Henry the viii. The. xx. daye of June.

¶ Argument of the shyppe of Fooles of this worlde.

THIS booke compyled / for the felycyte and salute of all the humayne
 gendre / and dyrecte the shyppe of fooles of this transytory worlde / in
 the whiche ascendeth all they that vageth frome the playne exhortacyon
 of the intellectuyl vnderstandynge in transmutable and of obscure

¹ Compare Latimer etc. on this point of unfit persons made parsons.

thoughtes of the frayle body / wher by theyr decyuable wyttes / and hie enterpryses / within shorte space inuade our barge. Wherefore this present boke may be called satyre / notwithstandinge that the fyrste auctoure dyde delyte hym in the newe intytulacyon of this present boke / for ryght so as by the poesyes and fyceyons / the auneynt poetes dyde correcte the vyces and the fragylytes of mortall men.

¶ Semblably this present pagyne specyfyeth before theyr syght the estate and condycyon of men / to the ende that a myrroure they beholde the meurs and rectytude of lyfe Neuertheles thynke not you lectoures that I haue worde by worde dyrecte and reduced this present booke out of Frensshe in to our maternall tongue of Englysshe / for I haue onely (as recyteth Flaccus) take entyerely the substaunce of the scrip- ture / in esperance that nry audace presumptuous sholde be pardoned of the lectoures / hauynge aspecte vnto the capacyce of my tendre yeres / and the imbelycyte of my lytell vnderstandynge / in leuyng the egressyons poetyques and fabulous obscurytes / in a cheuyng in werke in facyle sentence and famylyer style / in supplyenge all the reders to haue me for* excused yf that I haue fayled in ony thyng.

[*Sign. A. i. b.]

¶ Here after ensueth the fyrste chapytre.

¶ Of bookes inutyle. capitulo. primo.

¶ The fyrste foole of the shypps¹ I am certayne
That with my handes dresse the sayles all
For to haue bookes I do all my besy payne
Whiche I loue not to rede in speeyall
Nor them to se also in generall
Wherefore it is a prouerbe all aboute
Suche thynketh to knowe that standeth in doubt.

[A woodcut here.]

[Sign. A. ii.]

Yonge folkes that entende for to knowe dyuers thynges approche you vnto this doctryne and it reuolue in your myndes organyques to the ende that ye maye comprehend and vnderstande the substaunce of it / and that ye be not of the nombre of the foolles that vageth in this tempesteous flode of the worlde. And you also the whiche haue passed the flourynge aege of your youthe / to the end that and you be of the nombre of the foolles moundaynes that ye maye lerne somewhat for to detraye you out of the shyp stultyfere. Wherefore vnderstande what the fyrste foole sayth beyng in the grete shyppe of of² foolles. ¶ I am the fyrste in the shyppe vagaunte with the other foolles. I tourne and hyse the cordes of the shyppe saylyng ferre within the see. I am founded full euyll in wytte and in reason. I am a grete foole for to affye me in a grete multytude of bokes. I desyre alway and appetyteth newe inuencyons compyled mystically / and newe bookes / in the whiche I can not comprehend the substaunce³ / nor vnderstande no thyng. But I doo my besy cure for to kepe them honestly frome poudre and dust. I make my lectrons and my deskes

¹ Printed 'shyppf.'

² Sic.

³ Printed 'substanuce.'

clene rygh[t] often. My mansyon is all repylnysshed with bokes / I solace me ryght often for to se them open without ony thyng com-
pylynge out of them. ¶ Ptolomeus was a ryche man the

Pholomeus.
philadelphus
cuius memini.
Josephus. li. xij.
(sic.)

whiche constytued (sic) and also commaunded that they sholde serche how thorough euery regyon of the worlde the moost excellentest bookes that myght be founden.

And when they had brought theym all / he kepte theym for a greate treasure. And that not withstandyng he ensued not the ensgnementes nor the doctryne of the dyuyns sapyence / how be it

[*Sign. A. ii. b.] that he coude dyspose nothyng* of the lyfe without is / what bookes someuer he had / nor compose ony thyng

to the relefe of his body at that tyme. I haue redde in dyuers bookes / in the whiche I haue studyed but a lytell whyle / but oftentymes I haue passed the tyme in beholdyng the dyuersytes of the couerynges of my bookes. It sholde be grete foly to me to applye by excessyue

study myne vnderstandyng vnto so many dyuers thynges / where through I myghte lese my sensuall intellygence / for he that procureth too knowe ouermoche / and occupyeth hymself by excessyue studye / is

in daunger for to be extraught from hymself also euerychone is dyspensed / be he a clerke or vnderstande he nothyng yet he bereth the name of a lorde. I maye as well commytte one in my place the whiche

thynketh for to lerne scyence (sic) for hym and for me. And yf that I fynde my selfe in ony place in the company of wyse men to the ende that I speke no latyn / I shall condyscende vnto all theyr preposycyons

for fere that I sholde not be reproched of that that I haue so euylly lerned. ¶ O doctours the whiche bereth the

name and can nothyng of scyence / for to eschewe grete dishonoure come neuer in the company of lerned men / our auneynt faders here before dyde not lerne theyr replendysshynge scyence in the multytude

of bookes / but of an ardaunte desyre and of a good courage. They had not theyr spyrytes so vnstedfaste as the clerkes haue at this present tyme / it were more propyre for suche folke for to bere asses eeres

than for to bere the names of doctoures and can nothyng of cunnyng.

[Fr. Douce's MSS. notes on fly-leaf at beginning of book.]

"Some of the signatures are misplaced, but the book is otherwise perfect, unless it want a title, which is not clear, as there are 6 leaves prefixed to signature A.

"I know of no other copy of this edition, but have seen one printed on vellum with the date 1509, 4to, in the national library at Paris.

"Messrs. Brunet and Dibdin, the former in his 'Manuel du Libraire,' and the latter in his *Bibl. Spenceriana*, iii. 204, have erroneously ascribed the above edition of 1509 to the press of Pynson, and confounded it with the metrical translation by Barclay, which was printed in that year by Pynson *in folio*.

"The above French copy on vellum has a leaf at the beginning with (¶ THE SHYPPE OF FOOLLES on a scroll, [etc. . . .])

“This is the Colophon : ¶ Thus endeth the shyppes of fooles of this worlde. Enprynted at London in Flete strete by Wynkyn de Worde [. . .] MCCCC. ix [*sic*—G. P.]. ¶ The fyrste yere of the reygne of [. . .] Henry the VIII. The vi. daye of Julii.”

[In pencil by F. D.] “Some cuts used in ‘Cock Lorels botel.’ The Duke of Roxburgh’s copy for £63.”

Long as the extracts are from the two versions of Brandt’s book, I venture to take another from Barclay’s englishing, which justifies his captaining this Ship of Fools :—

Barclay the Translatour to² the Foles.

TO Shyp! galantes! the se is at the ful;
The wynde vs calleth, our sayles ar displayed;
Where may we best argue? at Lyn or els at Hulle?
To vs may no hauen in Englonde be denyd.
Why tary we? the Ankers vp wayed.
If any corde or Cabyl vs hurt / let, outhur hynder,
Let slyp the ende / or els hewe it in sonder.

Retourne your syght; beholde vnto the shore!
There is great nomber that fayne woldbe aborde,
They get no rowme, our Shyp can holde no more.
Haws in the Cocke! gyue them none other worde.
God gyde vs from Rockes / quicsonde, tempest, & forde!
If any man of warre / wether / or wynde, apere,
My selfe shal trye the wynde, and kepe the Stere.

But I pray you reders, haue ye no dysdayne
Thoughe Barclay haue presumed of audacite
This Shyp to rule, as chefe mayster and Captayne.
Though some thynke them selfe moche worthyer than he,
It were great maruayle forsoth, syth he hath be
A scoler longe, and that in dyuers scoles,
But he myght be Captayne of a Shyp of Foles.

But if that any one be in suche maner case
That he wyl chalange the maystershyp fro me,
yet in my Shyp can I nat want a place,
For in euery place my selfe I oft may se.
But this I leue, besechyng eche degre
To pardon my youthe and to[o] bolde interprise;
For harde it is, duely to speke of euery vyce.

Non mihi si
lingue centum
sint oraque
centum: ferrea
vox: omnis
scelerum com-
prehendere

For yf I had tungen an hundreth, and wyt to fele
Al thinges natural and supernaturall
A thousand mouthes, and voyce as harde as stele,
And [had] sene all the seuen Sciences lyberal,
yet cowde I neuer touche the vyces all,

¹ A fragment of C. L. is in the Douce collection.

² tho, *orig.*

formas: Omnia
stultorum per-
currere nomina
possem.

And syn of the worlde, ne theyr branches comprehende,
Nat thoughe I lyued vnto the worldes ende.

But if these vyces whiche mankynde doth incomber
Were clene expellyd, and vertue in theyr place,
I cowde nat haue gathered of fowles so great a number,
Whose foly from them out-chaseth goddys grace.
But euery man that knowes hym in that case,
To this rude Boke let hym gladly intende,
And lerne the way his lewdnes to amende.

XXXVI. *Danielz Dreamz.* I cannot find this in the British Museum or at Lambeth, in Hazlitt's *Handbook*, or Collier's *Bibliographical Catalogue*, and therefore copy Lowndes's entry of it, p. 586, col. 1, ed. Bohn:—"The Dreames of Daniell, with the Exposycions of the xij Sygnes, deuyded by the xij Monthes of the Yeaere; and also the Destenyys both of Man and Woman borne in eche Monthe of the Yere. Very necessarye to be knowen. Imprinted by me Robert Wyer. 16mo. Contains [A B C D E] F in fours. Mr. W. Brenchley Rye of the Museum says that 'Heber's copy sold 35 years ago for the moderate sum of *two shillings*.'

XXXVII. *The Booke of Fortune.* This is supposed to be a little verse tract in the Lambeth Library by Sir Thomas More; but on seeing it, I felt sure that this tract was,—as the printers of More's *Workes* said it was,—meant only as a Preface to the Booke of Fortune; for More must refer to that Book in the last lines of his own poem; he cannot have meant that the few French lines in his (or Wyer's) tract, and the English ones he puts into Fortune's mouth, were the real Booke of Fortune. The title of Wyer's tract is

"[The Boke of the fayre Genty[1]-/woman, that no man shulde / put his truste, or confy-/dence in: that is to say, / Lady Fortune: / flaterynge euery man / that coveyteth to / haue all, and speycally, / them that truste in / her, she decey-/ueth them / at laste." / (over a woodcut of "The Lady Fortune.") Colophon. "Imprynte by me Robert Wyer dwellyn-/ge, in Saynt Martyns parysse, in / the Duke of Suffolkes rentes / besyde Charynge / Crosse. / Ad imprimendum / Solum"/.

4to, 8 leaves, A (not signed) and B in fours, no date.

On the back of the title is, in 3 stanzas,

[The Prologue

As often as I consydre these olde noble clerkes,
Poetis, Oratours, & Phylosophers, —sectes thre—

Howe wonderfull they were in all theyr werkes,
 Howe eloquent, howe inuentyue to euery degre,
 Halfe amased I am, and as a deed tre
 Stond styll, ouer rude for to brynge forth
 Any fruyte or sentence that is ought worth.

Neuertheles, though rude I be, in all contryuyng
 Of matters, yet somewhat to make I need not to care;
 I se many occupied in the same thyng.
 Lo! vnlearned men nowe a dayes wyll not spare
 To wryte, to bable, theyr myndes to declare,
 Trowyng them selfe, gay fantasyes to drawe,
 When all theyr cunnyng is not worth a strawe.

¶ Some in french Cronyeles gladly doth presume,
 Some in Englysshe blyndly wade and wander,
 Another in latin bloweth forth a dark fume,
 As wyse as a great hedded Asse of Alexandre;
 Some in Phyllosophye, lyke a gagelynge gandre
 Begynneth lustely the browes to set vp,
 And at the last concludeth in the good ale cup.

¶ Finis Prologus.
 quod. T. M.

On leaf A ii (not signed) is the reduced woodcut of St. John writing his Revelation (with a printer's ornament on the left), used on the title-page of Robert Wyer's 1542 edition of Andrew Boorde's *Dyetary* (see my edition for the E. E. Text Soc. 1870), and then two verses of French, with a printer's border on each side

Fortune perverse,
 Qui le monde versse
 Toult a ton desyre,
 Jamais tu nas cesse
 Plaine de finesse,
 Et y prens pleasure

¶ Par toy venent maulx,
 Et guerres mortaulx,
 Touts inconueniens;
 Par mous et par vaulx,
 Et aux hospitalx,
 Meurent tant de gens.

On the back are two English stanzas denouncing Fortune,¹ with "¶ Finis. quod. T. M." and a fresh woodcut of Lady Fortune.

On A iii (not signed) follow "¶ The wordes of Fortune to the People. quod Tho. Mo.", in six 7-line stanzas, beginning "Myne hyghe estate, power, and auctoryte," and ending "And he that wyll be a begger, let hym be." At the foot of the back in A iii is the title of the next poem "¶ To them that trusteth in Fortune" in thirty-three 7-line stanzas, beginning "Thou that art proude of honour, shape, or kyn," and ending "as are the iudgementes of Astronomye. ¶ Here Fineth Lady Fortune." The back of the

¹ Printed, like the foregoing Prologue, in Maitland's *Early Printed Books*, p. 441.

last leaf (B iv not signed) is taken up with two French stanzas of 8-lines each, asking Fortune where are divers heroes, "Fortune, ou est Dauid et Salomon" etc. and with the burden "Ilz sont tous mors: ce monde est chose vaine," and followed by the Colophon.

Now if we turn to Sir Thomas More's *Workes*, 'printed at London at the costes and charges of John Cawood, John VValy, & Richarde Tottell, Anno 1557, [5,' we find the main part of Wyer's tract printed as "Certain meters in English written by master Thomas More in hys youth for the boke of Fortune, and caused them to be printed in the begynning of that boke." The first poem is 'The wordes of Fortune to the people' a boast by her of her power, and a call on men to wait on her, ending

And he that out of pouertie and mischaunce
List for to liue, and will himself enhance
In wealth & riches, come forth and waite on me!
And he that will be a begger, let hym be. (See 21 lines above.)

The second poem is 'Thomas More to them that trust in fortune', warning them of her fickleness, and what dangers lie in trusting her,

Fast by her side doth wearie Labour stand,
Pale Feare also, and Sorrowe all bewept,
Disdayne and Hatred on that other hand,
Eke restles watch fro slepe with trauayle kept,
His eye drowsy and lokinge as he slept;
Before her standeth Daunger and Enuy,
Flatery, Dyceyt, Mischeif and Tyranny.

contrasting her with Poverty, and advising men to choose her before Fortune :

Wherefore yf thou in suretie lyst to stande,
Take pouerties parte, and let prowde fortune go;
Receyue nohyng that commeth from her hande.
Loue Manner and Vertue; they be only tho
Which double Fortune may not take the fro;
Then mayst thou boddie defye her tornyng chaunce;
She can the neyther hynder nor auaunce.

The third poem is 'Thomas More to them that seke Fortune,' and ends thus

"Then forasmuch as it is fortunes guyse
To graunt no-manne all thinge that he will axe
But as her selfe lyst order and deuyse,
Doth euery manne his part deuide and taxe,
I counsayle you eche one trusse vp your packs,
And take nothing at all, or be content
With such rewarde as fortune hath you sent.

He meaneth
the booke of
fortune.

All thinges in this booke that ye shall rede,
Doc as ye list, there shall no man you bynde
Them to beleue as surely as your crede;
But notwithstandinge, certes in my mynde
I durst well sweare, as true you shall them fynde
In euery poynt, eche answer by and by,
As are the iudgementes of astronomye.

Thus endeth the preface to the booke of Fortune."

I think it clear, then, that Wyer's tract is a made-up one—after More's death in 1535 perhaps¹—and *not* 'the Booke of Fortune' that Captain Cox had. What that was, I can't say; but no doubt an edition of the book licensed to William Powell on Febry. 6, 1559–60.

Recevyd of William Powell, for his Lycense for pryntinge of the boke of fortune in folio, the vj. day of Februarij viij d.
Stationers' Register A, leaf 48; *Collier's Extracts* i. 25.

The earliest Fortune-telling book under *Fortune* in the British Museum Catalogue, is "A merry-conceited Fortune-Teller:" P(r)ognosticating to all Trades and Professions their good and bad Fortune. Calculated according to Art, for the Meridian of England, but may serve for all four parts, East, West, North, and South, from the beginning of the world to the end thereof. [over a portrait of a man] London, Printed for John Andrews, at the White-Lion near Py-corner 1662." Here are a few extracts:

"Polterers shall have very good fortune if they can make Geese of their customers: and they shall have ill fortune when their old Coneys will not go off for young Rabits.

Booksellers shall have very good fortune by other mens wits: and they shall have ill fortune when they have no customers for their Books, but Sir Ajax [a jakes. See *Nares's Glossary*].

Citizens wives shall have very good fortune by going to Epsomwells in the Summer-time, for there they may purge themselves of all their good qualities: but their Husbands shall have hornluck, for in the mean time they may chance to be made Cuckolds, and their wives cannot help it.

Labourers shall have very good fortune if they can have work all the year; and they shall have bad fortune, when they spend their wages on Saturday nights, and Sundays, and to have never a penny on Munday.

Habberdashers shall have good fortune when each gallant wears

¹ R. Wyer printed from 1527 to 1542.

Beavers, and when Countrymen buy coarse felts: they shall have ill fortune when their knavery is felt out. . . .

Shoomakers shall have good fortune if they do not drink on Munday, & so play all the week: & they shall have ill fortune when the stitch of love takes them, so that they go beyond their Last, and run a woing to get a young Lass."

XXXVIII. *Stans Puer ad Mensam.* Of this well-known translation, or rather, paraphrase—probably by Lydgate—of a Latin poem on how a youth should behave at meals, Caxton printed a first edition in 4to, in his 2nd type, before 1479 (Blades's *How to tell a Carton*, 1870, p. 53); the Duke of Devonshire has one copy; and the only other known, that in Cambridge University Library, is imperfect. Then Wynkyn de Worde printed 3 editions,—the earliest one without a date, containing 12 leaves, and the others in 1518 and 1524 (in six leaves) in the Cambridge University Library. Of the first edition by Wynkyn De Worde, Mr. Bradshaw says:—"W. de Worde's edition is *Stans puer ad mensam* + 'Little John¹,' which fully accounts for the 12 leaves. He must have reprinted from a copy where Caxton's two were bound together. He reproduces Caxton's mistake of two pages transposed in printing, which is enough to show where he got his text." Mr. Bradshaw describes the book as

"*Stans puer ad mensam* in English by John Lidgate. The Book of Courtesye or Little John. London, Wynkyn de Worde, no date (1501-1510) 4^o.

Collation: A B in Sixes, 12 leaves.

Title (in white on a black ground) 'Stans puer ad mēsā'; below this block, three woodcuts of a man, a woman, and, between them, a family of children.

Colophon (on the last page): ¶ Enprynted at London in Flete strete at the sygne of the sonne by me Wynkyn de Worde."

The book was licensed to Wally in 1557, as we have seen at p. lxxiv above. Doubtless there were several other old editions of it. A recast of it is worked into Hewe Rodes's *Boke of Nurture*, of editions of which before 1575 we know those by Johan Redman (about 1530), Thomas Colwell, Abraham Veale, Thomas Petyt, and perhaps John Kynge. See my reprint of H. Jackson's edition of 1577 in the *Babees Book*.

¹ Caxton's *Book of Courtesye*, edited by me for the Early English Text Society's Extra Series in 1868, from 2 MSS. and Caxton's unique print.

The short Latin original *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, I printed in the *Babees Book*, Part II, p. 30-3, with a literal englishing of it by Professor Seeley. In Part I of the same volume, pages 26-33 are two copies of the English paraphrase attributed to Lydgate, from the Lambeth MS. 853, about 1430 A.D., and the Harleian MS. 2251, probably about 1460 A.D. In my second *Babees Book*, or *Queene Elizabethes Achademy* &c. E. E. Text Soc. 1869, p. 56-64, is a much expanded version of the *Stans Puer* from the Ashmole MS. 61, after 1460 A.D. Of the shorter English version Mr. Halliwell printed a copy in *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, i. 156-8 from the MS. 2. r. 8, at Jesus College, Cambridge; and Mr. W. C. Hazlitt printed the same copy, in his *Early Popular Poetry*, iii. 23, but collated with three MSS. in the British Museum, Harl. 4011, Lansdowne 699, and Additional 5467. There are other copies of the poem in Ashmole MS. 59, art. 57, &c., and a differing version in Cott. Calig. A ii. leaf 13.

The poem tells a youth, that when he stands before his sovereign at the table, he's not to speak recklessly, and is to keep his hands still; not to stare about, lean against a post, look at the wall, pick his nose, or scratch himself; to look steadily at the man who speaks to him, and not cast his head lumpishly down; not to laugh wantonly before his lord, and to walk demurely in the streets. Before meals, the youth is to clean his nails, and wash his hands. At meals, he's not to press up to too high a seat, or be too hasty to eat; he's not to grin, make faces, or shout; not to stuff his jaws too full, or drink too fast. He's to keep his lips clean, and wipe his spoon; not to make sops of his bread, drink with a dirty mouth, dirty the tablecloth, or pick his teeth with his knife. He's not to swear or talk ribaldry, or take the best morsels, but to share with his fellows, eat up his scraps, and keep his nails from getting black. Also, he's not to bring up anew old complaints, or play with his knife, shuffle his feet about, spill the broth over his chest, use dirty knives, or fill his spoon too full. He's to be quick in doing whatever his lord orders; to take salt with his knife, and not to dip his meat in the salt cellar; not to blow in the general cup, or quarrel with his fellows, or interrupt any man telling a story. He's to drink ale and wine only in moderation; not to talk too much; and is to be gentle and tractable, but not over soft, and not revengeful. Lastly, children who don't behave well are to have the rod. But if they attend to this 'litol balade,' it will lead them into all virtues.

XXXIX. *The Hy Way to the Spittl-house.* Of this very important and interesting sketch of the broken-downs, scamps, and rogues,—the resorters to Bartholomew's Hospital—in Henry VIII's time, after the Statute 22nd Henry VIII (1530-1) against vagabonds (l. 375), and after the Reformation was established (l. 551 of the poem) we have only copies of one edition, printed by the author and printer of the poem, Robert Copland. He printed it at the shop where, after at least 22 years' work, he was succeeded by William Copland (? his younger brother, or son) in 1547 or -8, the *Rose-garland* in Fletestrete¹. Mr. Utterson reprinted the *Hy Way* in his *Select Pieces of Early Popular Poetry*, 1817, and Mr. W. C. Hazlitt also reprinted it in his *Early Popular Poetry*, 1866, iv. 17. After a Prologue, Copland tells us that about a fortnight after Hallowmas or All Saints' Day, Nov. 1, (the beggars' jubilee,) he took refuge from a storm under the porch of a hospital (Bartholomew's), and while there, talked to the porter, and saw a crowd of poor miserable people, and beggars, gather at the gate. (The hospital then gave temporary lodging to almost all the needy, as well as a permanent home to the deserving poor and sick; and Sisters attended to them.) Copland asks the Porter about the different classes of people who come to the hospital; and in their long talk—the poem is 1097 lines—all classes of the poor, the ne'er-do-weels, and the rascals, are described and discussed: twenty-three sets of them, I make.

First, Vagabonds² are rejected, and they lie huddled together like beasts about Smithfield market and places near, chiding and

¹ William Copland's dated *Rose-Garland* books range from 1548 to 1557; he afterwards moved to the *Three Cranes* in the *Vintry*, whence two of his dated books are Tyndale's *Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, 1561, and a *NEVVE BOKE* (of prayers etc., at Lambeth) 1561; lastly, he moved to *Lothbury*, whence he issued no dated book, so far as I know, but Andrew Boorde's *First Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge* that he printed at *Lothbury* was licensed in 1562-3. The full title of the *Neuve Boke* is "(¶ A NEVVE BOKE / Conteyninge. / An exortacion to the sicke / The sycke mans prayer. / A prayer with thanks, / at the purification of women / A Consolation at buriall. / Colossi. iii. / ¶ What soeuer ye do in / word or dede, do al in the / name of the Lord Iesu, & / geue thanks vnto God / the father by hym. / M. D. LXI. /" *Collation*. A B C in eights, D in four, (D ii signed D iii), the last leaf blank. *Colophon*. "(¶ Imprinted at London in / saynt Martines in the / Vintry vpon the thre / craned wharfe by / Wyllyam / Copland. / (·) /" (The / marks the end of a line.)

² I ought to have referred to Robert Copland as one of Awdeley's and Harman's forerunners, in my Preface to their *Vagabond-treatises*, E. E. T. Soc. Extra Series, 1869.

brawling. 2, the persons admitted are the old, sick, and impotent, women in childbed, honest folk fallen in mischance, wayfaring men, maimed soldiers, and bedridden folk: all others have lodging for a night or two:—the modern Refuge, Poor-house, and Hospital, in one.—3, the Beggars, who work in pairs, one asking bygoers to take pity on the other: then one pulls out 11*d.*, says ‘we’ve had a bad day, but let’s go dine.’ These don’t come to the Hospital; their haunts are in Barbican, Turnmill St. (the whores’ quarter), Houndsditch, and behind the Fleet; and there they revel and get drunk, lying like swine on their backs. Some beggar-masters have men under them, who sham diseases, put soap in their mouths to make ‘em foam etc. These only come to the Hospital when they’re sick indeed. 4, the Masterless Men, who say they’ve served the King abroad, and beg for help till they get a fresh service. Of these are 2 classes, *a* open beggars, ragged and lowsy, who prowl about and steal; *b* Nightingales of Newgate, who walk about decently drest—‘In theyr hose trussed rounde to theyr dowblettes’—telling you where they’ve fought, or that they’ve been unjustly imprisoned, and then set free: all over the country they go, and they’ll rob you of purse and clothes if they get a chance; and then at night dress up in sword, buckler, and short dagger, swear, brag, and ‘passe the tyme with daunce, hore, pipe, (and) thefe.’ These at last come to the gal-lows or the Hospital. Ah, says Copland, the Vagabond Act of 1530–1 isn’t enforced; and the bawdy brybrous knaves who keep these Beggars-lodging-houses are not lookt after. 5. *Rogers*¹, who go about singing and praying, saying that they’re poor scholars: 6, *Clewners*, whom the Rogers obey as captains, and who say they’ve taken the degree of priest in the university, and want money to go home and sing their first Mass for their benefactors: 7 *Sapient*s or Quack-doctors, who work in two couples; the first Doctor affects not to know English; his mate tells a woman her child is near dying, but the Doctor can cure it. She gives the man money; the Doctor refuses any, but gives her some powder for her child; and the quacks go on. Next day the second couple come to her house, and say that the child is very bad, they’ll stay a fortnight until they make it well. These rogues don’t come to the Hospital. 8. *Pardoners*, whose business the

¹ I don’t find this, or any of the four next names, in Awdeley or Harman.

Reformation has taken away: these do come, though they're as big rogues as the others :

“For by letters they name them as they be;

P. a Pardoner: Clewner a C :

R. a Roger: A. an Aurium: and a Sapyent, S.”

Copland doesn't describe the Auriums, so far as I see. 9. The Porter then describes, in lines 573-743, the unthrifths who come to the Hospital: men with no heart towards God, bad sons, ale-house priests, wasteful heirs, poor people dressing finely, careless folk who don't keep accounts, bad landlords, men always going to law, negligent farmers, self-willed people, meddlers, foolish merchants and workmen, wasteful rufflers, taverners and innkeepers for whores and thieves, dishonest bakers and brewers, people who marry too young, insolvent merchants, waiters for relations' money, men letting their wives ruin them, etc. 10. Men with shrews for wives. 11. Negligent masters, changeable servants, borrowers, too generous parents, gluttons, untidy careless people. 12. Adulterers, swearers, and blasphemers. 13. Sluggards. 14. Usurers and extortioners, if they get poor; but 15. Thieves and murderers generally go to prison and the gallows. 16. Drunkards —Dutch folk and Flemings are the worst.—17. Quarrellers. 18. Proud decayed gentry. 19. Hypocrites. 20. Men with wasteful gay wives. 21. Pedlars talking cant, 'the patryng cove' etc. (with a specimen of Cant or Pedlyng Frenche). 22. Mariners of Cock Lorel's Boat, unthrifths, the 24 Orders of Knaves¹, and the Order of Fools. 23, and last, of women,

The systerhod of drabbes, sluttess and callets,

Do here resorte, with theyr bags and wallets

And be parteners of the confrary [= fraternity] 1080

Of the maynteners of yll husbandry.

'To eschue vyce I thè vndertoke,' says Robert Copland of his poem, which is a most valuable help to our knowledge of Henry VIII's time, the necessary complement to Halle's Chronicle of the splendour and gaiety of that king's court life.

XL. *Julian of Brainford's Testament.* Of this second poem by the old printer Robert Copland, two editions only are known, and they were both printed by William Copland, in black letter. Each contains eight leaves 4to., and the earlier one's title, ac-

¹ See Awdeley's 25 Orders of Knaves, after his *Fraternyte of Vocabondes*, in our edition (E. E. T. Soc.) p. 12.

ording to a copy made for me by Mr. G. Parker, is "Jyl of Breyntford's testament. Newly compiled," with the colophon "Imprinted at London in Lothbury ouer agaynst Saint Margarytes church by me Wyllyam Copland." A copy of this edition is in the Bodleian, among Selden's books, 4to, C. 39. Art. Seld. As it was printed in Lothbury, its date must be 1562 or a few years after. The later edition is called "Jyl of Braintford's testament newly compiled¹," and has a colophon "Imprinted at London by me William Copland." According to Mr. J. Payne Collier (*Bibl. Cat.* i. 152-3), the London edition of Jyl of Braintford is earlier than the Lothbury edition of Jyl of Breyntford, because the Lothbury edition corrects many mistakes of the London one. But this fact proves to me that the Lothbury edition is the earlier of the two, because it is a commonplace among old-book men that first editions are the correct ones, and reprints the careless ones. The truth of this has been impressed on me by the collations of the 1st and 2nd editions of Wynkyn de Worde's *Boke of Keruinge* and Pope Piccolomini's *Lucrez and Eurialus* englished, No. XIV, p. xxxviii above. The date of the later 'London' edition of *Jyl of Braintford* must be between 1547 and 1567; near the latter year, I suppose.²

The object of the excellent old printer in writing the poem has been obscured by some readers dwelling only on the coarseness of the legacy left by the old alewife (a fart³) to the people whom she satirizes. The poem is really of the same class as *The Hye Way to the Spytel Hous*, and its main object is to show-up the follies and vices of Henry VIII's time. As Copland says of himself when he read the *Testament* given him:

It dyd styre me to fall on smylyng,
 Consydering the prety pastyme
 And rydcycle ordre of the ryme,
 The couert termes, vnder a mery
 sence,
 Shewing of many the blynd insolence,

Tauntyng of thynges past and to come,
 Where as my selfe was hyt with some:
And for that cause I dyd intend
After thys maner to haue it pende,
Prayeng all them that mery be,
If it touch them, not to blame me.

And again at the end, Robert Copland says, that his hostess's legacies are

Wylled to them that, without aduysement,
 Do that thyng waer-of they repent.

¹ Hazlitt's Handbook which spells 'Breyntford.'

² I expect that all W. Copland's "London" books were printed at Lothbury, and possibly after those printed "at London in Lothbury."

Compare Chaucer, in the *Frere's Tale*.

Only one or two of these 'things' blamed or ridiculed—the treatment of a fair wench, and a thirsty bystander—are right morally; the rest are all wrong or foolish; the people who do them, being those who would ultimately have to take refuge in Copland's 'Spytel-Hous,' St. Bartholomew's. The setting of the story, the tale to point the moral, is unnecessarily coarse; but so was Copland's time; we must put up with the rough husk if we get the kernel.

The old alewife leaves twenty-five of her 'raps' to twenty-five sets of fools, and one and a half to the curate who makes her will. Let's take the first six as a sample. They are

- (1) . . . hym that is angry
With his frend, and wotes not why.
- 2 . . hym that selleth al his herytage,
And all his lyfe lyueth in seruage . . .
- 3 He that settes by no man, nor none by hym,
And to promociion fayn wold clym. . . .
4. He that wyll not lerne, and can do nothyng,
And with lewed folk is euer conuersyng . . .
5. He that boroweth without aduantage,
And euermore renneth in arrerage . . .
6. He that geueth, and kepeth nought at all,
And by kyndnes to pouerte dooth fall.

Robert Copland says, or pretends, that a mery fellow, John Hardlesay, whom he met at Brentford, and with whom he went to drink at the Red Lion, at the shambles' end, first explained to him the meaning of Old Jyl's legacy, and gave him a tattered copy of her Testament.

As this tract has not been reprinted lately (I believe), I shall send it to press shortly, with another of the same class¹, *The Wyll of the Dewyl*, of which a unique copy of the early edition is at Lambeth. I have heard that Mr. J. P. Collier has reprinted a later edition in one of his Series. Mr. Halliwell noticed *Jyl of Breyntford* in his edition of 'The First Sketch of Shakespeare's Merry Wives of Windsor' for the Shakespeare Society, 1842, p. 68; and he said that the only copy of the earlier edition passed through the hands of Ritson and Heber; but neither he nor Mr. Collier said where it was when they wrote. Buried in the case of some bibliotaph², perhaps.

¹ The verse 'Talk of Ten Wives on their Husbands' Ware,' by some successor of the Wife of Bath, and a few other like pieces, will be included in the volume.

² See Blades's *How to tell a Cuxton*, 1870, p. 27.

XLI. *Castle of Love.* The original of this, says Mr. W. F. Cosens, is the *Carcel de Amor* or Prison of Love, by Diego de San Pedro, published in 1492. Diego's poetry, says Mr. Ticknor (*Hist. Spanish Lit.* 1863, i. 382) "is found in all the Cancioneros Generales. He was evidently known at the court of the Catholic sovereigns [Ferdinand and Isabella], and seems to have been favoured there; but if we may judge from his principal poem, entitled 'Contempt of Fortune,' his old age was unhappy, and filled with regrets at the follies of his youth. Among these follies, however, he reckons the work of prose fiction which now constitutes his only real claim to be remembered. It is called the Prison of Love 'Carcel de Amor,' and was written at the request of Diego Hernandez, a governor of the pages in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella.

"It opens with an allegory. The author supposes himself to walk out on a winter's morning, and to find in a wood a fierce, savage-looking person who drags along an unhappy prisoner bound by a chain. This savage is Desire; and his victim is Leriano, the hero of the fiction. San Pedro, from natural sympathy, follows them to the Castle or Prison of Love, where, after groping through sundry mystical passages and troubles, he sees the victim fastened to a fiery seat, and enduring the most cruel torments. Leriano tells him that they are in the kingdom of Macedonia, that he is enamoured of Laureola, daughter of its king, and that for his love he is thus cruelly imprisoned; all of which he illustrates and explains allegorically, and begs the author to carry a message to the lady Laureola. The request is kindly granted, and a correspondence takes place, immediately upon which Leriano is released from his prison, and the allegorical part of the work is brought to an end.

"From this time the story is much like an episode in one of the tales of chivalry. A rival discovers the attachment between Leriano and Laureola, and, making it appear to the king, her father, as a criminal one, the lady is cast into prison. Leriano challenges her accuser, and defeats him in the lists; but the accusation is renewed, and, being fully sustained by false witnesses, Laureola is condemned to death. Leriano rescues her with an armed force, and delivers her to the protection of her uncle, that there may exist no further pretext for malicious interference. The king, exasperated anew, besieges Leriano in his city of Susa.

In the course of the siege, Leriano captures one of the false witnesses, and compels him to confess his guilt. The king, on learning this, joyfully receives his daughter again, and shows all favor to her faithful lover. But Laureola, for her own honor's sake, now refuses to hold further intercourse with him; in consequence of which, he takes to his bed, and, with sorrow and fasting, dies. Here the original work ends; but there is a poor continuation of it by Nicolas Nuñez, which gives an account of the grief of Laureola, and the return of the author to Spain."

The style, so far as Diego de San Pedro is concerned, is good for the age; very pithy, and full of rich aphorisms and antitheses. But there is no skill in the construction of the fable, and the whole work only shows how little romantic fiction was advanced in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella. The *Carcel de Amor* was however, very successful. The first edition appeared in 1492 two others followed in less than eight years; and, before a century was completed, it is easy to reckon ten, besides many translations¹.

Mr. F. W. Cosens says: "In Gayangos and Védia's Spanish edition of *Ticknor* is the following note. Tomo 3^o, p. 546:—The 'chivalresque-sentimental' novel to which genus belongs the *Carcel de Amour* of San Pedro was imported from Italy, but never enjoyed much favour in Spain, rapidly passing away to give place to 'books of chivalry,' which in time became absolute masters of the field."

XLII. *The Booget of Demaunds.* This is perhaps "The Demaundes Joyous," a short set of comical Questions and Answers, the first printed edition of which (according to the reprint, which Mr. Collier says had about 50 mistakes) has this Colophon, "Thus endeth y^e Demaundes Joyous / Emprinted at London in Fletestre/te at the sygne of the Sonne² by / me Wynkyn de worde / In the yere of our / lorde a M / CCCCC / and xi." It was reprinted in 1829 from the unique copy belonging to the late Richard Heber, by Thomas White, and the British Museum copy is inserted between the 'Contents' and text of Hartshorne's *Ancient Metrical Tales*, 1829. Mr. Collier has described the book in his *Bibl. Catal.* i. 217-18.

¹ See Brunet, under *San Pedro*, iv. 193. The earliest French translation is *La prison damours*, Paris, Galiot du Pre, 1526, reprinted in Paris 1527. Others are *Lyon* 1528, *Paris* 1533, 1552, etc.

² 'swane' says the reprint, but it's 'Sonne' says Mr. Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* i. 218.

Here is a sample of the *Demaundes* from the careless reprint: “¶ *Demaunde*. where became y^e asse that our lady rode upon. ¶ Adams moder dede ete her. ¶ *Demaunde*. who was Adams moder. ¶ The erthe. . . ¶ *Demaunde*. How many calues tayles behoueth to reche frome the erthe to the skye. ¶ No more but one if it be longe ynough. . . ¶ *Demaunde*. What thyng is it that neuer was nor neuer shall be. ¶ Neuer mouse made her nest in a cattes ere. . . ¶ *Demaunde*. why doth an oxe or a cowe lye. Bycause she can not sytte. . . ¶ *Demaunde*. How many strawes go to a gose nest. ¶ None, for lacke of fete. ¶ *Demaunde*. what tyme in the yere bereth a gose moost feders. ¶ When the gander is upon her backe.”

Mr. J. M. Kemble reprinted the *Demaundes* in his *Vercelli Poems* for the Ælfric Society.

Mr. Halliwell says, however, that Captain Cox's book is probably “Delectable demandes and pleasaunt questions, with their seuerall aunswers in matters of loue, naturall causes, with morall and politique deuises. Newly translated out of Frenche into Englishe, this present year of our Lord God,” 1566, printed by John Cawood in 4to. *Dibdin's Ames*, iv. 401, No. 2551. I can find no reference to the dwelling-place of any copy of this book. But as we are among Captain Cox's books of ‘philosophy . . . beside poetrie and astronomie, and oother hid sciences,’ it is more than possible that the *Booget of Demaunds* was “The Boke of Demaundes of the scyence of Phylosophye and Astronomie. Betwene Kynge Boccus and the Phylosopher Sydracke. Printed by R. Wyer¹, no date, 8vo, black letter, A to D in fours,” a later edition of which Mr. Collier says is to be understood by the following entry in the Stationers' Register A, leaf 86,

nicholas Recevyd of nycholas Wyer, for his lycense for pryntinge of a boke
Wyer intituled the demaundes iiijd

No copy of this edition is specified.

XLIII. *The Hundred Mery Tales*. This is one of the best of our old Jest-Books, and is alluded to by Shakspeare in his *Much Ado about Nothing*. We know of only 2 old editions of it, both by Rastell, and of each only one copy is known. The earlier of the two editions is no doubt that of 1526, “A .C. mery talys,”

¹ Robert Wyer's date is 1534-42, and Richard Wyer's 1548-50, both more or less, according to Ames and Dibdin.

whose colophon is “¶ Thus endeth the booke of a .C. mery talys. Emprynted at London at the sygne of the Merymayd At Powlysgate next to chepe syde. ¶ The yere of our Lorde .M. v. C. xxvi. ¶ The xxii. day of Nouember. Johannes Rastell. ¶ Cum preuilegio Regali.” This was re-edited in 1866 by the discoverer of it, Dr. Herman Oesterley, from the only perfect copy known, which is in the Royal Library of the University of Göttingen. The copy of the later edition by Rastell is imperfect; it was discovered by the Rev. J. J. Conybeare in 1815, reprinted in the same year as Part II. of Mr. J. W. Singer’s *Shakespeare Jest-Books* (3 Parts 1814–16), and again reprinted by Mr. W. C. Hazlitt in his *Shakespeare Jest-Books*, 1864. Besides many small differences, this later undated edition leaves out 4 tales and three ‘morals’ that the 1526 edition has, but puts 3 new tales instead of them. Of the edition by Walley in 1558¹, no copy is known. The character of the book may be gathered from two short tales at the page on which my copy of Dr. Oesterley’s edition chanceth to open, and that next to it, p. 77, 78,—tales of which no originals were known to the Editor of them²:—

XLV. *Of the plowmannys sonne that sayd he saw one make a Gose to krece sweetly.*

There was a certayn ploughmannys sonne of the contrey, of the age ofe .xvi. yeres, that neuer come moche among company, but alway went to plough and husbandry / On a tyme this yong lad went to a weddyng with hys fader, when he see one lute vpon a lute³. And when he came home agayne at nyght, his moder askyd hym what sport he hade at weddyng. This lad answeyrd and sayd, “by my trouthe, moder,” quod he, “ther was one that brought in a gose betweene his armys, and tykled her so vpon the nek, that she crekyd the swetlyest that euer I hard gose croke in my lyfe.

XLVI. *Of the maydys answere that was with chylde.*

In a marchauntys house in London there was a mayd whiche

¹ See the entry above, p. lxxiv.

² The 56th Tale alludes to the Coventry Plays. A parish priest of a village in Warwickshire preaches to his parishioners on the Twelve Articles of the Belief, and winds up thus: “these artycles ye be bounde to beleue, for they be trew, & of auctoryte. And yf you beleue not me / then, for a more suerte, & suffeyent auctoryte / go your way to Couentre / and there ye shall se them all playd in Corpus Cristi playe” (p. 100). Dr. Oesterley notes that these XII Articles of the Creed are in the Chester Play of “The Emission of the Holy Ghost,” *Chester Plays*, vol. ii. p. 134, Shakspeare Soc., 1847.

³ See p. 66 below, as to the shape of the lute.

was gotten with chylde; to whome the mastres of the house came, & chargyd her to tell who was the fader of the chylde. To whome the mayden answeyrd, "forsoth, no body" / "why!" quod the maystres "yt ys not possyble but some manne muste be the fader thereof." To whome the mayd sayd / "why, mastres? why may not I haue a chylde without a man, as well as a hen to lay eggys wythout a cok."

¶ Here ye may see it is harde to fynde a woman wythout an excuse.

As another old writer says, "excuses are neuer further off women than their apron strings." (*Tarlton's Newes out of Purgatorie*, 4to, London, 1590, The Tale of the two lovers of Pisa.)

XLIV. *The Book of Riddels.* This set of questions and answers like the *Demaundes Joyous*, p. cvii, above, I have not been able to see, and therefore take Mr. J. P. Collier's description of it from his *Bibliographical Catalogue*, ii. 264. Mr. Halliwell says that the 1629 edition of the *Book* is in the Library of the Earl of Ellesmere.

"The Booke of mery Riddles. Together with proper Questions, and wittie Proverbs to make pleasant Pastime. No lesse usefull then behooveful for any yong man or child to know if he be quicke-witted or no.—London. Printed by Edward Alde, dwelling in Little Saint Bartholomewes, neere Christ-church. 1600. 8vo. B. L. 24 leaves.

"We can very well believe that this was not only "the book of riddles" which Master Slender had lent to Alice Shortcake, but that it was the edition which Shakespeare had in his mind when he wrote "The Merry Wives of Windsor" about the date when the reprint before us (for such it no doubt was) was brought out. We take it also, that it was a recent edition of the same "book of riddels" which Laneham in his Letter from Kenilworth mentions in 1575 as in the library of Captain Cox. (See vol. i. p. 451.)

"How many times it may have been reprinted between 1575 and 1600 it is impossible to state; but we never find it entered in the Stationers' Registers, and the oldest impression hitherto known, until the discovery of the present copy, was of the year 1629, when it was 'printed by T. C. for Michael Sparke, dwelling in Greene Arbor at the signe of the blue Bible.' We may be sure that such a collection was in great popular demand, but between 1631¹ and 1660 we are aware of no reproduction of it: in 1660 it

¹ "The exact wording of the title-page of the edit. 1631 is: "A Booke of Merrie Riddles. Very meeete and delightfull for youth to try their wits.—

was 'printed for John Stafford and W. G. and are to be sold at the George near Fleetbridg.' All copies are in black letter, and the intermediate edition of 1631 was printed by Robert Bird in Cheapside.

"The wording of the title-page is nearly the same in all the copies we have been able to examine, but it is to be observed that the impression of 1660, although it announces 'proper questions and witty proverbs,' contains nothing of the kind: nevertheless, it is obviously complete, with the word *Finis*, and the initials of the publishers, in a chaplet, at the end. The 'proper questions and witty proverbs' was therefore a false pretence, and the book consists of only 12 leaves. All editions have the following lines opposite the title-page, but they are sometimes differently divided:—

<p>'Is the wit quicke? Then do not sticke To reade these Riddes darke:</p>	|	<p>Which if thou doo, And rightly too, Thou art a witty sparke.'</p>
--	--	--

Later copies than the one we have used read 'Is *thy* wit quicke,' and it is perhaps right. The antiquity of some of the riddles is thus established, carrying us back fourteen years anterior to the date of Laneham's Letter from Kenilworth:—

'What is that, round as a ball,
Longer than Pauls steeple, weather cock & all?'

The answer, called 'solution,' is 'It is a round bottome of thread when it is unwound.' Now, we know that the steeple of St. Paul's, with its weathercock, was consumed by fire, occasioned by lightning, in June, 1561. (Stow's *Annales*, p. 1055, edit. 1605,

London. Printed for Robert Bird and are to bee solde at his shoppe in Cheapeside at the sign of the Bible. 1631." 12mo B. L. 11 leaves.

"We quote the following from the Edit. 1630, the more curious because it contains the words of a very old Catch, then usually sung by 'Ale Knights,' and which has come down to our day.

<p>Q. I am foule to be looked unto, Yet many seeke me for to win, Not for my beauty, nor my skin, But for my wealth and force to know. Harde is my meate whereby I live, Yet I bring men to dainty fare: If I were not, then Ale-Knights should To sing this song not be so bold,</p>		<p><i>Nutmegs, Ginger, Cinamon and Cloves, They gave us this jolly red nose. The foure parts of the world I show, The time and howers as the doe goe; As needfull am I to mankind As any thing that they can find. Many doe take me for their guide, Who otherwise would runne aside.</i></p>
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'Sol(ution). It (is) a Loadestone, for without it no Pilot were able to guide a ship in the Ocean Seas.'"

edit. 1631, p. 647, and this vol. p. 134.) The riddle was therefore older than 1561.

“Some of the best Riddles are in ‘The Demaundes Joyous¹,’ printed by Wynken de Worde in 1511, (reviewed in vol. i. p. 217) the first of which is—‘Who bare the best burden that ever was borne?’ and the answer, ‘That bare the asse when our lady fled with our lorde into egypte.’ It stands thus in our ‘Booke of Merry Riddles,’ 1660—‘Who bare the best burthen that was ever bore at any time since, or at any time before?’ with the following ‘solution:’ ‘It was the Asse that bare both our Lady and her son into Egypt.’ Again, in the ‘Demaundes Joyous’ we have, just afterwards—‘What space is from y^e hiest space of the se to the depest?’—‘But a stoness cast.’ In our more modern form it is given as follows—‘What space is from the highest of the sea to the bottom?—*Solut.* A stoness cast, for a stone throwne in, be it never so deepe, will go to the bottome.’ A third instance from the ‘Demaundes Joyous’ is this—‘How many calves tayles behoueth to reche from the erthe to the skye?—No more but one, if it be longe enough.’ The Riddle-book of 1600 has in it nearly the same terms—‘How manie Calves tayles will reach to the sky?—*Solut.* One, if it bee long enough.’ The two last are precisely the same in the impressions of 1629, 1631 and 1660.

“The following was no doubt, invented and printed before the Reformation, but it is not in the ‘Demaundes Joyous’ for obvious reasons: ‘Of what faculty be they that everie night turn the skins of dead beastes? *Solution.* Those be Fryars, for everie night at Mattins [Vespers]? they turn the leaves of their parchement bookes that be made of sheep skins, or calves’ skins.’ The following is of a different character to the riddles we have already noticed, but it is not at first very intelligible:—

‘L and V and C and I,
So hight my Lady at the Font stone.’

The ‘solution,’ so to call it, is thus given: ‘Her name is Lucy, for in the first line is LVCI, which is Lucy: but the Riddle must be put and read thus: fifty and five, a hundred and one: then is the riddle very proper, for L standeth for fifty, & V for five, C for an hundred and I for one.’

¹ See No. XLII, p. cvii, above.

“Some are in rhyme, as the following, which is in substance and in prose, also in the ‘Demaundes Joyous:’—

‘A water there is which I must passe; | And yet of all waters that ever I see
a broader water there never was, | To pass it over is lest jeopardie.’

The solution in 1600 is “It ‘is the due [dew] for that lyeth over all the world:” ‘Demaundes Joyous’ adds “Which is the broadest water and the leest jeopardye to passe over.”

“The most curious and interesting part of this little volume consists of a list of ‘witty Proverbs,’ which as we have stated, are altogether omitted in the reprint of 1660. They are entirely miscellaneous, and we select only a few of the most pointed and satirical.

‘There is no vertue that povertie destroyeth not.
All weapons of warre cannot arme feare.
Chuse not a woman, nor linnen cloth, by a candle.
He helps little that helpeth not himselfe.
He knoweth enough that knoweth nothing, if so bee hee know
how to holde his peace.
He danceth well enough to whom Fortune pipeth.
He that liveth in Court dyeth upon straw.
That is well done is done soon enough.
Marvell is the daughter of ignorance.
The deeds are manly, and the words womanly.
He that soweth vertue shall reape fame.
The hearts mirth doth make the face fayre.
He that is in poverty is still in suspition.
He that goeth to bed with dogs riseth with fleas.
Fryars observants spare their owne, and eate other mens.
All draw water to their owne mill.’

“In the whole there are 131 of the Proverbs.

“The following shows that some of the proverbs are of foreign origin:—

‘Venice, hee that doth not see thee doth not esteeme thee.’

This is, of course, Shakespeare’s ‘Venezia, Venezia, chi non te vede non te pregia¹’ (L. L. L., A. iv. sc. 2) which, perhaps, he had from Florio’s ‘Second Fruits’ 1591, but without the sequel; which,

¹ In the Folio, *venchie, vencha, que non te vnde, que non te perreche*, Booth’s reprint, p. 132, col. 1.

among other places, we meet with in Howel's Letters, p. 53, edit. 1655,

'Venetia Venetia, chi non te vede non te pregia,
Ma che t' ha troppo veduto te dispregia.'

Which has been thus translated:—

'He who ne'er saw thee, Venice, cannot prize thee.
He who too much has seen thee must despise thee.'

Thus we see that our great dramatist may be illustrated from the most unlikely sources, for there was nothing too vast for his intellect, nor too insignificant for his observation. The small book of Riddles in our hands throws light upon two of his noble dramas."

XLV. *The Seauen Sororz of Wemen.* 'I am not acquainted with any tract bearing this title,' says Mr. Halliwell, and so say I. Any one who has not read the curious set of poems on Women in Mr. Hazlitt's 4th volume of *Early Popular Poetry*, 1866, should read them forthwith: they are *The Payne and Sorowe of Evyll Maryage*, *The Boke of Mayd Emlyn*, *The Schole-house of Women*, *The Proude Wyues Pater-noster* (see next article here), *A merry Jeste of a Shrewde and curste Wyfe lapped in Morelles skin* (see No. XXVI. p. lxiv above), *A Treatyse shewing and declaring the Pryde and Abuse of Women NowaDayes*, and *A Glasse to Viewe the Pride of Vaine-Glorious Women*.

XLVI. *The Proud Wives Paternoster.* Customs founded on the weaknesses of human nature abide; and as women in early days didn't like going to church when it rained (*Babees Book*, p. 36, l. 12), so they don't now; as, when there in old time, they lookt at one another's dresses, envied their neighbours' finery and resolved to outdo it, so they do now, more or less; and as men of old quizzed them for it, and protested against waste of money on overgay frocks &c., so do some now. When will women dress as comfort and good sense (and men?) dictate, and not to outbrave other women, or imitate nasty French models? But one mustn't grumble at small faults in great goods, and I hope we're on the mend: short frocks are in, chignons out; may sausages and pads soon disappear, and female heads retake their natural shape!

The Proud Wife goes to church, like other wives, thinking how 'to go gaye' and 'as gorgyous as other.' She says the clauses of the Pater Noster, and adds thought-tags not in the original Lord's Prayer, whereof here is a specimen:

- ¶ *Adueniat regnum tuum*—thy kingdom come to vs
 After this lyfe, when we hens shall wende! (l. 50)
 But whyle we be here now, swete Jesus,
 As other women haue, suche grace in me sende,
 That I may haue, Lorde, my heede in to wrap,
 After the guyse, kerchefes that be fyne,¹
 And theron to sette some lusty trymme cap,
 With smockes wel wrought, soude with sylken twyne.
- ¶ *Fiat voluntas tua*—thy well [will] fulfilled be
 Lorde god, alway! as thys tyme doth requyre:
 And as my gossep that sytteth here by me,
 So let me be trymmed: nought elles I desyre. . . . (l. 60)
- ¶ *Sicut in celo et in terra*—in heauen as in erthe; (l. 65)
 Yt is alway sene, go we neuer so farre,
 That women aboue all, the beaute bereth;
 And without gaye gero our beaute we marre;
 Therefore, good lorde, let this be a-mende,
 And gaye gere to were, that I may haue, (l. 70)
 Or elles my lyfe wyll haue an ende:
 For very pure thought [anxiety], nought can me saue.

The Proud Wife nearly swoons; but her gossip wrings her finger and revives her, and then sympathises with her in her trouble—the stinginess of her husband who won't give her money to buy fine clothes. The Gossip tells her how to manage the man: take a third of his gains, and spend it on 'rybandes of sylke . . with tryangles trymly made poynte deuyse,' 'fyne hoose,' and 'trym shos';² then ask him for whatever she wants, but not when he's angry; crave it with loving countenance and fair words, asking only for small trifles at first, and then she'll get whatever large gifts she wants. But if he won't attend to her, and plays the churl, then the Wife must do so too, seize half of his goods—half is hers, and half his.

The Proud Wife says she shall get nothing but fists and staves if she does ask her husband for money, and so she shall take what she can, and get another mate. After service, though, she does ask her goodman, and he quietly reasons with her; tells her he's

¹ Compare Chaucer's Wife of Bath, *Prolog. Cant. Tales*, l. 453-5. (Group A, § 1):

Hir *couerchiefs* / ful *fyne* weren of grounde
 I dorste swere / they weyeden ten pounde
 That on a *Sunday* / weren vpon hir heede

² Compare again Chaucer's Wife,

Hir *hosen* weren of *fyne* scarlet reede
 fful streite yteyd / and *shoes* ful moyste and newe.

ib. l. 456-7, Ellesmere MS.

in debt, has only £20 to pay a hundred with, wears simple clothes himself, and cannot give her anything unless he steals it. His Wife only abuses and threatens him; and he, poor man, goes to consult his curate about it. After Mass, the priest can only say, 'do well and trust in God;' and the poor man goes home, to find that his wife has carried off all his 'short endes & mony that he had in store,' so that he's undone for ever.

"Suche *Pater Noster* some wyues do saye." But instead of it they'd better say 'the gow[ld]en Paternoster of deuocion,' of which we'll quote one stanza, l. 521-8 :

Chryt Jesu our kynge, and his mother dere,
 Be in our nede our socour and comferte,
 Our soules from synne to preserue clere,
 That the flame of charyte in vs reporte;
 To whom that we may resorte
 With blisful armony both all and summe;
 Swete Jesus! for vs exhorte,
 That vnto us—*Adueniat regnum tuum.*

This abstract is made from Mr. W. C. Hazlitt's reprint of the two poems in *Early Popular Poetry* iv. 147-178, from the undated edition in the Bodleian, by Kyng, 576 lines. John Awdeley's edition, licensed on Aug. 14, 1560 (see the next article) has not come down to us, but we have two editions by John Kyng, one dated 1560, and the other undated:—

The Proude Wyues Pater noster that wolde go gaye, and undyd her Husbonde and went her waye. Anno Domini MDLX. [With a woodcut on the title of a man with purses at his girdle. *Colophon*] Imprinted at London in Paules Church yearde at the Sygne of the Swane by John Kyng. 4to, black letter.

The License for this on June 10, 1560, has been already quoted from the Stationers' Register A, at p. xxiii above. The only copy now known is, I suppose, in Lord Ellesmere's Library (*Collier's Bibl. Account*, ii. 201). The title of the unique Bodleian copy is

The Proude wyues Pater noster, that wolde go gaye, and vndyd her husbonde and went her waye. [With a woodcut on the title of two women conversing, the righthand one the same as that on p. 167 of my reprint of Boorde's *Introduction of Knowledge*. *Colophon*.] ¶ Imprinted at London in Paules Church yearde at the Sygne of the Swane by John Kyng. 4to. black letter. (*Hazlitt*.)

XLVII. *The Chapman of a Pencworth of Wit.* This is the poem printed by Ritson in his *Ancient Popular Poetry*, 1791, from the Cambr. Univ. Libr. MS. Ff ii. 38, and by Mr. W. C. Hazlitt, in his *Early Popular Poetry*, vol. i. p. 193—from the Harl. MS.

5396, the Auchinleck MS. (as printed by Mr. D. Laing) and the Cambridge MS.—under its other title of “How a Merchande dyd hys wyfe betray.” An edition that has not reacht us was licensed on Aug. 14, 1560.

“Re of John Sampson,¹ for his Lycense for *the prynting of the proude wyues pater noster: a panyworth of wytt, and the plowmans pater noster, the xiiij of auguste* xij^d”

Other editions were licensed to John Charlwood on 15 January 1581–2 (*Collier's Stat. Reg.* ii. 155) and to Edward White on 16 August, 1586 (*ib.* p. 213), but they have not reacht us, nor has any other early printed copy. The earliest MS. of the poem is the Auchinleck, 1320–30 A.D., edited by Mr. David Laing for the Abbotsford Club in 1857, as “A Penni-worth of Witte, Florice and Blancheflour, and other Pieces of Antient English Poetry.” It contains a few lines more than the MSS of 100 or 120 years later printed by Ritson and Mr. Hazlitt; but the Harleian MS. only contains half the poem. Mr. Laing says that the origin of the poem is the fabliau of “La Bourse pleine de sens” printed in the third volume of Barbazan's collection of *Fabliaux et Contes*, ed. 1808.

A merchant has a true wife, but neglects her for a paramour or concubine, to whom he gives rich gifts. When he is going to sea, he asks his wife whether she has any money to give him to buy her a present. She gives him a penny to buy her a Pennyworth of Wit, and keep it in his heart. The merchant sails to France, and buys his leman brooches, jewelery, and many fair things. Then, in the hearing of an old man, he wonders where he can get a pennyworth of wit for his wife. The old man answers ‘Have you a leman or a wife?’ ‘Both,’ says the merchant, ‘and I love my paramour best.’ ‘Then,’ says the old man, ‘when you get home, put on old clothes; say that you've been shipwrecked, have lost everything, and have slain a man; ask for a night's refuge; and live with the woman who treats you best.’ For this Pennyworth, the merchant pays his wife's penny, and acts on the advice. His paramour sees him coming in old clothes, declares she won't admit him: and on hearing his story, threatens to fetch the bailiffs if

¹ He is Awdeley, who wrote the *Fraternitee of Vacabondes*, and was called Sampson Awdley, or John Sampson. There's an entry in the Stat. Reg. with his aliases. (See the *Fraternitee*, with Harman's *Caveat*, E. E. T. Soc. 1869.)

he doesn't go off. He does go, to his wife; and she receives him gladly, like the Nutbrown Maid, says she'll shelter him, work for him, beg his pardon of the king; "I will never forsake thee in thy woe!" He sleeps with her; and next morning dresses himself richly, and goes to his paramour. She now is eager to kiss him and abuse his wife. But he won't have it. She puts down all the presents he has given her, £400 worth; and he sends them home to his wife as her own, bought with her penny; and lives with her happily ever after.

III. CAPTAIN COX'S ANCIENT PLAYS.

We have now reacht another division of Captain Cox's books, his four "auncient Playz." Of these, the first,

XLVIII. *Yooth and Charitee*, is no doubt that of which another edition was licensed to John Wally or Waley in 1557, and the entry of which, already quoted at p. lxxiv, is among the earliest in the Stationers' Register A, and is on leaf 22:

To mr. John Wally these bokes, Called Welthe and helthe / the treatise of the frere and the boye¹ / stans puer ad mensam²; a nother, *youghte, charyte, and humylyte*; an a b e for cheldren, in engleshe, with syllabes; also a boke called an hundreth mery tayles³. ijs

A copy of this edition—or perhaps a later and more carelessly printed one from the same press⁴—is in the British Museum (C. 34. b. 24) "Thenterlude of youth" over cuts of Charitie and Youth, with the colophon, "Imprinted at London by John waley / dwell- yng in Foster lane." Another edition is also in the Museum (C. 34. e. 38) "The Enterlude of youth," over cuts of Charite, Youth (the cut used in Boorde's *Introduction of Knowledge*, for a Bohemian, p. 166 of my reprint 1870) and a third figure for Humility (the cut in Boorde's *Introduction*, for a Dane, p. 162 of my reprint); and as the colophon is "Imprinted at London in Lothbury over a. / gainst Sainct Margarytes church by me / Wylliam Copland. /," the date of the book must be 1562 or after, as Copland was at the Three Craned wharf in the Vintry in 1561, and at the Rose Garland, Fleet St. before that⁵. The Rev. S. R. Maitland in his *Early Printed Books at Lambeth*

¹ See No. XXXI, p. lxxiii, above.

² See XXXVIII. p. xcix, above.

³ See No. XLIII. p. cviii, above.

⁴ See p. cix. I don't suppose that Coplande printed from Waley's edition.

⁵ See p. xlvi, above.

1843, p. 309 &c. reprints a fragment of four leaves of another edition¹.

Charity tries to persuade Youth to follow God's laws, but Youth scorns him, and threatens to stab him; so he goes away to fetch Humility to convince Youth. Then comes Riot from Newgate, and promises Youth some wine and a wench at the tavern, and gets him Pride as his servant. Pride suggests that Youth shall take a wife; but Riot poohpoohs this, and says he must have Pride's sister, Lady Lechery, as his lemman. She comes, to Youth's delight, and they are all going off to the tavern, where Pride is to be Rector Chori (see my pref. to *Awdeley* etc., p. xv), when Charity interrupts them; but they chain him hand and foot, and go on. Humility then comes up, and looses Charity, and the tavern party come back to them. A dispute for Youth follows: At first he promises to follow Riot; but, on hearing from Charity how Jesus bought back men from hell with his blood, desires to save his soul, and betakes himself to God.

As a sample of the play, and the 2 editions (of which Copland's is the more correct), take Riot's speech as to what he can teach Youth, sign C. iiii.

John Waley, 1557.

Syr [I] can teache you to play at the
dice,
At the quenes game, and at the
Iryshe,
The Treygobet and the hasarde also,
And many other games mo.
Also at the cardes I can theche you
to play,
At the triump, and one and thyrtye,
Post, pinion, and also aumsase,
And at an³ other they call dewssace.
Yet I can tel you more, & ye wyll
con me thanke,
Pinke, and drinke, and also at the
blanke,
And many sportes mo.

Wylliam Copland, after 1561².

Syr, I can teache you to play at the
dice,
At the quenes game, and at the
Iryshe⁴,
The Treygobet, and the hasarde also,
And many other games mo.
Also at the cardes I can teche you to
play,
At the triumph, and on and thirtye,
Post, pinion, and also aumsase,
And at an other they call dewssace.
Yet I can tel you mor, & ye will
con me thanke,
Pinke, and drinke, and also at the
blanke,
And mane sportes mo.

XLIX. *Hikskorner.* Title "Hycke scorner" in a riband over a treble woodcut, with 3 single cuts below (the middle one an elephant with a castle on its back), and on the back, six single cuts

¹ Maitland had not seen Waley's edition in the Museum. I have compared his extracts with Waley's and Copland's books.

² He printed books in 1567; p. xxxviii-xxxix, above.

³ ad, orig.

⁴ A kind of backgammon. *Hazlitt's Brand*, ii. 315.

of 1. Contempla[tion], 2 Pyte, 3 Frewyll, 4. Imagyna[cion], 5 Hyckscorner, 6. Perseue[rance]; of which no. 4 was afterwards used by Wm. Coplande for a Saxon, a Spaniard, an Egyptian, etc. in Boorde's *Introduction of Knowledge* (p. 165 etc. of my reprint); no. 2 for a Lombard, and a Latin man, by W. Copland, *ib.* p. 186; and for Boorde¹, by R. Wyer, *ib.* p. 305; and no. 5 by W. Coplande for a Bohemian, *ib.* p. 166.

The colophon is "Enprynted by me Wynkyn de Worde," over his device, the Sun and 2 planets ringed with stars, Caxton's monogram 'W C' below, and 'wynkyn de worde,' with his ornaments underneath.

First appear, one after the other, Pyte, Contemplacyon, and Perseuerance, each describing himself, and Pity complaining of the poverty then existing, how unkind rich men are, and how lords force widows to marry their men. Then comes Frewyll, boasting of his drinking and wenching, and calls Imagynacyon, who has been in the stocks, and lost his purse on a girl; who describes himself as the friend of lawyers and all who like lies; and who tells some of his tricks. To them comes Hyckscorner, from 'thre londe of rumbelowe, thre myle out of hell,' and divers other places, but last from the sea, wherein all the good people going to Ireland were drowned, while all the bad ones in his ship, where he kept a shop of bawdry, got to England safe. Imagynacyon proposes a visit to the stews; a quarrel follows; and when Pyte comes up to stop it, they all turn on him, chain his feet, and bind his hands with a halter. Pyte then moans over the state of England, and his rymes may be quoted as a sample of the play:

We all may say wele away
 For synne *that* is now-adaie ²
 Loo! vertue is vanysshed for cuer and aye;
 Worse was hyt neuer!

We haue plente of great othes,
 And clothe ynoughe in our clothes,
 But charyte many men lothes:
 Worse was hyt neuer!

Alas! now is lechery called loue in dede,
 And murdure named manhode in euery nede;
 Extorsyon is called lawe, so god me spede!
 Worse was hyt neuer!

(B. iii.)

¹ See p. 170, 188 of *Introduction*, and *Roxburghe Ballads*, reprint, i. 154.

² These 2 lines are one in the original.

Youth walketh by nyght with swerdes & knyues,
 And euer amonge, true men leseth theyr lyues.
 Lyke heretykes, we occupy other mennes wyues

Now a dayes in englonde.

Baudes be *the* dystryers of many yonge women,
 And full lewde counseyll they gyue vnto them :
 How you do mary, beware you yonge men !

The wyfe neuer taryeth to longe.

There be many grete scorneres,
 But for synne there be fewe mourners ;
 We haue but fewe true louers

In no place now a dayes.

There be many goodly gylte knyues,
 And, I trowe, as well apparaylled wyues,
 Yet many of them be vnthryfty of theyr lyues,
 And all set in pryde to go gaye.

Mayers on synne dooth no correccyon.
 With gentyll men bereth trouthe adowne ;
 Auoutry is suffred in euery towne ;

Amendmynt is there none.

And goddes *commandementes*, we breke them all .x.
 Deuocyon is gone, many dayes syn :

Let vs amende vs, we trewe crysten men,
 Or deth make you grone !

Courtyers go gaye, and take lytell wages,
 And many with harlottes at the tauerne hauntes ;
 They be yemen of the wrethe *that* be shakled in gyues,

On themselfe they haue no pyte.

[B iii back]

God punyssheth full sore with grete sekenesse,
 As pokes, pestylence, purple, and axes,—
 Some dyeth sodeynly that deth full perylous,—

Yet was there neuer so grete pouerte !

There be some sermones made by noble doctoures ;
 But truly the feude dothe stoppe mennes eres ;
 For god, nor good man, some people not feres :

Worse was hyt neuer !

All trouth is not best sayd,
 And our prechers now a dayes be halfe afrayde.
 Whan we do amende, god wolde be well apayde :
 Worse was hyt neuer !

Contemplacyon and Perseuerance loose Pyte, and he starts to arrest Hycskorner and his mates. Meantime Frewyll comes back, and relates his and Imagynacyon's thefts. Perseuerance and Contemplacyon argue with him ; and though he scorns them at first, he at last agrees to be sorry for his sins and save his soul. To them comes Imagynacyon ; and he also, after much of his chaff, is persuaded to reform, and serve Perseuerance, while Frewyll serves Contemplacyon, both conuerting others. Of Hycskorner's end nothing is said.

L. Nu Gize, or the New Guise. This is, no doubt, the Interlude published two years before Laneham wrote, 'for the purpose of vindicating and promoting the Reformation.' It was reprinted in the last edition of Dodsley; and copies of the original are in the British Museum (two), Bodleian (among Malone's books), Bridgewater House, Mr. Henry Huth's library, &c. "A New Enterlude / No lesse wittie : then pleasant, entituled / new Custome, devised of late, and for diuerse / causes nowe set forthe, neuer before / this tyme Imprinted. / 1573. /

The players names in this / Enterlude be these. /

<i>The Prologue</i>	
<i>Peruerse Doctrine</i>	an olde Popishe priest.
<i>Ignorance</i>	an other, but elder.
<i>Newcustome</i>	a minister.
<i>Light of the gospell</i>	a minister.
<i>Hypocrisie</i>	an olde woman.
<i>Creweltie</i>	a Ruffler.
<i>Auarice</i>	a Ruffler.
<i>Edification</i>	a Sage.
<i>Assurance</i>	a Vertue.
<i>Goddess felicitie</i>	a Sage.

¶ Fower may play this Enterlude.

1	{	<i>Peruersedoctrine</i>	3	{	<i>Neue Custome.</i>
					<i>Auarice.</i>
					<i>Assurance.</i>
2	{	<i>Ignorance</i>			<i>Light of the Gospell.</i>
		<i>Hypocrisie</i>	4	{	<i>Creweltie.</i>
		<i>and Edification.</i>			<i>Goddess felicitie.</i>
					<i>The Prologue.</i>

[Col] "Imprinted at London in Fleetestreete by William How for Abraham Veale, dwelling in Paules church yard at the signe of the Lambe." 4to. black letter, A, B, C, D, in fours, 16 leaves.

Perverse-Doctrine opens the play by complaining of the 'new-fangled pratling elves' who 'go about, vs auncients flatly to deface;' and specially of one young preacher who 'in London not longe since' in a Sermon reviled at the holy sacrament and transubstantiation, disallowed the Popish rites, and said they were all superstition. Scene 2 brings in New-Custome lamenting the ills of his time, and contrasting them with the good old 'auncient times before'. As the writer clearly knew little of the latter, when,

... in comparison of this time of miserie,
In those daies men lyued in perfect felicitie,

we had better take his account of the former.

. . this is sure, that neuer in any age before,
 Naughtines and sinne hath ben practised more,
 Or halfe so muche, or at all, in respecte, so I saye,
 As is nowe (God amende all!) at this present daye.
 Sinne nowe, no sinne; faultes, no faultes a whit.
 O God! seest thou this? and yet wylt suffer hit?
 Surely thy mercie is great; but yet our sinnes, I feare,
 Are so great, that of Justice with them thou canst not beare.
 Adulterie no vice: it is a thinge so rife;
 A stale iest nowe, to lie with an other mannes wyfe;
 For what is that but daliaunce? Couetousnesse, they call
 Good husbandrie, when one man would faine haue all.
 And eke a-like to that is vnmercifull extorcion,
 A sinne, in sight of god, of great abhominacion. (*sign. B. i. back.*)
 For Pride; that is now a grace! for, rounde about,
 The humble-spirited is termed a foole or a lowte.
 Who so will bee so drunken that hee scarsly knoweth his waye,
 Oh, hee is a good fellowe! so now a daies they saye.
 Gluttonie is Hospitalitie, while they meate and drinke spill
 Whiche would relieue diuerse whom famine doth kill.
 As for all charitable dedes:—they be gone, God knoweth:
 Some pretende lacke; but the chiefe cause is slowth,
 A vice most outragious of all others, sure,
 Right hatefull to God, and contrarie to nature.
 Scarse, bloud is punished, but euen for very shame;
 So make they of murther but a trifling game!
 O! how manie examples of that horrible Vice
 Do dayly among vs nowe spring and arise!
 But thanks be to God, that such rulers doth sende,
 Whiche earnestly studie that fault to amende,
 As by the sharpe punishement of that wicked crime
 Wee may see, that committed was but of late time.
 God direct their heartes, they may alwaies continue
 Suche iust execution on sinne to ensue!
 So shall be sau'd the life of many a man;
 And God wylt withdrawe his sore plagues from vs than.
 Theft is but pollicie, Periurie but a face:
 Suche is now the worlde! so farre men be from grace!
 But what shall I say of Religion and knowledge
 Of God, whiche hath ben indifferent in eache age
 Before this? howbeit, his faltes then it had,
 And in some poyntes then was culpable and bad?
 Surely, this one thinge I may say aright;
 God hath reiected vs away from him quight,
 And geuen vs vp whollie vnto our owne thought,
 Utterly to destroy vs, and bring vs to nought.
 For do they not followe the inuentions of men?
 Looke on the Primitiue Church, and tell mee then
 Whether they serued God in this same wise,
 Or whether they followed any other guyse?
 For since Goddes feare decayed, and Hypocrisie crept in,
 In hope of some gaines, and lucre to win,
 Crueltie bare a stroke, who with fagot and fier,
 Braught all thinges to passe that hee did desier.
 Next, Auarice spilt all; whiche, lest it should be spide,

Hypocrisie ensued, the matter to hide.
 Then brought they in their monsters, their Masses, their Light,
 Their Torches at noone, to darken our sight;
 Their Popes, and their pardons, their Purgatories for sowles;
 Their smoking of the Church, and flinging of cooles.

* * * * *
 I sayde that the Masse, and suche trumperie as that,—
 Popery, Purgatorie, pardons,—were flatt [B ij back]
 Against Goddes woorde, and Primitiue Constitution,
 Crept in through Couetousnesse and superstition,—
 Of late yeres, through Blindenes, and men of no knowledge,
 Euen suche as haue ben in euery age.

Act 2 introduces Light-of-the-Gospell encouraging New-Custome; Scene 2, traitor Hypocrisie advising Perverse-Doctrine and Ignorance how to act; but when she hears that Light-of-the-Gospell has come, she swears at him; he 'will worke vs the mischief:'

For since these Geneuian doctours came so fast into this lande,
 Since that time it was neuer merie with Englande.
 First came Newcustome, and hee gaue the onsay;
 And sithens, things haue gone worse euery day. [Sign C. ij.]

Scene 3 brings in Creweltie and Auarice, advising stocks, prisons, hanging, burning, as in Queen Mary's days; but as that will not do, they change their names to Justice-with-Severity, and Frugality — Perversedoctrine being Sounde-doctrine, and Ignorance, Simplicitie, to deceive men and pervert their minds. However, in Act 3, Light-of-the-Gospell converts Perversedoctrine, advises Newcustome not to take too much heed to the fashion of a garment, but to mind that 'the conscience be pure'; and Edification, Assurance, and Goddes-Felicitie, successively counsel the company.

The Captain's 'auncient playz' were the most moral books in his library.

LI. *Impacient Poverty.* In the play of "*Sir Thomas More* contained in the Harleian MS. 7368, and first printed in 1844 for the Shakespeare Society under the late Mr. Dyce's editorship, one of 'My Lord Cardinalls players' comes in, and offers to act a play—as the players afterwards did in *Hamlet*.—To More's question "I prethee, tell me, what playes haue ye?" the player answers:

Diuers, my lord: *The Cradle of Securitie*¹,
*Hit nayle o' th head*², IMPACIENT POVERTIE,

¹ Not extant. See an account of it in *Collier's Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poet.* ii. 272 sqq.—Dyce.

² Not extant.—D.

*The play of Foure Pees*¹, *Diues and Lazarus*²,
*Iustie Iuuentus*³, and *The Marriage of Witt and Wisedome*⁴.

MOORE. *The Marriage of Witt and Wisedome!* that, my lads,
He none but that! the theam is very good.

No copy of the play is now known, but in D. E. Baker's *Biographia Dramatica* (1764, continued by Is. Reed, 1782, and edited by Stephen Jones, 1812) we find the following entry on p. 328, col. 1:—

90. A NEWE INTERLUDE OF IMPACIENTE POVERTE, newlye Imprinted M. V. L. X (We suppose 1560) 4to. This piece is in metre, and in the old black-letter; and the title-page says: "*Four Men may well and easelye playe this Interlude.*"

IV. CAPTAIN COX'S BOOK OF MEDICINE.

LII. *Doctor Boords Breuiary of Health.* I have printed large extracts from this book, and given an account of it, of Boorde's other works, and his Life, in my edition of his *Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge* 1547 or -8, and his *Dyetary* 1542, etc., for the Early English Text Society's Extra Series 1870. To this volume I refer my readers,—recommending them to read at least Boorde's comments on 7 Evils of England,—and only repeat here that the Breuiary is a brief 'alphabetical list of diseases by their Latin names, with their remedies, and the way of treating them. Other subjects are introduced, as *Mulier* a woman⁵, *Nares* nose-

¹ (4 P's) By John Heywood. Reprinted in Dodsley's *Old Plays*, vol. i.—D.

² Not extant. It was written by a player, if we may trust to a passage in Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit*; see Collier's *Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poet.* ii. 272.

³ By R. Wever (for I cannot think with Mr. Collier—*Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poet.* ii. 317—that there is any reason for doubting that Wever was its author.) Reprinted in Hawkins's *Origin of the English Drama*, vol. i.

⁴ "The Contract [? MS.] of a Marige betweene wit and wisdome, very frutefull, and mixed full of pleasant mirth, as well for the beholders as the readers or hearers: never before imprinted . . . 1579." *Additional MS* 26,782 in the British Museum. This title is either copied from a printed edition or from a copy prepared for press. No early printed edition is known. Mr. Halliwell edited this Interlude for the Shakespeare Society in 1846. The Play acted in *Sir Thomas More* as *The Marriage* is 'nothing more than a portion of *Lusty Iuuentus*, with alterations and a few additions.'—Dyce, *Sir Thomas More*, p. 61.

⁵ Furthermore now why a woman is named a woman, I wyll shewe my mynde. *Homo* is the latin worde, and in Englyshe it is as wel for a woman as for a man; for a woman, the silables conuerted, is no more to say as a man in wo; and set wo before man, and then it is woman; and wel she may be named a woman, for as muche as she doth bere chyldren with wo and peyne; and also she is subiect to man, except it be there where the white mare is the better horse; therefore *Vt homo non cantet cum cuculo*, let euery man please his wyfe in all matters, and displease her not, but let her haue her owne wyl, for that she wyll haue, who so euer say nay. (Fol. lxxxii. sign L. ii., back.)

thrilles, &c.' The *Breuiary* was written by Boorde by the year 1542, though it was not publisht till 1547,—with its 2nd part, the *Extrauagantes*,—having been 'examined in Oxford in June' 1546¹. Boorde intended it as a companion to his *Dyetary* :

"I wolde that euery man hauynge this boke, shulde haue the sayd *Dyetary of Health* with this boke, consideryng that the one booke is concurrant with the other."

His own account of the *Breuiary*, in his Preface to it is as follows :

"Gentyll readers, I haue taken some peyne in makyng this boke, to do sycke men pleasure and whole men profyete, that sycke men may recuperate theyr health, and whole men may preserue theym selfe frome syckenes (with goddes helpe) as well in Phisicke as in Chierurgy. But for as much as olde, auneynt, and autentyke auctours or doctours of Physicke, in theyr bokes doth wryte many obscure termes, geuyng also to many and dyuerse infirmities, darke and harde names, dyffycyle to vnderstande, some and mooste of all beyng Greeke wordes, some and fewe beyng Araby wordes, some beyng Latyn wordes, and some beyng Barbarus wordes. Therefore I haue translated all suche obscure wordes and names into Englyshe, that euery man openlye and apartylye maye vnderstande them. Furthermore, all the aforesayde names of the sayde infirmities be set togyther in order, accordyng to the letters of the Alphabete, or the .A. B. C. So that as many names as doth begyn with A. be set together, and so forth, all other letters as they be in order. Also there is no sickenes in man or woman, the whiche maye be frome the crowne of the head to the sole of the fote, but you shall fynde it in this booke, as well the syckenesses the which doth parteyne to Chierurgy as to phisicke, and what the sickenes is, and howe it doth come, and medecynes for the selfe same. And for as much as euery man now a dayes is desyrous to rede brieft and compendious matters. I therefore in this matter pretende to satisfye mens myndes as much as I can, namynge this booke accordyng to the matter, which is. The Breuiary of health." (Fol. v., sign A. v.)

V. CAPTAIN COX'S BALLADS.

We now come to the Captain's "bunch of ballets & songs, all auncient"; but unluckily Laneham didn't care so much for our old English ditties as he did for our story-books and poems, and has therefore stinted us to seven names of ballads, and that disappointing "a hundred more." What possesst the man to care more for the songs that showed off his "Spanish sospires, his French heighes, his Italian dulcets, his Dutch hovez, his doubl releas, his hy reachez, his fine feynyng, his deep diapason, his wanton warblz, his running, his tyming, his tuning, & his twynkling," than for our merry old greenwood songs? Let's all

¹ Lowndes says that it was reprinted in 1548, 1552, 1577, etc. I have not been able to see the 1547 and 1548 editions, but of the 1552 one, and the next, I have titleless copies.

vote him a noodle for this; though no doubt the "Gentlwemen" of his time liked the sentimental ballads best, as they generally do now. So we must forgive the ladies, and turn to the seven ballads that Laneham does name. Of them, only four have been identified; and as the first and last are partly given, with nine others (perhaps 9 of Captain Cox's 'hundred more') in a play of the period, we may as well make an extract from that first. The play is "A very mery and Pythie Commedie, called *The longer thou liuest, the more foole thou art*. A Myrroure very necessarie for youth, and specially for such as are like to come to dignitie and promotion: As it maye well appeare in the Matter folowyng. Newly compiled by VV. VVager [Woodcut] ¶ Imprinted at London by Wylllyam HoW for Richarde Johnes: and are to be solde at his shop vnder the Lotterie house" [ab. 1568, says Mr. Hazlitt's *Handbook*]. (A B C D E F G in fours, but G iij signed A iij; leaf iij of D E F signed, but not that of A B C. British Museum Press-mark, C. 34. e. 37.)

After 'the Prologe,' [A 3] '¶ Here entreth *Moros*, counterfaiting a vaine gesture and a foolish countenance, Synging the foote of many Songes, as fooles were wont

Moros. Brome, Brome on hill,
The gentle Brome on hill hill:
Brome, Brome on Hiue hill,
The gentle Brome on Hiue hill,
The Brome standes on Hiue hill a.
¶ Robin, lende to me thy Bowe, thy
Bowe,
Robin the bow, Robin lende to me thy
bow a:
¶ There was a Mayde come out of
Kent,
Deintie loue, deintie loue.
There was a mayde cam out of Kent,
Daungerous be:
There was a mayde cam out of Kent,
Fayre, propre, small and gent,

As euer vpon the grounde went,
For so should it be.
¶ By a banke as I lay, I lay,
Musinge on things past, hey how.
¶ Tom a lin and his wife, and his
wiues mother,
They went ouer a bridge all three to-
gether;
The bridge was broken, and they fell
in:
"The Deuil go with all!" quoth Tom
a lin.
¶ Martin swart and his man, sodle-
dum, sodledum.
Martin swart and his man, sodledum
bell¹.

¹ Skelton, laureat, (who died in 1529) has an evident allusion to the same song:

"With hey trolly lo, whip here Jak.
Alumbek sodyldym syllorym *ben*,
Curiously he can both counter and knak
Of *Martyn Swart and all hys mery men*."
(Against a comely Coystrowne, etc., *Works* (1736), p. 254.)

Martin Swart was concerned in the insurrection made by the lord Lovel and others against Henry VII, anno 1486, and was slain at the battle of Stoke;

(Com ouer the Boorne, Besse,
 My little pretie Besse,
 Com ouer the Boorne, besse, to me¹.
 (The white Doue sat on the Castell
 wall,
 I bend my Bow, and shoote her I
 shall,
 I put hir in my Gloue, both fethers
 and all.
 I layd my Bridle upon the shelve;
 If you will any more, sing it your
 selfe.
Discipline. O Lorde, are you not
 ashamed,
 Thus vainly the time to spende. . . .

Moros. I haue Twentie mo songs
 yet,— [A 3 back]
 A fond woman to² my Mother,
 As I war wont in her lappe to sit,
 She taught me these and many other:
 I can sing "a song of Robin Redbrest,
 And my litle pretie Nightingale;"³
 "There dwelleth a iolly Foster here
 by west;"
 Also, "I com to drink som of your
 Christmas ale."
 Whan I walke by my selfe alone,
 It doth me good my songs to render.
 Such pretie thinges would soone be
 gon,
 If I should not sometime them re-
 member.

LIII. *Broom, Broom on Hil.* This ballad is in the list of the *Complaynt of Scotland*, some 27 years before Laneham⁴, but is now

having been sent over with some troops, by Margaret, duchess of Burgundy, sister to K. Edward IV. *Ritson's Ancient Songs*, vol. i. p. lxxxiv, note, ed. 1829. See also Dyce's notes in his *Skelton's Works*, ii. 93-4.

¹ Shakspeare has put these three identical lines into the mouth of Edgar in *K. Lear*. A moralization of the song is (with the music) in the editor's folio MS. [Brit. Mus. Additional MS. 5665. See notes to Forewords.] *Ritson, ib.* p. lxxxv, note.

² I had to, was.

³ [Appendix to the Royal MSS 58, leaf 7 bk. See also leaf 6, back.]

The lytyll prety nyghtyne gale
 a-monge the leuys grene,—
 I wolde I were* wyth hure all nyght!
 but yet ye wote not whome I mene.
 The nyghtynge gale sat one a brere,
 Amonge the thornys sherpe & keyne,
 and comfort me wyth mery chere:
 but yet ye wot not home I mene.
 She dyd apere all on hure kynde
 a lady ryght well be-seynge,
 with wordys of loff tolde me hure mynde:
 but yet ye wote not whome I mene.
 hyt dyd me goode a-ponē hure to loke;
 hure corse was cloyd all in grene;
 away fro me hure hert she toke;
 but yet ye wot not whome I mene.
 "lady," I cryed wyth rufull mone,
 "haue mynd of me that true hath bene,
 for I loue none but you alone:"
 but yet ye wot not whome I mene.

⁴ See below, p. cliii. (62).

* MS. I wolde I were, I wolde I were. The final ll of the MS has always a line over it.

lost. Mr. Wm. Chappell in his *Popular Music* ii. 458–461 gives an account of the English ballad and tune of *The broom of Cowdon Knowes*, and others connected with it. Its burden is

With O the broom, the bonny broom, The broom of Cowdon Knowes;	Fain would I be in the North Country, To milk my daddies ewes.
---	---

But this is not to be identified with Laneham's ballad, the only one approaching to which is contained in the lines above, p. cxxvii, sung by Moros, in Wager's interlude, "which appears," says Mr. Chappell, "to have been written soon after Elizabeth came to the throne . . ."

Brome brome on hill, The gentle brome on hill, hill:	Brome, brome on Hive hill, The brome stands on Hive hill-a."
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Mr. Chappell quotes the passage, and then observes "This repetition does not give the metre or the correct words of the song" meaning, of course, the later song known to us. "The tune, or upper part, was to be sung by one person, while others sang a foot, or burden, to make harmony."

"The ballad of *Brome on hill* in Mr. Gutch's *Robin Hood* ii. 363 is a modern fabrication." The earliest ballad of the kind preserved, is described by Mr. Chappell as a black-letter one in the Pepys Collection, i. 40, entitled *The new Broome*, London, printed for F. Coles—whose date is from 1646 to 1674—and consisting of 7 stanzas with the following burden:

The bonny broome, the well favour'd broome,
The broome blooms faire on hill;
What ail'd my love to lightly mee,
And I working her will?

LIV. *So wo [= well] iz me begon, Troly lo.* This song in praise of Serving-Men, Ritson printed in his *Ancient Songs from the Time of King Henry the Third to the Revolution*, 1790, p. 92, from the Sloane MS 1584, 'a small book, partly paper, partly parchment, chiefly written by "Johannes Gysborn, Canonicus de Couerham," whose manual or pocket book it seems to have been¹, tempore

¹ The book is an odd mixture of recipes, hymns, songs, a tract (imperfect) on a priest's duties, questions to be put at the confessional, etc. etc. From the latter, take

Questions for a woman. (Leaf 8.)

Have ye maid youe more gayer in Reymert off kercheus one your hed, for plesur of y^e world, ore off the pepull, ony tyme more thene other? haue youe obeyd your husband at alle tymes, os ye are bownd? haue youe weschyd your face with any stylyd waters ore oyntementes to make youe fayrer in the

Hen. 8.' The song is on the back of leaf 45, between the recipe for 'a souerayne laxatyffe' and a Sermon for Easter-day.

So well ys me be-gone, troly loly!
so well ys me be-gone, troly loly¹.

Off seruyng² men I wyll begyne, Troly, loley,
 ffor they goo mynyon trym; Troly loley.
 Off mett & drynk & feyr clothyng, Troly loley.
 by dere god, I want none . Troly, loley
 His bonet is of fyne scarlett . Troly loley,
 With here as black os geitt . Troly³ lolye.
 His dublett ys of fyne satyne . Troly lolye
 Hys shertt well mayd, & tryme⁴; Troly, lolye.
 Hys coytt itt is so tryme & rownde; Troly, lolye.
 His kysse is worth A hundred pound⁵. Troly, lolye
 His hoysse of london black . Troly lolye
 In hyme ther ys no lack . Troly lolye.
 His face yt ys so lyk a man . Troly, lolye.
 Who cane butt loue hyme than? Troly, lolye.
 Wher so euer he bee, he hath my hert . Troly lolye.
 And shall to deth de part⁶ . Troly lolye.
 So well ys me be-gone . troly, loly.
 S[o] well ys me be gone . Troly, lolye.

syght off pepull? haue youe schewyd your brestes open to tempt any to syne? haue youe had any enuy agayns any womane, that sche has bene fayrer then youe, or better louyd then youe? haue ye synnyd in lechere with any mane be-syd your husband? haue ye synnyd with your husband when ye haue ben in childbed? haue ye ouer-lyne your chyld, ore peryschyd itt att any tyme? haue youe gyffine any drynke vnto your husband to make hyme lystear to occupye with youe? haue youe drunkune any contagius drynke to dystrowe your chyld, other weddyd ore syngull? haue youe bene mystem-peryd with ale att any tyme? haue ye sworne with any womane in any purgacion apon a boke, & has for-sworne youe wyllyngly? haue ye consentyd vnto any bawdry for [leaf 9] lukar off money, and keppyd ther counselle? haue ye bakbytyd ore slaunderd any man or woman, & browght them in a nyll name? haue youe maid any soleme vowe of fast ore pylgrimage? haue youe payd your tythes & offerynges onto the chirche? haue youe done your pennans that ye haue bene Inneyd [?] be-fore tyme."

All the final *d*'s have a curly tail which may mean *e*. I have long intended to print one or two of these early Confessional treatises, as a help to enable us to understand the practical working of the Romish system in English homes.

¹ Compare, in *Hychescorner*, sign. C. i.

Now wyll I syng, and lustely sprynge;
 But whan my fetters on my leges dyde ryng,
 I was not glade, perde! but now, hey trolly lolly!

And William Cornyshe's song facsimiled in Mr. Wm. Chappell's paper in *Archæologia*, xli. 372, one of a hundred specimens of a 'Trolly Lolly':—

Trolly lolly, lo! syng trolly loly!
 my loue is to the grene wode gone;
 now after her will I go!
syng trolly lolly, lo trolly lolly!

² suyng, *Ritson*.

⁵ C^l, *orig*.

³ Torly, *orig*.

⁴ fyne, *Ritson*.

⁶ ? do part, or *departe*, divide us.

LV. *Ouer a whinny, Meg.* Not known now.

LVI. *Hey ding a ding.* This is the burden of the famous old ballad "Old Simon the King," and that was possibly the ballad which Captain Cox possesst. It is printed in Durfey's *Pills to purge Melancholy*, 1719, iii. 143, and in the *Percy Folio Loose Songs*, p. 124, from which, as it gives the burden 'for the first time complete,' I reprint the first verse of the ballad below. The two tunes to which the ballad was sung, with a text of the ballad, and much interesting information about it, are given by Mr. Wm. Chappell in his *Popular Music* i. 262-269, and he has further notes on it in his vol. ii. p. 776, 792, 796.

In an humor I was of late,
as many good fellowes bee,
that thinke of no matter of state,
but thé keepe merry Companye:
that best might please my mind,
soe I walket vp & downe the towne;
but company none cold I find
till I came to the signe of the crowne.
mine ostes was sicke of the mumpes,
her mayd was ffisle¹ att ease,

mine host lay drunke in his dumpes:
"they all had but one disease,"
sayes old simon the King, sayes old
Simon the King,
with his ale-dropt hose, & his malmesy
nose,
with a hey ding, ding a ding, ding,
with a hey [ding, ding a ding, ding,]
with a hey ding [ding], quoth Simon
the king².

LVII. *Bony lass vpon a green*

LVIII. *My bony on gaue me a bek* } not known now.

LIX. *By a bank as I lay.* This exists in a MS, one of the Appendix of Royal MSS, No. 58, leaf 8, back.

[BY A BANCKE AS I LAY.]

By a bancke as I lay
musyng^e my selfe A-lone—hey how!
A byrdys voyce
dyd me Reioyce,
syngyng^e by-fore the day;
And my-thought in hure lay
she sayd wynter was past—hey
how!
Dan dyry, cum den, dan dyry,
cum dyry, cum dyry, ³cum dyry,
cum dyry, cum dan! hey how!
The master of musyke,
the lusty nyghtyngale—hey how!

ffulle meryly
& secretly
She syngyth in the thyke,
And vnder hure brest a prike,
to kepe hure fro slepe—Hey how,
Dan [&c]
A-wake, there-for, younge men,
Alle ye that louers be—hey how!
thus⁴ monyth of may,
soo fresh, soo gay,
So fayre be feld on⁵ fen,
hath ffloryshe ylke a den;
grete Ioy hyt is to see,—hey how!
&c.

Dr. Rimbault printed this ballad in his *Little Book of Songs and Ballads* 1851, p. 53-4, with *few* and *adew* (like Mr. Collier⁶)

¹ ? breaking wind.

² The line is nearly all pared away.

³ leaf 9.

⁴ read 'this.'

⁵ read 'and.'

⁶ *Stat. Reg.* i. 193-4. See my *Andrew Boorde*, p. 71, note ⁴.

for *fen* and *a den*,—and added on p. 55-6 a differing later copy, naming 'noble James our king,' from *Deuteromelia, or the Second Part of Musick's Melodie, or Melodius Musicke of Pleasant Roundelaies*, etc., 1609. Its second line is "musing on a thing that was past and gone," which, the Doctor notes, is nearer to Wager's "Musinge on things past, hey how," than the 2nd line of the Royal MS. copy. Dr. Rimbault also says "At the end of the only copy known to exist of a Collection of Secular Songs, printed in 1530, a Song is inserted in MS. beginning with the same words [as Wager's?], but containing a laboured panegyric upon Henry the Eighth. The Editor has not seen this copy."

Mr. Chappell gives the tune, and an account, of this song at p. 92-3 of his *Popular Music*, vol. i.; and at p. 52 quotes from the Life of Sir Peter Carew, by John Vowell, alias Hoker, of Exeter, (*Archæologia*, vol. 28) "the king himself [Henry VIII] being much delighted to sing, and Sir Peter Carew having a pleasant voice, the king would often use him to sing with him certain songs they call 'Freemen Songs,' as namely, '*By the bancke as I lay*,' and '*As I walked the wode so wylde*,'" &c.

"And a hundred more," says Laneham. Oh that we had their names!

CAPTAIN COX'S ALMANACKS.

We now come to the last section of Captain Cox's books, his Almanacks. Prof. De Morgan would be the right man¹ to give us an account of these. I can only offer a list of those by the Captain's three authors that have come under my notice, adding two of Dade's, because he is mentioned in "The Kinge enioyes his rights againe" in the *Percy Folio Ballads* ii. 2519. We'll take those in Bagford's list first, because he mentions among them an unknown Caxton, though Mr. Wm. Blades judges this "all fudge!":

Bagford's Collections. Harl. MS. 5937, leaf 8².

"A Catalogue of Almonickes sence y^e first printing of them.
and y^e first I haue met with is y^e produostication of Mr. Jasper

¹ He is gone, alas, with all his weight of learning, and all his fun, since the proof of this went back for revise.

² On another leaf Bagford queries when the first edition of the *Book of Knowledge* (Andrew Boorde's) was publisht. In 1547-8, no doubt. See my reprint, E. E. T. Soc. 1870.

Leate of Antwarpe, and translated out of Lattin into English; and printed in 4°, by will Caxton 1493¹

“The grate & true prodnostication with a Almonicke composed by Mr. John Leat of Barthlom, Dr. Medicyne and Astro[no]me, preceptor and Rector of y^e Scoold of Antwarpe, in 8 1521
in 4° 1535
8- 1539
8- 1541”

There is however a bit of an earlier almanac by Jasper Laet de Borchloen in the fragments in the Lambeth Library, namely for the year 1510, which is described by Maitland in his *Early Printed Books at Lambeth*, p. 264².

Among Bagford's titlepages and fragments are the following by the Laets :

Harl. MS. 5937, leaf 18, N° 58. (A.D. 1516.)

¶ The pronosticacion of maister Jaspas late, of borchloon / doctour in astrologie, of the yere . M. CCCC. xvi. trans/lated in/to ynglissish, to the honorre of te [so] moost noble & vic-/ torious kynge Henry the .viii. by your moost humble sub-/iect, Nicholas longwater, goeuernier of our lady conception / in y^e renowned towne of Andwarp, in sinte Iorge perys / (6 lines at the top of 1 leaf full of printing.)

Harl. 5937 leaf 11, N° 26 (A.D. 1523)

A pronosticacyon / of Master Iasper Laet de / borchloen Doctor in medycyne for y^e yere of our lorde god / M. v. C. & .xxiiii. / ¶ Cum gracia et priuilegio. / ¶ Iaspas Laet. (Over a cut, and with elaborate borders. 2 leaves)

Ib. N° 33, lf. 12 bk and 13. (A full sheet & complete Almanack, A.D. 1530. The headline is:) “¶ Almynack and Pronostication of the yere of oure lord M, LLLLLL, and , xxx,” And at foot is: “Gaspar Laet The yonger, Docter yn Phy[syk]. Em- printed at Antwerpe by me Cristofel of Ruremunde.”

MS. Harl. 5937, lf. 16, N° 51 (A.D. 1533)

The pronosticaci[on] / [calcu]led by mayster Iaspas Lae[t of] / Andwarpe / vpon the merydian / of the sayd towne, for the / yere of our lorde god . / M. D. xxxiiij. (over a cut of an astronomer, with a quadrant, looking at 6 stars and a comet: at back is)

¹ Mr. Hazlitt enters, in his *Handbook* p. 484, col. 1, No. 4, a ‘Prognostication by Gaspar late, of Antwerpe, . . . for the yere, M. CCCCXXX. IIII; but he must have left out a C, and meant 1534: compare the 1533 title below.

² Maitland also refers to two Prognostications by James Laet, in *Panzer*, II. 346, No. 711. I cannot find any life of the Laets.

Bicause that .xluiij [yeres] past my father mayster Iasp[ar] Laet, and .xx. yere before hym, his father mays[ter] Iohn laet (Whome Iesu pardon), bothe astro[no]mers, hath yerely, vnto the profyte of the comyn [welthe calcul]late and put forth certayn pronostycacions wherfore I have proposed . . to furnyssh the same, after the noble and true sci[ence] of Astro[nomy]

Harl. 5937, lf. 16, N^o 50. (A.D. 1541)

¶ Pronostica-/cion of the yere / of our Lorde / M, v^c, xli, /
 ¶ Practysed by the re/nowned doctor in / Astronomy and /
 Physicke / Jasp[ar] Laet /. (*On the back is:*) "For as much as I haue taken vpon me yearely to shewe the influences with theyr operations here beneth vpon earth, and that, folowyng always, for the most parte, Ptolome in his seconde boke Apotelesmaton, as one that is best allowed of experte Astronomers, notwithstandinge that he is very brefe and harde in his wrytyng: Therefore shall I fy[r]ste brefely recyte the princypall fundamentes of our present Pronostication, leste it shulde be supposed she were pronosticated vaynly and without fundament.

"The fyrst fundament shalbe the Eclipse of the Sonne of the yere of .xxxix. last past, the xviii. day of Apryll, at .iii. of the clocke at after noone, which was of the greatnesse of .ix. poyntes, which Eclipse shall yet geue influence very strongly, by reason of his distaunce from the orientall corner (for it befell in the .viii. degre of Taurus, in the .viii. house), and also because the same eclipse dyd last nerehande .ii. houres, as we dyd shewe at length at that tyme.

• "The secounde fundament is & shalbe the Eclipse of the Sonne of the yere of .xl. last." (2 leaves. *I don't print the second.*)

leaf 18 back, no. 62 (A.D. 1542?)

✠ An Alm[a] / nacke & P[ro]-/nostication of the ren[ow-] / med doctor in Astron[omye] / Iasper Laet the yere of [our] Lord God. .M. ccccc [xl.] / and the declaration of th[e] / signes and theyr qualit[es] / with the son rysyng / ¶ Imprinted in Lon[don] / by Iohn Waley (2 leaves)

leaf 15 back. (under Borde's *Pronosticacyon* of 1545¹) N^o 47

(A.D. 1543)

Almanack / and Pronostica-/tion of Jasp[ar] Laet. / Of the yere, of our / Lord God. M. D. / XLIII. / ¶ In this Almanacke ye / shall fynde, all the Epystles and Gos-/pels of euery Sondaye and holy daye. (2 leaves)

¹ One leaf, printed in my *Boorde*, p. 25.

A.D. 1544

N^o 48 Pronostication of Ja[spar] / Laet doctor of Phisicke and Astro[nomer] / for the yere of our Lorde God / M. v^c. xliiij.

A.D. 1550.

A Pronostication for the year of oure Lorde M. CCCC.L, calculated for the Meridian of Antwerp, &c. by Jasper Late, W. H. Octavo (*Herbert's Ames*, 1786, i. 584.)

We now come "unto Nostradam of Frauns," for printing whose Almanacs there is a regular shoal of licences and fines in the Stationers' Register A. Bagford's first title is that of the Almanac of 1566:

Harl. MS. 5937, leaf 14.

An Almanicke made by the Noble and worthy Clarke, Michaell Nostra[da]mes D^r in phisick: Imprinted at London by Jo. Kingston 1559

Id. an outhor of y^e same Nostridames, Imprinted by will: Copland for Nicolas England 1559

Harl. 5937, lf. 25, N^o 120

"An Almanacke / and prodigious premonstrati/on, made for the yere of / grace. 1566. By / Mi. Nostrodamus, / § * § /

The God which eche mans visage well doth see,
His temple gates to come for to vnbarre:
And Pandores boxe vncouered shall bee,
A great thicke cloude for to dissolue from farre.

[over a woodcut of a globe in a frame, with the legend 'Admirandus Altissimus.']

[Imprinted at London by Henry Denham." (Title only)

but the Stationers' Register A begins in 1558 with

Luke Haryson Lucke Haryson ys lycensed to prynte the pronostication of m^r nostradamus and also his almanack for the same yere . viiij.

and in the year 1558-9

William Copland, for pryntinge of a pronostication of nosterdamus withoute lycense, and for mysbehavyngo hym selfe before the master and wardyns, was fyned at iijs. iiijd.

Mr. Halliwell says "Dibdin (N^o 2733) mentions an "Almanacke for the yere 1559 composed by Mayster Mych. Nostradamus," Svo. In the Stationers' Register A, leaf 85, we have

m^r Wally Recevyd of m^r wallye for his lycense for pryntinge of an almanacke & pronostication of nostradamus for this yere a^o 1562 viiij

Of the Almanacs of "our John Securiz of Salsbury" we find these entries in the Stationers' Register A :

(leaf 72 back, A.D. 1561-2.)

J. Wally **R** of master Wally for his lycense for pryntinge of an almanacke of John securys iiijd

m^r Wally **R**ecevyd of m^r wallye, for his lycense for pryntinge of an almanacke & pronostication of m^r John Securys for the yere of our lorde god 1563 viijd. (MS. lf. 85)

(MS, lf. 134 back.)

T marshe / **R**ecevyd of Thomas marshe, for his lycense for pryntinge of an almanacke & pronostication of m^r John Securis for } viijd
a^o 1566 / }

Mr. Halliwell says 'In the Bodleian Library is preserved "A newe Almanacke for the yere of our Lord God, 1567, practised in Salisbury by Maister John Securis, Phisitian."' I can find no life or notice of Securis.

Bagford has also a leaf of an almanac by Securis, A.D. 1573, Harl. MS 5937, lf. 25.

No. 123 (John Securis A.D. 1573)

"¶ A Prognos-/tication made for the / yeare of our Lord God, / 1573. / ¶ Practised in Salisburie, by Iohn / Securis Maister of Art and / Phisicke / Anno Mundi 5535 / (over a cut of a warrior (?) on a 4-wheeled chariot drawn by 2 horses)

¶ Imprinted at London, by Richard / VVatkins, & James Roberts / Cum priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis."

Lastly, we note the bits of Dade's Almanacs in Bagford's collection in Harl. MS. 5937, for the reason given on p. cxxxii.

"No. 125. Dade. / A prognostication / in which you may be/holde the state of this / present yeere of our / Lord God, M. DC. / Made and set foorth by / Iohn Dade Gent. prac/titioner in Phisicke. / Imprinted at London for Ed/ward White, the assigne of / Iames Roberts.

"No. 126. Dade. 1600. / An Almanacke and / Prognostication in which / you may behold the state of / this yeere of our Lord God / 1600. / Beeing leape yeere. / Made and set foorth by Iohn / Dade Gent. practitioner in / Phisicke. / Imprinted at London by / Richard VVatkins and / Iames Robertes / Cum priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis. /" (Both in Harl. 59397, leaf 25 back.)

On leaf 7 back, Bagford also notes

"An Almanicke and prognosticacion in which you may behould y^e State of y^e Yeare of our L^d god 1599: made and set ffourth: by Jo: Dade Gent

praktiser in phisicke, and Imprinted by Rich. Watkins & James Roberts
in 8. 1599
Id. on in 12 by y^e same Dade, and Imprinted at London by Assignes of
James Robertes. 1602

That a so-called Dade's Almanack was publisht so late as 1694, for the year 1695, see Harl. 5937, leaf 64, No. 338.

My reason for giving a sketch of all Captain Cox's books, and printing all his ballads, that I could get at, was, that my readers might contrast the literature of the reading unpius middle-class man of Elizabeth's pre-Shakspearean time¹, with that of the same kind of man now, and also think whence Spenser, Shakspeare, Bacon, Milton, sprang, and what we owe to them. And surely, no member of the Tory Party even, can want 'the good old times' of literature before 1575, back again in our Victorian age, far as we are from what we ought now to be. But still, don't let us misjudge the said old times; neither wholly, nor mainly, was their sky filled with cumuli of silliness, or dark storm-clouds of coarseness; the sun of manliness was plainly seen, and rays of love, of friendly truth, and honest mirth, cheered the beholder's heart.

We now turn to compare the Englishman's list by Laneham, with the Scotchman's list in the *Complaynt of Scotland*; but must recollect that we are putting the Tradesman who has made his own way in the world, beside the Scholar, one who, though he has his affectations as well as Laneham, is a far more cultured man, and writes with a far higher purpose. He is a Reformer, part of the salt of the earth. To his more serious ends his book was at first wholly devoted; but happily he determined to hand down to the aftertime an account of his countrymen's lighter readings and sports,—the books, songs, tunes, and dances, that cheered the hard life of Scotland in the middle of the sixteenth century². He accordingly, as Mr. James A. H. Murray will show in his edition of the *Complaynt* for the Extra Series of the Early English Text Society 1872 or 1873,—inserted into his book, after the

¹ He most probably couldn't read Chaucer, as his modern representative can't, though I hope our Societies are helping to alter that.
² That it was hard,—yes, very hard,—see my Preface to *Lauder's Minor Poems*, E. E. Text Soc. 1870.

sheets were printed, some pages on different paper, of which the part that concerns us now is as follows :

"I thynk it best that ve recreat our selfis vytht ioyus comonyng quhil on to the tyme that ve return to the scheip fald vytht our flokkis. And to begyn sic recreacione, i thynk it best that euyrie ane of vs tel ane gude tayl or fabil, to pas the tyme quhile enyn. Al the scheiphirdis, ther vyuis and saruandis, var glaid of this propositione. than the eldest scheiphird began, and al the laif follouit, ane be ane in ther auen place. it vil be ouer prolix, and no les tideus, to reherse them agane vord be vord. bot i sal reherse sum of ther namys that i herd. sum vas in prose, & sum vas in versc: sum var storeis, and sum var flet taylis. Thir var the namis of them as efter follouis.

(1) The taylis of cantirberrye.

[By Geoffrey Chaucer. Editions before 1548: by Caxton, about 1478, from a bad MS, and ab. 1484 from a better MS.; by Pynson about 1493 and (with the Boke of Fame, and Troylus), in 1526; by Wynkyn de Worde in 1498; in *The Workes* (ed. Wm. Thynne), by Thomas Godfray in 1532; and by John Reynes or Wyllyam Bonham in 1542, the Plowman's Tale being *after* the Parson's. The 3rd ed. of the Works is about 1550, says Mr. Bradshaw, by the Booksellers—Wm. Bonham, R. Kele, Petit, or Toy—and the Plowman's Tale is *before* the Parson's.]

(2) Robert le dyabil, duc of Normandie.

[The prose Life (from the French *Romant de Robert le diable*) was twice printed by Wynkyn de Worde without date: 'the lyfe of the moost feerfullest and vnmercyfullest and myscheuous Robert y^e deuyll, whiche was afterwarde called the seruant of our lorde Jhesu cryste.' A copy of one edition is in the British Museum, C. 21. c.; and another is in the Cambr. Univ. Library. Mr. Thoms reprinted this in vol. i. of his *Early Popular Romances*, 1828, and says it is taken direct from the French, and is not a reduction of the English verse text.

Of the verse Life, which, says Mr. Hazlitt, 'follows in general the prose narrative, but exhibits occasional amplifications,' 'a fragment printed with the types of Wynken de Worde or Pynson is in the Bodleian Library.' The verse romance was reprinted for J. Herbert in 1798, 8vo, from a MS "which appears to have been transcribed word for word" (*Thoms*) from the old printed edition, and has been again reprinted in Mr. Hazlitt's *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, i. 217-263; see also p. 264-9. As the verse text tells the same story as the prose one, I use it for the following sketch.

A good Duke of Normandy, to please his lords, weds the daughter of the Earl of Burgundy, but for 12 years has no child by her. For this they grieve greatly, and often pray for a child. At last the Duchess becomes convinced that God will not hear their petition, and so, on the night that she conceives, she prays to the Devil to send them a child, and vows she will give it, soul and body, to the Devil. Accordingly, a boy is born, and a terrible storm follows. The boy is very big; his teeth grow fast, and he bites his nurse's nipples off. He grows; bites other children, puts their eyes out, breaks their legs and arms; they call him "Roberte the Deuylle." At seven years old, he thrusts a dagger into his teacher's belly, for correcteing him; he mocks priests, scorns clerks, and hurts men

at their prayers. When he is older, his Father makes him a knight, that his vows may improve him; but he grows worse; at jousts, he kills knights, breaks horses' backs, and strikes down old and young. Then he makes a raid into the country, robs and kills, ravishes maidens and wives, pulls down abbeys, slays young children. His father sends men to take him; he puts out their eyes. When more men are sent, he gathers a band of thieves, kills men, spoils crops, eats flesh on Fridays, and cuts off 7 Hermits' heads. Wherever he goes, all people flee from him. This, at last, makes him repent; he begs his fleeing mother to stay, to tell him how he was born; and then he vows that he'll amend and go to Rome. He returns to his band of thieves, and exhorts them to repent too; but they mock him and refuse; so he kills them every one. Then he rides to an Abbey, prays for God's forgiveness, and sends the key of his treasure to his father, to make restitution for his robberies and sins. He then goes to Rome, prays the Pope's pardon, and confesses his sins to him. The Pope sends Robert to a hermit near, who has a revelation that Robert must counterfeit a fool, act like one, pull his food from a dog, sleep with dogs, and be dumb. All this, Robert does; acts the fool at the Emperor of Rome's court, gnaws one end of a bone while a dog gnaws the other, shares a loaf with the dog, and sleeps on straw with it. But soon the Sencschall of the Saracens invades Rome to win the Emperor's deaf and dumb daughter. The infidels are winning, when an Angel gives Robert a white steed and armour, and he soon routs the Saracens. He rides off, and his horse and armour vanish. All this, the Princess sees. Robert comes again as a fool to the Court; and when the Emperor asks who the White Knight is, the Princess always points to the Fool, for which her father abuses her. Again the Saracens invade Rome, and again Robert, armed by the Angel, routs the foe and disappears. On the second day of the fight, 6 knights sent by the Emperor, try to discover Robert, and one wounds him in the thigh. The Emperor thereupon promises his daughter to the wounded knight. On this, the Saracen Sencschall wounds himself, personates Robert, claims the Princess, and is about to wed her, when she, by miracle, speaks, and exposes him. Robert is then found among the dogs, and will not speak till the Hermit tells him his sins are forgiven. He then weds the Princess, comes to Normandy, and is loved. The Sencschall invades and slays the Emperor, for which Robert kills him; and then comes home again, fears God, has a son (who is one of Charlemagne's knights), dies, and goes to heaven.

Nowe, all men beare these in remembraunce :
 'He that lyueth well here, no euyl death shall dyc.'

Yonge and olde, that delyteth to reade in storye,
 Yt shall youe styrrre to uertuous luyngge,
 And cause some to haue theyr memorye
 Of the paynes of hell, that ys euer duryngge.
 By readyng bookes, men knowe all thynge
 That euer was done, and hereafter shall be.
 Idlennes, to myschief many a one doth bryngge. . . .

The original of Robert the Devil was Robert, father of William the Conqueror, and sixth Duke of Normandy. Part of the legends about him have been transferred to a different person, Robert, King of Sicily (and Jerusalem,) Duke of Apulia etc., who tried to make peace between Edward III and the French king, and whom Froissart and others tell us of. The Romance of Sir Gowghter in the Royal MS 17, printed by Utterson in his *Select Pieces of Early Popular Poetry*, 1817, 8vo, vol. i, is in character 'substantially identical with *Robert the Devil*, the names,

localities, and other adventitious features only being changed.' 'Sir Frederic Madden pointed out, in his edition of the *Old English versions of the Gesta Romanorum*, 1838, 4^o, that the foundation story of 'Robert the Devil' and 'Robert of Sicily' is the tale of *Jovinianus*, which is told at considerable length both in the English and Latin *Gesta*.' (Hazlitt, *E. Pop. Poetry*, i. 268.)]

(3) The tayl of the volfe of the varldis end.

[*Volfe* should be *volle*, says Mr. J. A. H. Murray¹, and that means *well*. If so, Robert Chambers, in his *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, 1870, tells at p. 105-7 a fairy tale of "The Wal at the Ward's End (*Fyfe*)," whither a nasty queen with a nastier daughter, sends the nice daughter of a king, to fill a bottle with water. The nice daughter comes back ten times nicer, and marries a bonnie young prince; but the nasty daughter, when sent, comes back ten times nastier, and marries a cobbler, who licks her every day with a leather strap.]

(4) Ferrand, erl of Flandris, that mareit the deuyll.

[The story is probably the same which is related by Gervase of Tilbury, "de Domina castri de Espervel²," and by Bournaker, of the ancestor of the Plantagenet family³. *Leyden*, p. 237. Barbour mentions Earl Ferrand's mother in *The Bruce*, book iv, l. 241 etc., p. 85, ed. Skoat:

The erll ferrandis moder was
Ane nygramansour, and sathanas
Scho rasit, and him askit syne,
Quhat suld worth of the fichtyne
Betuix the franch kyng and hir sone.

The devil gave an ambiguous answer; and the outcome was that the Earl

. . . discumfit wes, & schent, (l. 280)
And takyn, and to paris sent.]

(5) The taiyl of the reyde eyttyn vitht the thre heydis.

[A. S. *Eoten*, a giant. 'Sir David Lindsay relates, in the prologue to his *Dreme*, that he was accustomed, during the minority of James V, to lull him asleep with 'tales of the red-etin and the gyre carlin.' *Leyden*, p. 319. See the Early English Text Society's ed. of Lyndesay, p. 264, l. 45. As Lyndesay mentions several of the stories named in the *Complaynt*, it may be as well to quote his lines here:—

More plesandlie the tyme for tyll ouerdryue, I haue, at lenth, the storeis done discryue Off Hectour, <i>Arthur</i> , and gentyll Iulyus, Off Alexander, and worthy Pompeyus,	32
Off <i>Iasone and Media</i> , all at lenth, Off <i>Hercules</i> the actis honorabyll, And of Sampson the supernaturall strenth, And of leill Luffaris storeis amiabyll;	36
And oft tymes haue I feinzeit mony fabyll,—	40

¹ *Volfe* should undoubtedly be 'volle' or 'velle.' The South-Scotch pronunciation of well is *woll* or *wull*, and a place near Ashkirk written *Well* is always called *Woll*. I am going to print *volle*, in my edition of the *Complaynt*, having no doubt as to it. *Wolf* is before given as *voff*, modern *wouf*.—J. A. H. M.

² *Otia Imperialia*, ap. Script. Rer. Brunsvic. vol. i, p. 978.

³ *Forduni Scotichron.* a Goodall, vol. 2. p. 9.

Off Trøylus the sorrow and the Ioye,
And *Seigis* all, of Tyir, Thebes, and *Troye*.

The *Prophiseis* of Rymour, Beid, & *Marlyng*,
And of mony vther plesand storye,— · 44
Off the reid Etin, and the gyir carlyng,—
Comfortand the, quhen that I saw the sorye.

Robert Chambers, in his *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, 1870, p. 89–94, prints ‘from Mr. Buchan’s curious manuscript collection’—an untrustworthy source, I assume—a fairy tale of the *Red Etin of Ireland*, a three-headed giant, who is killed by a poor widow’s son who answers his three questions, “Whether Ireland or Scotland was first inhabited? Whether man was made for woman, or woman for man? Whether men or brutes were made first?” The young man frees the giant’s prisoners, and among them a king’s daughter, whom he marries.]

- (6) The tail quhou perseus sauit andromada fra the cruel monstir.
[*Ovid’s Metamorphoses*, iv. 663 etc. This and the other classical stories were probably only short tales from some translation of Ovid, and, most likely, not printed ones.]

- (7) The prophysie of merlyne.

[See the *Lynndesay* extract above, l. 43. Editions by Wynkyn de Worde in 1510 and 1529 are known, and Warton says there was an edition by John Hawkins in 1533. ‘Here begynneth a Lytel Treatyse of the Byrth and Prophecye of Marlyn.’ Colophon: ‘Here endeth a lytell treatyse of Marlyn, whiche prophesied of many fortunes or happes here in Englande. Enprynted in London in fletestrete at the sygne of the sonne by Wynkyn de Worde the yere of our lorde a M CCCC and X.’ 4to, 44 leaves. (*Hazlitt*.) ‘This poetical romance,’ says Lowndes, ‘differs in many respects from the MS. copies. See Brydges’s *Censura Literaria*.’ After the date of the *Complaynt* we have a book which perhaps contains some Prophecies made before that date: “The Whole Prophecie of Scotland, England, & some part of France, and Denmark, Propheesied bee meruellous *Merling*, Beid, Bertlingtoun, Thomas Rymour, Waldhaue, Eltraîne, Banester, and Sibbilla, all according in one. Containing many strange and meruelous things. Printed by Robert Waldegraue, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majestie. Anno. 1603.” And reprinted for the Bannatyne Club in 1833. The Prophecies of ‘Merling’ are on pages 3–9, 12–14 of the reprint; and another version of parts of the second of these was printed by Mr. Lumby for the Early English Text Society, in *Bernardus de Cura Rei familiaris* etc. 1870, p. 18–22: see Preface, p. ix.]

- (8) The tayl of the giantis that eit quyk men.

[Probably some version of Jack the Giant-killer, or Jack and the Beanstalk, many varieties of which used to thrill me when a boy, when, after darkness had put an end to “Kings, Covenanters!” “Duck,” or “Hy-Spy,” we used to gather into an entry to “tell boglie tales,” till our hair stood on end, and we were too frightened to separate to go home.—J. A. H. Murray.]

- (9) On fut, by fortht, as i culd found.

[That is, ‘On foot, by Forth, as I did go.’ A ballad not now known.]

- (10) Vallace.

[Of the only edition known before 1548, a fragment of 20 leaves only has been preserved. It appears to be printed with Chepnan and Myllar’s peculiar types, and is supposed to be about 1520 A.D. It is translated

from the Latin of Robert Blair, written in the beginning of the 14th century (*Hazlitt's Handbook*). Many later editions exist. The best is from the unique MS in the Advocates' Library, dated 1488, edited by Dr. Jamieson in 1820, and reprinted at Glasgow in 1869, with all its mistakes. The translator is said to have been Blind Harry the Minstrel, about 1470.]

(11) The bruce.

[By Chaucer's contemporary, John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, who died in 1395 or 1396. No printed edition before about 1570 is now known. Only 2 MSS of the poem are known, of which the best, which has lost its first third, is in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge, and is dated 1487. The inferior MS is in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, is complete, is dated 1489, was edited by Dr. Jamieson in 1820, and reprinted at Glasgow, with all its mistakes, in 1869. The Rev. W. W. Skeat is now re-editing the work from both MSS and the old printed editions for the Early English Text Society's Extra Series: Part I. was published in 1870. Mr. Cosmo Innes made a dreadful mess of the text, which he symmetrized, in his edition for the Spalding Club, 1856. Mr. Henry Bradshaw, University Librarian at Cambridge, has found two MSS containing parts of a verse Troy Book by Barbour, and another very long MS of Saints' Lives in verse, also by Barbour.]

(12) Ypomedon.

[‘The Life of Ipomydon.’ Colophon: ‘Enprynted at London in the Fletestrete at the sygne of the Sonne by Wynkyn de Worde;’ no date, 4to, but with “L'enuoye of Robert C[opland] the prynter.” Only one incomplete copy known. This romance was printed by Weber in his *Metrical Romances*, 1810, vol. ii. p. 279, from the Harl. MS. 2252; and the story of it is told in Ellis's *Early English Metr. Rom.* p. 505 etc., ed. Bohn. “The hero of this romance is a Norman, though his name be derived from the Theban war. He is son of Ermones, King of Apulia, and, by his courtesy and skill in hunting, gains the affections of the heiress of Calabria, whom he visits in disguise.” (*Leyden*, p. 240.)]

(13) The tail of the thre futtit dog of norrouay.

[Robert Chambers gives the story of ‘The Black Bull of Norroway’ in his *Popular Rhymes*, p. 95-99, and that of the similar ‘Red Bull of Norroway’ at p. 99-101.]

(14) The tayl quhou Hercules sleu the serpent hidra that hed vij heydis.

[This was doubtless a short story from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, ix. 70. The earliest known English Romance on Hercules is late: “The History of the Life and Glorious Actions of the mighty Hercules of Greece, his encountering and overthrowing serpents, lions, monsters, giants, tyrants, and powerful armies; his taking of cities, towns, kings, and kingdoms, etc. With many rare and extraordinary adventures and exploits, wonderful and amazing. Also the manner of his unfortunate death: being the most excellent of histories. Printed for S. Bates at the Sun and Bible in Pye-Corner.” Small 4to, no date. One copy is among Malone's books in the Bodleian, and another was sold at Mr. Corser's second sale (*Catalogue*, p. 55), where was also sold “HERCULES. Sensuyt les proesses et vaillances du preux et vaillant Hercules. Bk. I., small 4to. Paris, par Alain Lotrian. s.d.”]

(15) The tail quhou the kyng of est mure land mareit the kyngis dochtir of vest mure land.

[Can this be “King Estmere” in *Percy's Reliques*? Percy tore this

ballad out of his Folio Manuscript—confound him for it!—so that we cannot tell how badly he cookt the copy he has left us. See the *Percy Folio Ballads and Romances*, vol. ii, p. 200, note 1; p. 600-7.]

- (16) Skail gillenderson, the kyngis sone of skellye.

[Some Scandinavian legend.]

- (17) The tayl of the four sonnys of aymon.

[Capt. Cox, III, p. xix, above.]

- (18) The tayl of the brig of the mantribil.

[No doubt a lost English Charlemagne romance, for in Barbour's Bruce, it is said that Charlemagne

“... wan *Mantrybill*, and passed Flagot.”

Ed. Pinkerton, i, 81 (*Leyden*, p. 237).]

- (19) The tail of syr euan, arthours knyght.

[No separate printed tale of Sir Ywain is known except the poem of ‘Ywaine and Gawin,’ printed by Ritson in his *Metrical Romances* from the Cotton MS. Galba E ix. Leyden says, p. 256, “in Peringskiold's list of Scandic MSS in the Royal library of Stockholm, besides a metrical history of king Arthur, which records his league with Charlemagne, the following titles occur: *Sagan af Iwent, England Kappe*;—the history of Ewain, Arthurs best beloved knight in England, containing his combats with the Giants and Blacks. This is undoubtedly the romance of Ewain mentioned in the *Complaynt*.—*Sagan af Herra Bewus*, the Romance of Sir Bevis.”]

- (20) Rauf collyear.

[Dunbar, in his address ‘To the King,’ and Gawin Douglas, in his ‘Palice of Honour,’ mention this poem of Ralph the Collier, though no printed edition of it is known before that ‘Imprentit at Sanct Androis by Robert Lekpreuik, anno 1572,’ which Mr. David Laing reprinted in his *Select Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of Scotland*, 1822: “Heire beginnis the tail of Rauf Collyear, how he harbreit King Charlis.” See Irving's *History of Scottish Poetry*, p. 88-92. A capital poem it is, that ought to be known better in England. It is the Scotch parallel of *John the Reve* in the *Percy Folio*, (with which Dunbar and Douglas couple it,) and is told in humorous alliterative stanzas; only, the Collier treated Charlemagne more roughly than the Reve treated Edward Longshanks, for he

.. hit him vnder the eir with his richt hand

Quhill he stakkerit thair-with-all

Half the breid of the hall.

Mr. Laing has kept us waiting a most tantalizingly long time for a new edition of his excellent *Select Remains*. The volume contains several English pieces.]

- (21) The seige of millan.

[Milan has seen many a siege since, at the end of the third century, Maximianus surrounded it with walls. Attila devastated it; so did the Goths in 539 A.D. under Vitiges. Frederic Barbarossa and his Germans took it by assault, and razed it to the ground in 1162. In the petty wars of the Italian cities in the 13th and later centuries, Milan took a prominent part. But I suppose the *Complaynt* tale to refer to the great Barbarossa siege.]

(22) Gauen and gollogras.

[Cp. Capt. Cox's *Syr Gawyn*, XII, p. xxxiv above.]

(23) Lancelot du lac.

[No early printed English *Lancelot* is known; and we have only one MS, a Scotch one at Cambridge, in the University Library, carelessly printed by Mr. Stevenson for the Maitland Club, 1839 (*Lancelot of the Laik*), and carefully edited for the Early English Text Society, 1865, by the Rev. W. W. Skeat. It is short, and contains only a small part of the French *Lancelot*.](24) Arthour knyght, he raid on nycht,
vitht gyltin spur and candil lycht.

[Leyden says, p. 229, "The romance, of which these lines seem to have formed the introduction, is unknown; but I have often heard them repeated in a nursery tale, of which I only recollect the following ridiculous verses:

Chick my naggie, chick my naggie!
 How mony miles to Aberdeagie?
 'Tis eight, and eight, and other eight;
 We'll no win there wi' candle light."

I don't believe in Leyden's supposed "romance." It was probably a ballad.]

(25) The tail of floremond of albanye, that sleu the dragon be the see.

[This Tale is lost. Leyden says (p. 229) that the name of the hero is mentioned in the romance of *Rosvall and Lilian* (Edinb. 1663, blk. lr., 846 lines; and Laing's *Early Metrical Tales*, 1826):—

Because that I love you so well,
 Let your name be Sir Lion dale,
 Or great *Florent of Albanie*,
 My heart, if ye bear love to me;
 Or call you Lancelot du Lake,
 For your dearest true-love's sake;
 Call you the Knight of arm[e]s green¹,
 For the love of your Lady sheen.]

(26) The tail of syr valtir, the bald leslye.

[Leyden says (p. 230) "This seems to have been a romance of the Crusades. Sir Walter Lesly accompanied his brother Norman to the East, in the Venetian expedition, to assist Peter, king of Cyprus; where, according to Fordun (*Scotichronicon*, lib. xvi, cap. 15) 'coeperunt civitatem Alexandrinam tempore ultimi regis David.' After the death of his brother he became Earl of Ross, and Duke of Leygaroch in France. The romance," if one ever existed, is lost.]

(27) The tail of the pure tynt.

[Probably the groundwork of the Fairy tale of 'the pure tint Rashycot' a common nursery tale." *Leyden*, p. 236. The tale of 'Rashie-Coat (*Fife*)' is told in R. Chambers's *Popular Rhymes*, 1870, p. 66-8, and an inferior version follows it. It is "the Scottish edition of the tale of *Cinderella*."]]¹ Sir Gawain and the Green Knight (Roxb. Club, and E. E. Text Soc.).

(28) Claryades and maliades.

[No printed copy is known earlier than 1830, when Dr. David Irving edited the romance of *Clariodus* from an imperfect MS of about 1550 A.D. for Mr. Edward Piper's present to the Maitland Club. The romance is earlier than its MS, and is translated from a French prose original, of which there was once an English translation, made before the Scotch one. The story is of England:—how, after the days of King Arthur, the young knight Clariodus, son of the Earl of Esture, or the Asturias, wins and weds the lovely lady Meliades, daughter and heiress of Philipon, king of England; and how, after their marriage (at p. 304) feastings, adventures, tourneys, journeys to Castalie, Ireland &c go on, till the text ends, imperfectly, at p. 376 of the printed edition.]

(29) Arthur of lital bertange.

[This is the book reprinted in 4to by Utterson in 1814 as “Arthur of Brytayne. The hystory¹ of the moost² noble and valyaunt knyght Arthur of lytell brytayne, translated out of frensshe in to englushe³ by the noble Johan Bourghcher knyght lorde Barners, newly Imprynted:” no date, black letter, folio, 179 leaves. (Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* i. 63). Colophon: “Here endeth the hystory of Arthur of lytell Brytayne. Imprynted at London in Powles churche yeard at the sygne of the Cocke by Roberte Redborne.” Only 2 perfect copies exist, at Althorp and Bridgewater House; and one imperfect copy.]

(30) Robene hude and lital ihone.

[See Capt. Cox's *Robin Hood*, XXII, p. li, above. It's the same book, no doubt.]

(31) The meruellis of mandieuel.

[We know 3 editions before 1548 of this most amusing book of travels and legends, 1. Wynkyn de Worde's in 1499; 2. at his sign of the Sun in 1503; 3. Pynson's, without date. 1. “Here Begynneth a lytell treatyse or booke named Johan Mandeuyl Knyght born in Englonde in the towne of saynt Albone and speketh of the wayes of the holy londe toward Jherrusalem, and of marueyles of Ynde and of other dyuerse countrees.” Colophon. “Here endeth the boke of Johan Mandevyll knyght, of the wayes towarde Jerusalem, & of the meruayles of Ynde & of other dyuerse countrees. Emprynted at Westmynster by Wynken de Worde. Anno domini M. CCCC. LXXXIX.” 8vo. An edition was publisht in 1725 from the Cotton MS, Titus C. xvi,—incorrectly, I expect—and was reprinted in 1839 and 1869, with an Introduction by Mr. Halliwell, and some very quaint woodcuts from the MS and the old printed editions. Sir John Mandeville left England for Jerusalem etc. in 1322, and wrote his Travels in 1356, thirty-four years after he started. Later on, the work was turned into a chap-book: “The Foreign Travels of Sir John Mandeville. Containing, An Account of remote Kingdoms, Countries, Rivers, Castles, &c. Together with a Description of Giants, Pigmies, and various other People of odd Deformities; as also their Laws, Customs, and Manners. Likewise enchanted Wildernesses, Dragons, Griffins, and many more wonderful Beasts of Prey, &c &c &c.” (With 7 woodcuts.) ‘Printed and Sold in Aldermary Church-Yard, London. (In Mr. Corser's sale.)’]

(32) (33) The tayl of the zong tamlene, and of the bald braband.

[Leyden identifies Tamlene with the later ballad of The Young Tamlane in Scott's *Minstrelsy*, A.D. 1802, (p. 474–480 of A. Murray's reprint, 1869), a few verses of which appeared in Herd's *Scottish Songs*, 1776,

¹ Mystory—*Hazlitt's Handbook*. ² moast—*Hazlitt*. ³ englishe—*Hazlitt*.

i. 159 (ed. 1869), as 'Kertouhe, or the Fairy Court,' and Johnson's Museum. (See p. clxiv below.) He therefore makes The Bald Braband a separate romance of French or Norman origin. Mr. J. A. H. Murray does so too, notwithstanding the author's singular "tayl," which would lead us to suppose that the two heroes belonged to one story. See some doggrel verses on 'Tam o' the Linn' in R. Chambers's *Popular Rhymes*, ed. 1870, p. 33, and p. cxxvii above.]

(34) The ryng¹ of the roy Robert.

[In Mackenzie's *Lives*, vol. i, and Pinkerton's list of the poems in the Folio Maitland MS, this poem is ascribed to Deine David Steill. It begins "In to the ring of the roy Robert." A modernized copy was issued in 1700 under the title of "Robert the III, king of Scotland, his Answer to a Summonds sent by Henry the IV. of England to do homage for the Crown of Scotland," is [re]printed in Watson's Collection of Scottish poems, pt. 3, which begins "Dureing the reigne of the Royal Robert." *Leyden*, p. 231. It is also reprinted 'in two different publications of Mr. Laing, *Fugitive Scottish Poetry*, and *Early Metrical Tales*. It contains a magnanimous and indignant answer, supposed to have been returned by Robert the Third, when Henry the Fourth of England summoned him to do homage for his kingdom. The author's patriotism may be more safely commended than his poetry, which is of a very inferior order.' *Irving's Hist. of Scottish Poetry*, p. 201, ed. 1861.]

(35) Syr egeir and syr gryme.

[Of this verse Romance no printed copy is known earlier than 1687. It belongs to Mr. David Laing, who reprinted the 2nd edition known, that of 1711, in his *Early Metrical Tales*, 1826. By far the best copy² is in Bp. Percy's Folio MS, and is printed in the *Ballads and Romances* of it, i. 354-400, in 1474 lines. Its "subject is the true and tried friendship of Sir Eger and Sir Grime. It sings how a true knight (Sir Grime) stood faithfully by his friend when misfortune overtook him, and fought his battle, and won it, and was rewarded with the same happiness which he had so nobly striven to secure for his friend—success in love." In 1497, the sum of nine shillings was paid to "twa fithelaris that sang *Gray Steel* to the King." See Mr. D. Laing's Introduction, and Mr. Hales's in the Percy Folio *Bal. and Rom.* Gray Steel was the knight who overcame Sir

¹ reign.

² However, the lines praised so strongly by Prof. Lowell in his charming essay in *My Study Windows*, p. 256-7, are not in the Percy-Folio copy. The author of the inimitable *Biglow Papers* says: "One more passage occurs to me, almost incomparable in its simple straight-forward force, and choice of the right words:—

" Sir Graysteel to his death thus thraws,
He welters, and the grass updraws. . . .
A little while then lay he still,
(Friends that saw him, liked full ill,
And bled into his armour bright."

The last line, for suggestive reticence, almost deserves to be put beside the famous

"Quel giorno più non vi leggemmo avante"

of the great master of laconic narration [Dante]. In the same poem"—*Sir Eger and Sir Grime* in the Percy Folio i. 354. The passage quoted is from Ellis—"the growing love of the lady, in its maidenliness of unconscious betrayal, is touched with a delicacy and tact as surprising as they are delightful."

Eger, and who cut off the right little-finger of every knight he vanquisht. But Grime slew him for Eger's sake.]

(36) Beuis of southamtonn.

[See Captain Cox's IV, p. xxii above.]

(37) The goldin targe.

[This is a poem of Dunbar's, first printed on 6 leaves by Walter Chepman and Andro Millar at Edinburgh in 1508, though the copy in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, has no place or date on it. It is reprinted in Mr. David Laing's edition of Dunbar's Works 1834 (with a Supplement 1865), i. 11, and “the object of this poem is to demonstrate the general ascendancy of love over reason: the golden terge, or the shield of reason, is found an insufficient protection against the assaults of the train of love.” *Irving's Hist. of Scottish Poetry*, p. 235, ed. 1861.]

(38) The paleis of honour.

[No copy of this is known so early as 1518-9, though a Scotch printer's copy must have existed earlier. As William Copland was at the Rose Garland in 1548, his undated edition might have been printed in the first year of Mary's reign: “The Palis of Honour composed by Gawyne Dowglas, Byshope of Dunkyll. Imprinted at London in flet-stret, at the sygne of the Rose garland by wyllyam Copland. God saue Quene Marye,” 4to, black letter, 40 leaves. Henrie Charteris's edition of 1579 was reprinted for the Bannatyne Club in 1827, 4to. The poem, which is the longest of Douglas's original works, seems to have been written in 1501, and describes the author's dream of all the worthies of antiquity down to nearly his own day,—heathen gods and goddesses, as well as Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate,—journeying to the Palace of Honour. This he describes, and the lake, wherein those who fail to seek it, fall. The poem is an odd mixture of ancient and modern: Calliope expounds the scheme of human redemption. See *Irving*, p. 269-277, for an outline of it.]

(39) The tayl quhou acteon vas transformit in ane hart, and syne slane be his auen doggis.

[Another tale from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, iii. 155 etc.]

(40) The tayl of Pirramus and tesbe.

[No doubt a short tale from some lost translation of Ovid (*Met.* iv, 55-165). Golding's translation was not published till 1567. Mr. Halliwell prints the Pyramus story from it in his *Introduction to Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1841, p. 12-16. The first notice that we have of a book on this subject is in an entry in 1562-3 in the Stationers' Register A, leaf 92 (*Collier*, i. 79):—

W greffethe Recevyd of Wylliam greffeth for his lycense for } iiij^d
 pryntinge of a boke intituled Perymus and Thesbye }

No copy of the book is known, nor any of the later edition by Hacket. Mr. Collier says ‘The History of Pyramus and Thisbie, truly translated,’ is contained in the ‘Gorgeous Gallery of gallant Inventions,’ 1578; and in the ‘Handfull of Pleasant Delights,’ 1584, is ‘a new Sonet of Pyramus and Thisbie,’ subscribed J. Tomson. (*Stat. Reg.* i. 80.)

(41) The tail of the amours of leander and hero.

[The only notice we have of the earliest and otherwise unknown translation of the work of Musæus the Grammarian, *De Amore Herois et Leandri*, is a marginal note in Abraham Fleming's translation of Virgil's *Georgics*, 1589, 4to: “The poet alludeth to the historie of Leander and Hero,

written by Musæus, and Englished by me a dozen yeares ago [1577], and in print." J. P. Collier, in *Notes and Queries*, Dec. 8, 1849, p. 84-5. This 'tayl' of the *Complaynt* before 1548 may—like many others in the list—have been a broadside. Ovid mentions the story, *Her.* xviii. 19.]

- (42) The tail quhou Iupiter transformit his deir loue yo in ane cou.

[More Ovid: *Metamorphoses*, bk. i.]

- (43) The tail quhou that iason van the goldin fleice.

[This may be 'A Boke of the hoole Lyf of Jason' printed by Caxton about 1477, consisting of 148 leaves, and reprinted in 1492, by Gerard Leeu of Antwerp, with cuts, 'The veray trew History of the valiaunt Knight Jason;' but was probably only a short Tale from the 7th book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Caxton's edition is translated from Raoul Le Fevre's French original.]

- (44) Opheus, kyng of portingal.

[This cannot be the romance of Orfeo and Heurodis in the Affleck MS, printed in Mr. D. Laing's *Select Remains*, 1822, in which Orfeo is a king in England, has the city of Traciens or Winchester, and recovers Heurodis who has been carried off by the King of the Fairies. Nor can it be Henryson's poem printed by W. Chepman and A. Millar in 1508:—"Heire begynnys the traitie of Orpheus kyng, and how he yeid to hewyn and to hel to seik his quene: And ane other ballad in the lattir end;—" and reprinted in Mr. David Laing's edition of Henryson's Works, 1866. Henryson rightly makes his Orpheus, king of Thrace. Perchance some Middle-age writer altered Thrace to Portugal. Geography was 'of no consequence' with the story-tellers of those days.]

- (45) The tayl of the goldin appil.

[That of Eris, inscribed 'to the fairest,' thrown among the Gods at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, whence sprang the dispute between Juno, Minerva, and Venus, its decision by Paris, the rape of Helen, and the fall of Troy, that central romance of the Middle-ages. Plenty of stories of it,—long to shorten, short to translate,—were there to serve as the original of the *Complaynt* 'tayl.']

- (46) The tail of the thre veird systirs.

['Clotho, the spinning fate; Lachesis, the one who assigns to man his fate; and Atropos, the fate that cannot be avoided.' Ovid, *Met.* xv. 781, 808 etc.]

- (47) The tayl quhou that dedalus maid the laborynth to keip the monster minotaurus.

[Ovid, *Met.* viii.]

- (48) The tail quhou kyng midas gat tua asse luggis on his hede, be cause of his auereis.

[Another story from Ovid, book xi of the *Metamorphoses*.

Ballad on the same subject among the broadsides of the Society of Antiaquaries, written by T. Hedley, and imprinted at London, by Hary Suttendwellyng in Poules Churchyard, and reprinted in Mr. Halliwell's *Introduction to Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream*, p. 18-19. Sutton printed and publisht from 1557 to 1575.]

¶ Quhen thir scheiphyrdis hed tald al thyr pleysand storeis, than thay and ther vyuis began to sing sueit melodius sangis of natural music of the antiquite, the foure marmadyns that sang

quhen thetis vas mareit on month pillion, thai sang nocht sa sueit as did thir scheiphyrdis, quilkis ar callit to name, parthenopie, leucolia, illigeatempora, the feyrd callit legia, for thir scheiphirdis excedit al thir foure marmadyns in melodius music, in gude accordis and reportis of dyapason prolations, and dyatesseron. the musician amphion quilk sang sa dulce, quhil that the stanis mouit, and also the scheip and nolt, and the foulis of the ayr, pronouit there bestial voce to sing vitht hym. zit nochtheles his ermonius sang prefferit nocht the sueit sangis of thir foir-said scheiphirdis. Nou i vil reherse sum of the sueit sangis that i herd among them as eftir follouis. in the fyrst,

(49) Pastance vitht gude companye.

[English. Written by Henry VIII. Facsimiled, with the tune, for Mr. Wm. Chappell, in *Archæologia*, xli. 372, from a MS that once belonged to Henry VIII, and now belongs to a Mrs. Lamb. The song was also printed by Dr. Rimbault in his *Little Book*, p. 37, and Mr. Chappell in his *Popular Music*, from the Additional MS 5665 in the British Museum, which was once Joseph Ritson's. It is there called “The Kyngis Balade.” Here it is from Mrs. Lamb's MS, pages 24, 25, as facsimiled in *Archæologia*, vol. xli, Pl. xvi, p. 372; but in the MS every ll has a line across its top.

The kyng. H. viij.

(1)
 Pastyme with good companye
 I loue, & shall vntyll I dye;—
 gruche who lust, but none denye,
 so god be plesyd, thus leue wyll I.
 for my pastance
 hunt, syng, & daunce,
 my hart is sett!
 all goodly sport,
 for my comfort,
 who shall me let?

(2)
 youthe must haue sum daliance,
 off good or yll, sum pastance;
 Company me thynk^es then best,
 all thoughtes & fansys to deiest;

ffor Idillnes
 is cheff mastres
 of vices all;
 then who can say
 but mirth and play
 is best of all?

(3)
 Company with honeste
 is vertu, vices to flee;
 Company is good & ill,
 but euery man hath hys fre wyll;
 the best enscew,
 the worst eschew,
 my mynde shalbe;
 vertu to vse,
 vice to refuse;
 thus shall I vse me.

Bishop Latimer, says Mr. Chappell, wished to instil into Edward VI a higher view of what “Pastyme with good Company” should be than he would get from his father's Ballad, and on that account in his Second Sermon before the young king,—preacht on Deut. xxii. 18, “And it shall be when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book out of that which is before the priests the Levites: And it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life, that he may learn to fear the Lord his God,” etc.,—says

“And when the kyng is sette in the seate of hys Kyngedome, what shal he do? shal he daunce, and dally, banket? hauke and hunte? No forsothe syr. For as God set an order in the Kyngs stable as I tolde you in my last Sermon, so wyll he appoynte what pastyme a Kynge shall

haue. What must he do then? He muste be a student. He must wryte Goddes boke hym selfe. Not thynkyng bycause he is a kynge, he hath lycence to do what he wyl, as these worldlye flatterers are wont to say. Yea, trouble not your selfe sir, ye mai hauke and hunt, and take youre pleasure. As for the guydinge of your kyngdome and people, let vs alone wyth it.

"These flattering clawbackes are originall rotes of all mischyue, and yet a Kynge maye take hys pastyme in haukinge or huntynge or such lyke pleasures. But he must vse them for recreation when he is wery of waighty affayres, that he mai returne to them the more lustye. and this is called *pastime with good companye*." (Ed. Arber, p. 64.)

And again, "So your grace must learne howe to do of Salomon. Ye must make your petition, now study, nowe praye. They must be yoked together, and thys is called '*pastime wyth good companye*.'" (*Ib.* p. 70.)]

(50) The breir byndis me soir.

(51) Stil vndir the leyuis grene.

[See (96). In the Maitland MS, and printed by Pinkerton in his Maitland Poems, p. 205. In his notes, p. 424, Pinkerton says "This piece, for the age it was written, is almost miraculous. The tender pathos is finely recommended by an excellent cadence. An age that produced this, might produce almost any perfection in poetry." I wonder what the worthy editor's notion of 'quite miraculous' was, though the 'sang' is a good one. Mr. Lumby has kindly read this print with the MS; but the initial 'y' is printed 'th.'

THE MURNING MAIDIN.

(1)

Still under the levis grene,
This hinder day I went alone;
I hard ane may fair mwrne and
 meyne;
To the KING OF LUIF scho maid
 hir mone. 4
Scho sychit sely soir;
Said 'LORD, I luif thi loir.
Mair wo dreit never woman one.
O langsum lyfe, and thow war gone,
Than suld I mwrne no moir!' 9

(2)

As rid gold-wyir schynit hir hair;
And all in grene, the may scho glaid.
Ane bent bow in hir hand scho bair;
Undir hir belt war arrowis braid. 13
I followit on that fre,
That semelie wes to se.
Withe still mwrning hir mone scho
 maid.
That bird undir a bank scho baid,
And lenit hir to ane tre. 18

(3)

Wanweird, scho said: "Quhat have
 I wrocht,
"That on me kytht hes all this cair?"

Trew lufe, so deir I have the
 bocht!—
Certis, so sall I do na mair. 22
Sen that I go begyld
With ane that faythe has syld.—
That gars me oftsyis syis¹ full sair;
And walk among the holtis hair,
Within the woddis wyld. 27

(4)

"This grit disese for luif I dre—
Thair is no tounge can tell the wo!—
I luif the lufe that luifis not me;
I may not mend, but mwrning mo.
Quhill God send sum remeid, 32
Throw destany, or deid.
I am his freind, and he my fo.
My sweet, allace! quhy dois he so?
I wrocht him never na feid! 36

(5)

"Withoutin feyid I wes his freind'
In word and wark. Grit God it
 wait!
Quhair he wes placit, thair list I
 leynd,
Doand him service ayr and lait. 40
He kepannd eftir syne
Till his honour and myne.

¹ for sich, sigh.

Bot now he gais ane uther gait,
And hes no e to my estait;
Quhilk dois me all this pyne. 45

(6)

"It dois me pyne that I may prufe,
That maks me thus murning mo.
My lufe, he luifis ane uther lufe!
Allace, sweithart! Quhy dois he so?
Quhy sould he me forsaik? 50
Have mercye on his maik!
Thairfoir my hart will birst in two.
And thus, walking with da and ro,
My leif now heir I taik." 54

(7)

Than wepit scho, lustie in weyd;
And on her wayis can scho went.
In hy eftir that heynd I zeyd,
And in my armes could hir hent, 58
And said "Fayr lady, at this tyd,
With leif ye man abyde,
And tell me quho yow hidder sent,
Or quhy ye beir your bow so bent
To sla our deir of pryd?" 63

(8)

"In waithman weyd sen I yow find
In this wod walkand your alone,
Your mylk-ghyt handis we sall
bind
Quhill that the blude birst fra the
bone. 67
Chargeand yow to prwsoun,
To the king's deip dwngoun.
Thai may ken, be your fedderit
flane,
Ye have mony beistis bane
Upon thir bentis broun." 72

(9)

That fre answerit with fayr afeir,
And said, "Schir, mercy, for your
mycht!
Thus man I bow and arrowis beir,
Be caus I am ane baneist wycht; 76
So will I be full lang.
For Godis luif lat me gang;
And heir to yow my treuth I plycht,
That I sall, nowder day nor nycht,
No wyld beist wait with wrang. 81

(10)

"Thocht I walk in this forrest fre,
Withe bow, and eik with fedderit
flane,

It is weill mair than dayis thre,
And meit or drynk yit saw I nane.
Thocht I had never sic neid 86
My selfe to wyn my breid,
Your deir may walk, schir, thair
alane.

Yet wes I nevir na beistis bane;
I may not se thame bleid. 90

(11)

"Sen that I never did yow ill,
It wer no skill ye did me skaith.
Your deir may walk quhairevir thai
will;

I wyn my meit with na sic waithe.
I do bot litill wrang, 95
Bot gif I flowris fang.

Giff that ye trow not in my aythe,
Tak heir my bow and arrowis
baythe,
And lat my awin selfe gang. 99

(12)

"I say your bow and arrowis
bricht!—
I bid not have thame, be Sanct
Bryd.

Bot ye man rest with me all nycht,
All nakit sleipand be my syd." 103
"I will not do that syn!"
"Leif yow this warld to wyn!
Ye ar so haill of hew and hyd,
Luif hes me fangit into this tyd;
I may not fra yow twyn." 108

(13) [p. 203.]

Than lukit scho to me, and lewch;
And said "Sic lufe I rid yow layne.
Albeit ye mak it never sa tewch,
To me your labour is in vane. 112
Wer I out of your sycht
The space of halfe a nycht,
Suppois ye saw me never agane—
Luif hes yow streinyeit with litle
pane,
Thairto my treuthe I plycht." 117

(14)

I said, "My sweet, forsuythe I sall
For ever luif yow, and no mo.
Thocht utheris luif, and leif, with
all,
Maist certanlie I do not so. 121
I do yow trew luif hecht,
Be all the bewis bricht!
Ye ar so fair! be not my fo!
Ye sall have syn, and ye me slo
Thus throw ane suddan sycht." 126

(15)

"That I yow sla, that God for-
scheild!
Quhat have I done, or said, yow
till?
I wes not wont wappynis to weild;
Bot am ane woman, gif ye will, 130
That suirlic feiris yow,
And ye not me, I trow.
For, gude schir, tak in none ill,
Sall never berne gar breif the bill
At bidding me to bow. 135

(16) [p. 210.]

"Into this wode ay walk I sall,
Ledand my lyfe as woful wycht:
Heir I forsaik bayth, bour and hall,
And all thir bigings that are
brycht! 139
My bed is maid full cauld,
With beistis bryme and bauld.
That garris me say, bayth day and
nycht,
Allace that ever the tounge sould
hecht
That hart thoct not to hauld!" 144

(17)

Thir words out throw my hairt so
went,
That neir I wepit for hir wo;
But thairto wald I not consent,
And said that it sould not be so. 148
Into my armes swythe
Embrasit I that blythe,
Sayand, "Sweit hart! of harmes
ho!
Found sall I never this forrest fro,
Quhill ye me confort kyth." 153

(18)

Than knelit I befor that cleir;
And meiklie could hir mercye craiff
That semlie than, with sobir chier,
Me of hir gudlynes forgaif. 157
It wes no neid I-wys,
To bid ws uther kys.
Thair mycht no hairtis mair joy
resaif,
Nor uther could of uther haif:
Thus brocht wer we to blys. 162
(MS. in Pepsian Libr. Cambr.)]

(52) Cou thou me the raschis grene.

[Appendix to the Royal MSS, 58 (No. 26 in the 'Catalogue of the
Manuscript Music in the British Museum, 1842, p. 10). The *Fayrfax MS.*
leaf 2. Printed in Ritson's *Ancient Songs*, vol. 1, p. lxxv, with the music.

c Olle to me the Rysshys grene. Colle to me.
Colle to me the Rysshes grene. Colle to me.

ffor my pastyme, vpon a day,
I walkyde a-lone ryght secretly;
in A mornynge of lusty may,
me to Reioyce I dyd A-plye.

wher I saw one in gret dystresse
Complaynyng hym thus pytuously:
"Alas!" he sayde, "for my mastres,
I well perseyue that I shall dye.

"wythout that thus she of hure grace,
to pety she wyll some what reuert,
I haue most cause to say A-las!
ffor hyt ys she that hath my hart,

"Soo to contynew whyle my lyff endure,
though I fore hure sholde suffre dethe;
She hath my hart wyth owt Recure,
And euer shall, duryng my brethe."

On the back of leaf 12 is the same burden—

"Coll to me the russhes grene. Coll to me.
Coll to me the russhes grene. Coll to me."

set to a different tune.]

- (53) Allace, i vyit zour tua fayr ene!¹
- (54) Gode zou, gude day, vil boy.
- (55) Lady, help zour presoneir¹.
- (56) Kyng villzamis note.
- (57) The lang nounenou [= nonny no].
- (58) The cheapel valk.
- (59) Faytht is there none.
- (60) Skald abellis nou.
- (61) The abirdenis nou.
- (62) Brume brume on hil.
[*English*. See Capt. Cox, LIII, p. cxxviii above, and *Pop. Mus.* p. 459.]
- (63) Allone i veip in grit distres.
[Godfified in *The Gude and Godlie Ballates*, p. 129, ed. D. Laing, 1868.]
- (64) Trolee lolee, lemmeu dou.
[Cp. Capt. Cox's *Troly lo*, LIV, p. cxxix.]
- (65) Bille, vil thou cum by a lute,
and belt the in Sanct Francis cord ?
[In Constable's MS. Cantus the following lines [probably] of this song are introduced into a medley :
 Bille, will ye cum by a lute,
 And tuich it with your pin ? trow low ! (*Leyden*, p. 279.)]
- (66) The frog cam to the myl dur.
[Pinkerton, in his *Select Ballads*, ii. 33, says that “The froggie came to the mill door” was sung on the Edinburgh stage shortly before 1784. *Leyden*, p. 279, gives a few lines of another nursery song on the frog (or cat) and mouse. The earliest English notice of a Frog-song that we have is the entry on the Stationers' Register of a license to Edward White on 21 November 1580 of four ballads, of which the first is “A moste strange weddinge of the frogge and the mouse” (*Collier's Stat. Reg.* ii. 132). Dr. Rimbault has printed in his *Little Book*, p. 87-94, three versions of the wedding of the Frog and Mouse,—one Scotch, from Mr. C. K. Sharpe's *Ballad Book* 1826,—and mentions another old “Frogge Song” in Halliwell's *Nursery Rhymes*, ed. 1843, p. 87, and a parody upon the same in Tom d'Urfeys *Pills to purge Melancholy*, 1719, vol. i. p. 14.]
- (67) The sang of gilqubiskar.
- (68) Rycht soirly musing in my mynde.
[Godfified in the *Godlie Ballates*, p. 54, ed. D. Laing, 1868.]
- (69) God sen the duc hed byddin in France,
And delaubaute hed neuyr cum hame.
[This song is not known; it must have been on ‘the Chevalier de la Beauté,’ who was left as Pro-regent in Scotland when John Duke of Albany retired to France, in the minority of James V, and who was murdered in 1515.’ *Leyden*, p. 276. See in Dunbar's *Works*, ed. Laing, i. 251 “Ane Orisoun quhen the Governour past into France.”]

¹ Mr. David Laing thinks, from these first lines, that their songs are likely to have been Alexander Scott's. *Al. Scott's Poems*, p. x.

- (70) Al musing of meruellis, amys hef i gone.

[A verse of this song occurs in Constable's MS. Cantus :

"All musing of mervells in the mid morne,
Through a slunk in a slaid, amisse have I gone;
I heard a song me beside, that reft from me my sprite,
But through my dream as I dreamed, this was the effect."

Leyden, p. 279.]

- (71) Mastres fayr, ze vil forfayr.

- (72) O lusty maye, vitth flora quene.

["This beautiful song was printed by Chepman and Myllar in 1508, and also in Forbes's Aberdeen Cantus [thence reprinted by Ritson, *Scottish Songs*, Hist. Essay, p. xli]: a copy with several variations, is preserved in the Bannatync MS." *Leyden*, p. 279. The latter, not modernized as in Forbes, whose second song it is, is printed at the end of Alexander Scott's *Poems*, p. 97-9, ed. D. Laing.

(1)

"O lusty May with Flora quene,
The balmy dropis frome Phebus
shene,
Preluciand bemes be-foir the day,
befoir the day,
By thé Diana growis grene,
Throwth glaidnes of this lusty
May.

(2)

Than Esperus, that is so bricht
Till wofull hairtis, castis his lycht
With banks that blumes (on
cuery bray)—bis;
And schuris ar sched furth of þat
sicht
Throwth glaidnes of this lusty
May.

(3)

Birdis on bewis of every birth,
Reiosing nottis makand thair mirth,
Rycht pleasandly vpoun the spray
With flurissingis, our feild & firth,
Throwth 'glaidnes of this lusty
May.'

(4)

All luvaris þat ar in cair,
To thair ladeis than do repair
In fresch mornyngis (befoir the
day),
And ar in mirth ay mair & mair
Throwth glaidnes of this lusty
May.

Bann. MS. fol.

"The following stanza, which occurs not in the Manuscript is added from the Aberdeen Cantus.

Of everie moneth in the yeir
To mirthfull May thair is no peir,
Hir glistrine garments ar so gay,

You lovaris all mak merie cheir,
Throwth glaidnes of this lustie
May."]

- (73) O myne hart, hay, this is my sang.

[Godlified in the *Godlie Ballates*, p. 121.]

- (74) The battel of the hayrlau
- ¹
- .

[The battle was fought in 1411 by the Earl of Mar and his force against the plundering Donald of the Isles with an army of 10,000 men. "But the earliest edition [of the ballad] that can be traced was published by Ramsay: and all the ancient poetry which passed through his hands was exposed to the most unwarrantable alterations . . . The poem consists of 248 lines . . . is a dry and circumstantial narrative, with little or no em-

¹ See the Dance Tune—*The Battel of Harloe* in the British Museum Addit. MS. 10,444, leaf 4 bk. No. 8.

bellishment, and can only be considered as valuable in the belief of its being ancient. Of the author's historical vein a sufficient estimate may be formed from the subsequent” stanza :

Gude Sir Alexander Irving,
The much renownit laird of Drum,
Nane in his days was bettir sene,
Quhen they war semblit, all and sum ;
To praise him we sould not be dumm,
For valour, witt, and worthyness.
To end his days he ther did cum,
Quhois ransom is remeidyles.”

Irving's Hist. of Scottish Poetry, p. 162-3.

A copy of this ballad dated 1668 was in the collection of Mr. Robert Mylne, the Collector. The ballad is printed in Allan Ramsay's *Evergreen* 1724, and Laing's *Early Metrical Tales*, 1826, (*Hazlitt's Handbook*, p. 32, col. 2.) in “Two old Historical Scots Poems giving an account of the Battles of Harlaw and the Reid-Squair,” Glasgow 1748, &c &c.

From *Motherwell's Minstrelsy Ancient and Modern* (Glasgow 1827) p. lxxii note, Mr. Murray sends me the following: “The Battle of Harlaw.—Antiquaries have differed in opinion regarding the age of this composition; but the best informed have agreed in looking upon it as of coeval production, or nearly so, with the historical event on which it is founded; and in this opinion the present writer entirely coincides. No edition prior to Ramsay's time has been preserved, though it was printed in 1668 as we are informed by Mr. Laing in his *Early Metrical Tales*, an edition of that date having been in the curious library of old Robert Mylne. In the *Complaynt of Scotland* 1549, this ballad is mentioned. In the *Polemio Middinia* its tune is referred to

Interea anto alios dux piperlarius heros,
Præcedens magnamque gerens cum burdine pypam,
Incipit Harlai cunctis sonare Batellum.

And in a MS. collection of tunes, written in the hand of Sir William Mure of Rowallan, which I have seen, occurs, “the battle of harlaw.” From the extreme popularity of the Song, it is not to be wondered at though every early imprint of it has now disappeared. (!!!) Ramsay probably gave his copy from a stall edition of his own day, which copy has successively been edited by Mr. Sibbald, Mr. Finlay, and Mr. Laing, and has appeared in other collections. A copy apparently taken for recitation is given in “The Thistle of Scotland, Aberdeen, 1823,”—the editor of which among a good deal of stuff which is not very comprehensible, points out various localities, and gives 3 stanzas of a burlesque song on the same subject popular in the north.”]

(75) The hunttis of cheuet.

[This is the older and far finer version of the well-known ballad of *Chevy-Chase*. A noble ballad it is, this *Hunting of the Cheviot*,—no doubt that which stirred the heart of Sidney more than a trumpet,—though it's not known nearly so well as its poorer modernization, *Chevy-Chase*. The only copy we have of it is in the Ashmole MS. 48, leaves 15-18. Hearne first printed it in his Preface to the History of Gulielmus Neubrigensis, p. lxxxii. Percy made it the first ballad in his *Reliques*, and it has been reprinted in Prof. Child's *Ballads*, vii. 29, &c, &c. The Rychard Sheale, whose name is at the end of the ballad, was a well-known minstrel and writer of doggrel, and made either this copy or the one from which it was taken. Copiers in old times often signed their names to it.

they copied. The fight of which the ballad tells, is not known to History, except in so far as it's mixt up with the battle of Otterbourne fought in 1388.

Of the modern version of the ballad, *Chevy Chase*, the copies and variations are many. Perhaps the oldest copy is in the *Percy Folio Ballads and Romances*, ii. 7-16. That in 'the Scotch edition printed at Glasgow 8vo. 1747, is remarkable,' says Bp. Percy, 'for the wilful Corruptions made in all the Passages which concern the two nations.'

See Maidment's *Scotish Ballads*, 1868, i. 81; Dr. Rimbault's *Musical Illustrations to Percy's Reliques*, p. 1; Chappell's *Popular Music*, &c., &c.]

(76) Sal i go vitht zou to rumbelo fayr?

[No such place as Rumbelo or Rumbeloch is known, says Mr. Murray though the word *rumbelow* has been common in ballad-burdens from early times. Take this, on the battle of Bannockburn, 1314, preserved by the English chronicler Fabyan:

Maydins of England, sore may ye morne
For your lemmans ye haue loste at Bannockysborne,
Wyth heue a lowe.
What wenynt the kyngo of England
So soone to have wonne Scotlande,
Wyth rumbylow?]

(77) Greuit is my sorrou.

[Godlified in the *Godlie Ballates*, p. 132. The poem is English: The lament of a sad lady whom her lover's unkindness slays.

Sloane MS. 1584, leaf 85.¹

(1)		(3)
Greuous ys my sorowe		My harte, ytt haue no Reste,
Both evyne and ² moro!		but styлле with peynes oppreste;
Vnto my selfe a-lone		And yett of alle my Smart,
Thus do I make my mowne,	4	Yit grevith moste my harte
That Vnkyndnes haith kylld me,		That vnkyndnes shuld kylle me,
And putt me to this peyne.		and putt me to this payne.
Alas! what Remedy?		Alas! what Remedy? [<i>lf. 85 bk.</i>]
That I cannot refreyne.	8	That I cannott refreyne.
		24
(2)		(4)
Whan other men doyth sleype,		Wo worth ³ trust vntrusty!
Thene do I syght and weype;		Wo worth love vn-lovyd!
Alle Ragius in my bed,		Wo worth hape vn-blamyd!
As one for paynes neyre ded,	12	Wo worth favtt vn-namyd,
That vnkyndnes haue kylld me,		Thus vnkyndly to kyll me,
And putt me to this payne.		And putt me to this payne!
Alas! what remedy?		Now alas! what Remedy?
That I cannott refreyne.	16	That I cannott refrayne.
		32

¹ Printed also by Ritson, in his *Ancient Songs*, 1790, p. 93; and in the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, 1841, i. 70.

² Every final *d* has a curl to it; and nearly every final *n* and *h* have a stroke over them.

³ be to.

(5)

Alas! I lyve to longe ;
 my paynes be so strange ;
 for comforth haue I none ;
 God wott I wold fayne be gone, 36
 for vnkyndnes haith kyllyd me,
 And putt me to this payne.
 Alas! what remedy?
 That I cannott refrayne. 40

(6)

Iff ony wyght be here
 That byeth love so dere :
 come nere! lye downe by me,
 And weype for company! 44
 for vnkyndnes haith kyllyd me,
 And putt me to this payne.
 Alas! what Remedy? [*leaf 86.*]
 That I cannott refrayne. 48

(7)

My foes whiche love me nott,
 Be-vayle my deth, I wott ;
 And he that love me beste,
 hyme selfe my deth haith dreste. 52
 What vnkyndnes shuld kyle me,
 If this ware nott my payne?
 Alas! what remedy?
 That I cannott refreyne. 56

(8)

My last wyll here I make,
 To god my soule I be-take,
 And my wrechyd body
 As erth in a hole to lye ; 60
 for vnkyndnes to kyle me,
 And putt me to this payne.
 Alas! what remedy?
 That I cannot refreyne. 64

(9)

O harte, I the bequyeth
 To hyme that is my deth
 Yff that no harte haith he,
 my harte his schalbe, 68
 Thought vnkyndnes haith kyllyd
 me,
 And putt me to this payne.
 Yett if my body dye, [*lf. 86 bk.*]
 my hertt cannot refrayne! 72

(10)

Placebo, dilexi!
 com, weype this obsequye,
 My mowrmarus¹ dolfully,
 come weype this psalmody 76
 of vnkyndnes haith kyllyd me
 and putt me to this payne.
 be-hold this wrechid body, 79
 that your vnkyndnes haith slayne!

(11)

Now I be-sych alle ye,
 namely² that lovers be,
 my love my deth for-gyve,
 and soffer hyme to lye 84
 Thought vnkyndnes haith kyllyd
 me,
 And putt me to this payne.
 Yett haid I rether dye
 for his sake ons agayne. 88

(12)

My tombe, ytt schalbe blewe,
 In tokyne that I was trewe
 To bringe my love frome dovte ;
 Itt shalbe writtynge abowtte, 92
 That vnkyndnes haith kyllyd me,
 and putt me to this payne.
 be-hold this wrechid body [*leaf 87.*]
 That y^{or} vnkyndnes haith slayne!

(13)

O lady, lerne by me,
 Sley nott love wylfully,
 for for love waxyth denty,
 100
 vnkyndnes to kyle me,
 or putt love to this payne.
 I ware the, better dye
 for loves Sake a-gayne. 104

(14)

Grevus Is my Soro,
 but deth ys my boro ;
 ffor to my selfe a-lone
 Thus do I make my mone, 108
 That vnkyndnes haith kyllyd me,
 And passyd is my payne.
 prey for this ded body
 that y^{or} vnkyndnes haith slayne! 112

ffinis amen.

(78) Turne the, sueit ville, to me.

¹ (mourners) MS. mowrmarus.

² especially.

- (79) My lufe is lyand seik ;
 Send hym ioy, send hym ioy !
 [I suppose these 2 lines belong to one song.]
- (80) Fayr luf, lent thou me thy mantil ? ioy !
 [The original song is probably lost, but a ludicrous parody, in which the chorus is preserved, is well known in the South of Scotland. It begins,
 Our guidman's away to the Mers
 Wi' the mantle, jo ! wi' the mantle jo !
 Wi' his breiks on his heid, and his bonnet on his erts,
 Wi' the merry merry mantle o' the green, jo !
Leyden, p. 279.]
- (81) The perssee & the mongumrye met.
 [This is line 117 of the modernized Scotch version of the ballad of "The Battle of Otterbourne," printed in *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, i. 354, and Prof. Child's *Ballads*, vii. 19, &c. :—

The Percy and Montgomery met,
 That either of other were fain ;
 They swapped swords, and they twa swat,
 And aye the blood ran down between.¹

The two verses before it have a suspiciously modern twang, and this verse seems to me a modern cooking of the earlier verse about Percy and Douglas :

<i>English version.</i>	<i>Scotch version.</i>
The Percy and the Douglas mette, That ether of other was fayne ; They schapped together, whyll that the swette, With swords of fyne collayne.	When Percy wi' the Douglas met, I wat he was fu' fain ; They swakked their swords, till sair they swat, And the blood ran down like rain.

But it may be one of the genuine repetitions that the old ballad writers often indulged in.

The oldest copy of the ballad that we have is that of the English version, in a MS. of about 1550 A.D., Cotton, Cleopatra C iv, leaf 64, and was printed by Percy in the fourth edition of his *Reliques*, instead of the later and less perfect copy that he had given in his earlier editions from the Harleian MS. 293, leaf 52. The English version says nothing of Sir Hugh Montgomery killing Percy, but only

Then was ther a Scottyshe prisoner tayne,
 Sir Hugh Mongomery was hys name. (l. 161-2.)

See the treatise by Mr. Robert White of Newcastle, on the Battle of Otterbourne, with appendix and illustrations, London, 1857, and his advertised 'History' of the battle.]

¹ In the differing and short version in Herd's *Scottish Songs*, i. 154 (ed. 1869), and Child's *Ballads*, vii. 177-180, where Douglas is killed by a little boy with a little penknife, the verse above runs thus

Then Percy and Montgomery met,
 And weel a wat they war na fain :
 They swapped swords, and they twa swat,
 And aye the blood ran down between. (lines 33-6.)

(82) That day, that day, that gentil day.

[In the Brit. Mus. Additional MS. 5465, leaf 108 back, is the following pretty song to which an authority in such matters has referred me as the same as ‘That day, that day, that gentil day’ in the *Complaynt* list; but the two are evidently different. The present song is perhaps in praise of the White Rose of Lancaster which, (for Edward IV) Adam of Cobsam praised in *The Wright’s Chaste Wife*, p. iv, p. 20.

This day day dawes,
this gentill day¹ dawes,
this gentill day dawes,
& I must home gone.

²In a glorius garden grene,
sawe I syttyng a comly quene,
a-mong þe flouris þat fresh byn.
She gaderd a floure, and sett be-twene.
þe lyly white rose me thouȝt I sawe,
& euer she sang
 this day day dawes,
 this gentill day dawes, *vt supra*.

In that garden be flouris of hew,
the gelofir gent þat she well knewe,
the floure de luce she did on rewe,
& said ‘the whiȝt rose is most trewe,
this garden to rule be ryȝtwis lawe.’
the lyly whyȝto rose me thought I sawe,
& euer She sang
 this day day dawes,
 this gentill day dawes, *vt supra*.

The notion that Prof. Child seems to have started (*Ballads* vii. 34, note), and that Mr. Hales sanctions (*Percy Fol. Bal. & Rom.* ii. 2), that the ‘That day, that day, that gentill day’ of the *Complaynt*, is a misquotation of “That day, that day, that dredfull day!” l. 99 of *The Hunting of the Cheviot*, and therefore means that Ballad, I cannot away with. For, 1. the *Complaynt* has already put *The Hunttis of Cheuet* in its list of “sueit sangis,” eight above “That day, that day, that gentil [or dredfull] day,” and would not, of course, repeat it: 2. Why should we suppose the careful writer of the *Complaynt* to have put “gentil” for “dredfull,” and thus made a double fool of himself, when the natural supposition that the ballad—like so many others in the list—has not come down to us, removes all difficulty? It is true that Dauneŷ (*Ancient Scottish Melodies*, Edinburgh, 1838, p. 53) runs the two lines together as part of one song or ballad.

The Perseo & the Mongumrye met
That day, that day, that gentil day;

but if he is right, this must be a new ballad, and all prior critics have been wrong in identifying the first line with the *Battle of Oterbourne* ballad. Till the discovery of the new ballad, most of us will hold on to the old one, especially since ‘*That day*’ has 4 accents, as if it were a first line; though 4 accents often occur in second lines.]

¹ MS. day day.

² I take the words at the foot of the page.

- (83) My luf is laid apon ane knyght.
 (84) Allace, that samyn sueit face!
 [Godlified in the *Godlie Ballates*, p. 56.]
 (85) In ane myrthful morou.
 (86) My hart is leiuit [= left] on the land.

¶ Thir scheiphirdis ande there vyuis sang mony vthir melodius sangis, the quhilkis i hef nocht in memorie. than eftir this sueit celest armonye, tha began to dance in ane ring. euyrie ald scheiphird led his vyfe be the hand, and euyrie zong scheiphird led hyr quhome he luffit best. Ther vas viij scheiphirdis, and ilk ane of them hed ane syndry instrament to play to the laif. the fyrst hed ane drone bag pipe, the nyxt hed ane pipe maid of ane bleddir and of ane reid, the thrid playit on ane trump, the feyrd on ane corne pipe, the fyft playit on ane pipe maid of ane gait horne, the sext playt on ane recordar¹, the seuint plait on ane fiddil, and the last plait on ane quhissil. kyng amphion that playit sa sueit on his harpe quhen he keptit his scheip, nor zit appollo the god of sapiens, that keptit kyng admetus scheip, vitht his sueit menstralye, none of thir tua playit mayr creouslye nor did thir viij scheiphirdis befor rehersit; nor zit al the scheiphirdis that virgil makkis mention in his bucolikis, thai culd nocht be comparit to thir foir said scheiphirdis; nor orpheus that playit sa sueit quhe he socht his vyf in hel, his playing prefferrit nocht thir foir said scheiphirdis; nor zit the scheiphird pan, that playt to the goddis on his bag pype, nor mercurius that playit on ane sey reid, none of them culd preffer thir foirsaid scheiphirdis. i beheld neuyr ane mair delectabil recreatione. for fyrst thai began vitht tua bekkis and vitht a kyse. euripides, iuuenal, perseus, horasse, nor nane of the satiric poiettis, quhilkis mouit ther bodeis as thai hed bene dansand quhen thai pronuncit ther tragiedeis, none of them keptit moir geometrial mesure nor thir scheiphirdis did in ther dansing. Nor ludius, that vas the fyrst dansar of rome, culd nocht hef bene comparit to thir scheiphirdis. it vas ane celest recreation to behald ther lycht lopene, galmouding², stendling³ bakuart & forduart dansand base dansis⁴,

¹ See p. 9 (note 7).

² gambolling.

³ striding.

⁴ [Douce, B. 507. (Bodl. Libr.)]

The introductory to wryte and to pronounce Frenche compyled by Alexander Bareley. Lond. 1521, 4^o.

[leaf 16.] ¶ Here foloweth the maner of dauncynge of bace daunces after the vse of fraunce & other places translated out of frenche in englysshe by Robert coplande.

FOR to daunce ony bace daunce there behoueth .iiii. paces / that is to wite syngle / double: repryse / & braule. And ye ought fyrst to make reuerence towarde the lady / & than make .ii. syngles .i. double / a repryse / & a

braule. And this rule ye ought alway to kepe at *the* beginnyng / as it is sayd. And somtyme is made .ii. syngles after the doubles / & before the reprints / & that is done when *the* measures ben parfite. Also when ony songe or daunce is wryten. R. betokeneth reuerence. By .ss. double betokeneth .ii. syngle paces / & by .d. betokeneth .i. double pace. And yf there be .ddd. ye ought to make .iii. doubles after as *the* daunce requyret / for somtyme is made but .i. double / & somtime .iii. or .v. one after another / and therefore is dddd. thus wryten. And when .3. is wryten it betokeneth / re pryse. & yf .333. be wryten it signyfieth .iii. reprints / & .55555. betokeneth fiue. For ye ought neuer to make .ii. nor .iiii. togyder / nor of the doubles also / for the doubles & the reprints ben euer odde in nombre. ¶ Also all bace daunces begyn by syngles or reuerence / and ende with braule. ¶ Also it behoueth to knowe the nombre of notes of euery bace daunce / & the paces after *the* measure *of the notes. Therefore ye ought to wyte *that* fyrst ye ought to make reuerence with the lyfte fote / & than a braule with the right fote / than two syngle paces / the fyrst with the lyfte fote and the seconde with the ryght fote in goynge forwardo / & ye must reyse your body.

¶ The fyrst double pace is made with the lyft fote in reysynge the body steppynge .iii. pace forwardo lyghtly / the fyrst with the lyfte fote / the seconde with the ryght fote / & the thyrde with the lyft fote / as the fyrst.

¶ The seconde double pace begynneth with the ryght fote goynge thre paces forwardo as is sayd of *the* fyrst in reysynge *the* body. &c.

¶ The thyrde double pace is done as *the* first.

¶ It is to note *that* there be neuer .ii. double paces togyder / for *the* doubles & reprints be euer odde in nombre .i. .iii. or .v. &c.

¶ A re pryse alone ought to me made with the ryght fote in drawynge the ryght fote bakwarde a lytyll to the other fote.

¶ The seconde re pryse ought to be made (when ye make .iii. at ones) with the lyft fote in reysynge the body in lyke wyse.

¶ The thyrde re pryse is made in place and as the fyrst also.

¶ And merke for all that is sayd that euery of these paces occupyeth as moche tyme *the* one as the other. That is to wyte. a reuerence / one note. a double / one note. two syngles one note. a re pryse / one note. a braule / one note.

¶ And ye ought to wyte *that* in some places of fraunce they call *the* reprints / desmarches and the braule they call / conge. in englysshe leue.

¶ This done / ye ought to put in wrytynge for a re pryse thus .3. & for thre reprints thus 333 / and for the braule thus .b.

¶ Bace daunces.

¶ Filles a marier / with .iiii. measures.

R. b. ss. ddd. 333. b.	} Unparfyte.
ss. d. 553. b.	
ss. ddd. ss. 553. b.	} Parfyte.
ss. d. ss. 553. b.	

¶ Le petit rouen / with .iiii. measures.

R. b. ss. dddd. ss. 333. b.	} Parfyte
ss. d. ss. 553. b.	
ss. dddd. ss. 333. b.	
ss. ddd. ss. 553. b.	

¶ Amours. with two measures.

R. b. ss. d. ss. 553. b.	} Parfyte.
ss. ddd. ss. 553. b.	

pauuans¹, galzardis², turdions³, braulis⁴ and branglis, buffons⁵, vitth mony vthir lycht dancis, the quhilk ar ouer prolix to be reherisit.

¶ La gorriere / thre measures.

R. b. ss. ddd. 333. b. Unparfyte.
 ss. d. 3. b.
 ss. ddd. 333. b.

¶ La allemande. thre measures.

R. b. ss. ddd. ss. 333. b. } Parfyte.
 ss. d. ss. 3. b. }
 ss. ddd. 3. b. Unparfyte.

¶ La brette / foure measures.

R. b. ss. d. ss. 3. b.
 ss. d. 3. b. Half parfyte.
 ss. ddd. 3. b.
 ss. d. ss. 3. b.

¶ La royne / foure measures.

R. b. ss. ddd. 3. b. Unparfyte.
 ss. d. 3. b.
 ss. ddd. 3. b. Parfyte.
 ss. d. ss. 3. b.

¶ These daunces haue I set at the ende of this boke to thentent that euery lerner of the sayd boke after theyr dylygent study may reioyce somewhat theyr spyrytes honestly in eschewynge of ydlenesse the portresse of vyces.

¶ Imprynted at London in the Fletestrete at the sygne of the rose Garlande by Robert coplande. the yere of our lorde. M. CCCC. xxi. the xxii. day of Marche.

END.

¹ Puttenham speaks of 'Songs . . . such as might be sung with voice . . . or danced by measures, as the Italian *pavan* and *galliard* are at these daies [15] in Princes' courts, and the places of honourable or civil assembly' (*Art of Poesie*, p. 27, Haslewood's reprint). *Pavana*, according to Italian writers, was derived from *Paduana*,—and not from *Pavo* a peacock.' *Pop. Mus.* ii. 772.

'Morley says 'The *pavan* for grave dancing: *galliards*, which usually follow *pavans*, they are for a lighter and more stirring kind of dancing.' . . . Baker, in his *Principles of Musick*, 1636, 'says 'Of this sort (the Ionic mood) are *pavans*, invented for a slow and soft kind of dancing, altogether in duple proportion [common time]. Unto which are framed *galliards* for more quick and nimble motion, always in triple proportion; and therefore the triple is oft called *galliard* time, and the duple, *pavan* time. In this kind is also comprehended the infinite multitude of *Ballads*, set to sundry pleasant and delightful tunes by cunning and witty composers, with *country dances* fitted unto them, . . . and which surely might and would be more freely permitted by our sages, were they used, as they ought [to be], only for health and recreation.' [p. 8] At this time Puritanism was nearly at its height." *Pop. Mus.* i. 157.

² The *Galliard* is the only one of these dances mentioned in a late English list of "Nine sorts of common Dances always used: Salingers round, Bobbin-jo, Jingle-de-cut, Bodkings Galliard, the madmans Morris, Drunken Barnaby, the Bedfull of bones, room for Cuckolds, and the Lankishire hornpipe. "The Figure of Nine. Printed for J. Deacon and C. Dennison. ? temp. Charles II. The galliard was not introduced into England till about 1541 A.D. It is

zit nochtheles i sal rehers sa mony as my ingyne can put in memorie. in the fyrst, thai dancit,

(87) Al cristyn mennis dance.

(88) The northt of scotland.

(89) Huntis vp.

[This is a lively English tune well fitted for dancing, printed in Mr. Chappell's *Popular Music*, i. 60, with much information about the tune and the various words to it. The reader will find a reprint of the first mention of the tune in my *Ballads from Manuscripts* for the Society, vol. i, p. 310. This was “in 1537 when information was sent to the Council against one John Hogon, who had offended against the proclamation of 1533, which was issued to suppress ‘fond books, ballads, rhimes, and other lewd treatises in the English tongue,’ by singing ‘with a crowd or a fyddyll’ a political song to that tune.” (*Pop. Mus.* i. 60.)

Of William Gray—“one *Gray*, what good estimation did he grow vnto with the same king Henry [VIII], and afterward with the Duke of Sommerset, Protectour, for making certaine merry Ballades, whereof one chiefly was *The hunte it [= is] vp, the hunte is vp*”—the reader will find some Birthday Verses to Somerset in my said *Ballads*, p. 311. Religious parodies of *The Hunt is up* are printed at the end of Mr. Halliwell's edition of the moral play of *Wit and Science*, from the Addit. MS. Brit. Mus. 15,233, and in the *Godlie Ballates*, p. 153, ed. D. Laing, 1868: “With huntis vp, with huntis vp.” Any song intended to arouse in the morning, even a love-song, was formerly called a *hunt's-up*. *Chappell.*]

(90) The comout entray.

(91) Lang plat fut of gariau.

(92) Robene hude.

[Captain Cox XXII, p. li. ? Does the translator of the *Roman de la Rose* refer to this dance:

But haddest thou knowen hym beforne,
Thow woldest on a booke have sworne,
Whan thou hym saugh in thylke araye,
That he, that whylome was so gaye,

mentioned in the ballad of John de Reeve, in the *Percy Folio Bal. & Rom.* ii. 579, l. 529. Cotgrave has ‘*Galop gaillard*. The Gallop Galliard; or a Passasalto; or, one pace and a leap;’ and ‘*Balladinerie*: f. High, or lively dancing, as of *Galliards*, *Corantoes*, or *Jigges*.’

³ *Tourdion* the daunce tearmed a Round. *Cotgrave*.

⁴ Webbe mentions *brawls*, as well others of the *Complaynt* dances: “neither is there anie tune or stroke which may be sung or plaide on instruments, which hath not some poetical ditties framed according to the numbers thereof: some to Rogero, some to Trenchmore, to downe right Squire, to *Galliardes*, to *Pavines*, to Iygges, to *Brawles*, to all manner of tunes which euerie Fidler knowes better then my selfe.” 1586. W. Webbe. *A Discourse of English Poetrie*, p. 61, ed. 1870.

⁵ *Dancer les Buffons*. To daunce a morris. *Buffon*: m. A buffoon, ieaster sycophant, merrie fool, sportfull companion; one that liues by making others merrie. *Cotgrave*.

*And of the daunce Jolly Robyn*¹,
Was tho become a Jacobyn.

Romaunt of the Rose (? Chaucer's) l. 7455.

Cotgrave has '*Chanson de Robin*, a merrie and extemporall song, or fashion of singing, whereto one is ever adding somewhat, or may at pleasure adde what he list. . .'

In 1550, Robert Crowley, in his *Voyce of the last Trumpet* (sign. B. ii.), says to 'the lewde or vnlearned priest,'

Gene ouer all thy tippillyng,
Thy tauerne gate, and table playe,
Thy cardes, thy dice, and wyne biblyng,
And learne to walke a sobre waye. . .

But if thou canste do any good,
In teachyng of an A. B. C.
A primar, or else *Robynhode* :
Let that be good pastyme for the.

The old puritan printer and preacher was not, then, a condemner of ballads.]

(93) Thom of lyn.

[Leyden quotes at p. 274, a verse from Forbes's Aberdeen Cantus :—

The pypers drone was out of tune,
Sing *Young Thomlin*,
Be merry, be merry, and twise so merrie,
With the light of the moon.

I suppose this to be the English ballad licensed later to Mr. John Wallye and Mr. Toye in 1557-8, *Stationers' Register A*, leaf 22, (*Collier's Stat. Reg.* i. 4), and quoted by Moros in Wager's Interlude above, p. cxxvii.]

(94) Freris al.

(95) Ennyrnes [= Inverness, Gael. *Ionar nis*].

(96) The loch of slene [= Slyne].

(97) The gosseps dance.

(98) Lewis grene.

[see No. (51), p. cl.]

(99) Makky.

(100) The speyde.

(101) The flail.

(102) The lammes vynde.

(103) Soutra.

[Soutra or Soultra edge forms the watershed between the Forth and the Tweed; and Soutra is a small hamlet on the ridge, on the highroad from Edinburgh to Lauder. *Soutra*, separates the *South countrie* from Lothian.—J. A. H. Murray.]

¹ The French original is

Que cil qui devant soloit estre
De la dance li biaux Robins.

- (104) Cum kyttil me naykyt vantounly.
 (105) Schayke leg fut befor gossep.
 (106) Rank at the rute.
 (107) Baglap and al.
 (108) Ihonne ermistrangis dance.

[The earliest ballad that we have on Johnny Armstrong is an English one, but Mr. Wm. Chappell has not yet found the tune of it. The words are in *Wit restored*, 1658, and in *Wit and Drollery, Jovial Poems*, 1682, called “A Northern Ballet,” beginning:

‘There dwelt a man in fair Westmoreland,
 Johnny Armstrong men did him call;
 He had neither lands nor rents coming in,
 Yet he kept eight score men in his hall.’

Popular Music, i. 260, note.

Another English ballad about this hero is entitled “Johnny Armstrong’s last Good-night; shewing how John Armstrong with his eight-score men fought a bloody battle with the Scotch king at Edenborough, *To a pretty Northern Tune*.” A copy is in the Bagford Collection (643, m. 10, p. 94) printed by and for W. O[nley]: also in *Old Ballads*, 1727, i. 170, and in Evans’s *Old Ballads*, 1810, iii. 101.’ *Pop. Mus.* ii. 776.

But the *Complaynt* dance must have been one named in honour of the great Border plunderer Johnie Armstrong of Gilnockie, who was hung¹ by James V. soon after that king attained his majority in 1524, and about whom Allan Ramsay published a ballad in his *Evergreen*, which he says he took down from the recitation of a gentleman of the name of Armstrong, who was the sixth in descent from the hero. It was printed too in the ‘Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border,’ in R. Chambers’s *Scottish Ballads*, p. 35, &c., &c. How much of the ballad is Ramsay’s writing, no one knows. ‘Jock o’ the Syde was another Armstrong, and there’s a third Johnie Armstrong in ‘Dick o’ the Cow:’ see the Ballads in *Chambers*, p. 40, 46.

In R. Chambers’s *Scottish Songs*, ii. 528, is also an ‘Armstrong’s Good-night’ cookt up from two bits of four lines each found by Burns. He, being a poet, left the bits as he found them. When will his countrymen learn to follow his example, and keep their meddling fingers off their old singers’ remains?]

- (109) The alman haye.

[The Almayne or German haye. The *Hay* was a country-dance, of which the reel was a variety. “In Sir John Davies’s *Orchestra*, ‘He taught them rounds and winding heys to tread.’ (In the margin he explains ‘rounds and winding-heys’ to be country dances.) In *The Dancing Master* the hey is one of the figures of most frequent occurrence. In one country-dance, ‘the women stand still, the men going the hey between them.’ This is evidently winding in and out. In another, two men

¹ See, in Lyndesay’s *Satyre* (ed. E. E. T. Soc.) p. 454, l. 2092–4

Heir is ane coird baith great and lang—
 Quhilk hangit Johnie the Armistrang—
 Of gude hemp, soft and sound.

Mr. Murray says that ‘Johnie the’ is an error for ‘Johnye.’

and one woman dance the hey—like a reel. In a third, three men dance this hey, and three women at the same time—like a double reel. In *Dargason*, where many stand in one long line, the direction is 'the single hey, all handing as you pass, till you come to your places.' When the hand was given in passing, it was always so directed; but the hey was more frequently danced without 'handing.' In 'the square dance,' the two opposite couples dance the single hey twice to their places, the woman standing before her partner at starting. When danced by many in a circle, if hands were given, it was like the 'grande chaîne' of a quadrille." *Pop. Mus.* ii. 629.]

(110) The bace of voragon.

(111) Dangeir.

(112) The beye.

(113) The dede dance.

[Not known, I believe, in Scotland; but it is, no doubt, either the tune referred to in *Hawkins* (see below) or 'The Doleful Dance and Song of Death,' of which the tune, and a late Ballad, are printed by Mr. Chappell in his *Popular Music*, i. 85. The tune is also called 'The Shaking of the Sheet,' and 'is frequently mentioned by writers in the 16th and 17th centuries, both as a country dance and as a ballad tune.' In the recently-discovered play of *Misogonus*, produced about 1560, *The Shaking of the Sheets*, *The Vicar of St. Fools*, and *the Catching of Quails*, are mentioned as country dances. . . The tune is also mentioned in Lilly's *Pappe with a Hatchet*, 1589; in Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse*, 1579; by Rowley, Middleton, Taylor the water-poet, Marston, Massinger, Heywood, Dekker, Shirley, &c., &c. 'There are two tunes under this name, the one in William Ballet's Lute-Book, which is the same as [that] printed by Sir John Hawkins in his *History of Music* (vol. ii. p. 934, 8vo edit.); the other, and in all probability the more popular one, is contained in numerous publications from *The Dancing Master* of 1650-51, to the *Vocal Enchantress* of 1783.' *Pop. Mus.* i. 84.]

(114) The dance of kylrynn.

(115) The vod and the val.

(116) Schaik a trot.

Than, quhen this dansing vas dune, tha departit and past to cal there scheip to ther scheip cottis. thai bleu vp there bagpipis. than the bel veddar for blythtnes bleyttit rycht fast, and the rammis raschit there heydis to gyddir. than the laif of ther fat flokkis follouit on the fellis, baytht zouis and lammis, kebbis¹, and dailis², gylmyrs³ and dilmondis⁴, and mony herueist hog⁵. than i departit fra that companye.

¹ ewes, the lambs of which have died soon after being produced.

² ewes which miss conceiving and are fattened for eating.

³ ewes two years old.

⁴ wethers more than twelve months old.

⁵ hog, a young sheep before it has lost its first fleece, termed *harvest-hog* from being smeared at the end of harvest, when it ceases to be called a lamb. *Leyden*.

The list of Songs in the *Complaynt* is so much longer than that in *Laneham's Letter* that some readers might suspect that Scotland was far richer in ballads and songs¹ in the 17th century, than England; but a perusal of Mr. Wm. Chappell's *Popular Music* will soon cure them of this opinion. Pre-Reformation Scotland was, no doubt, as prolific of songs and ballads—relatively to its population—as England. Andrew Boorde says that the Scotchmen (of about 1540 A.D.) “be hardy men, and well faoured, and stronge men, & good musycyons; in these .iiii. qualytès they be moost lyke, aboue all other nacions, to an Englyshe man.” (*Introduction*, p. 137, ed. F. J. F. 1870.) The ballads of one country were sung in the other: at least 7 of the Scotch list are English ballads: two of Captaiu Cox's are possibly Scotch, or at least Northern. Compare, too, in the extract that Dauney gives, in his *Ancient Scottish Melodies*, from the accounts of the Lords High Treasurers,

- 1489, Jul. 10. Item, to Inglis pyparis that cum to the castel yet, and playit to the king, viij. li.² viij s.
 1491, Aug. 21. Item to iiij. Inglis pyparis, viij. unicorns, vij. li. iiij. s.
 1503, Aug. 13. Item to viij Inglis menstrales, be the kingis command, xl. french crownis, xxviij. l.
 Item, to the trumpetis of England, xxviij. l.
 Item, to the Erle of Oxfordis tua menstrales, xxviij. l.
 1504. Item, to tua Inglise wemen that sang in the Kingis pailzeoune, xxiiij. s.

But after the Reformation, the ballad-life was crusht out of Scotland, though it flourisht in England. Knox's followers discouraged ballads and music by every means in their power, and procured the passing of a series of Acts, punishing the singers of ballads. Here are a few samples, sent me by Mr. Wm. Chappell, from Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*:

In 1574. “Pipers, fiddlers, and minstrels are unceremoniously classed together as vagabonds, and threatened with severe penalties, should they venture into the city” [of Glasgow] “in contraven-

¹ All ballads are songs, because they are meant to be sung; but all songs are not ballads, because songs proper are not verse narratives meant for the common people, and meant for recitation as much as music, as ballads are, but lyrical expressions of feeling, meant only to be sung. A *balade* was originally a poem of three stanzas, all having the same burden, followed by an Envoy.

² A Scotch pound was a crown, of 5s.

tion of the act."—Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, V. 1, p. 92.

An. 1574. "At this date he" [the Regent Morton] "induced the Privy Council to issue an edict that 'nane tak upon hand to emprent or sell whatsoever book, ballet, or other werk,' without its being examined and licensed, under pain of *death, & confiscation of goods.*"—(*Ditto*, p. 94.)

12 Aug. 1579. "Twa poets of Edinburgh, remarking some of his [the Earl of Morton's] sinistrus dealing, did publish the same to the people, by a famous libel written against him; & Morton, hearing of this, causit the men to be brought to Stirling, where they were convict for slandering ane of the king's councillors, & were there baith hangit. The names of the men were William Turnbull, schoolmaster in Edinburgh, and William Scot, notar. They were baith weel belovit of the common people for their common offices."—(*Quoted in ditto*, p. 125.)

"At the fall of Morton, less than two years after, when he was taken prisoner and conducted to Edinburgh Castle, as he passed the Butter Tron, a woman who had her husband put to death at Stirling for a ballad entitled *Daff, & dow nothing* [as much as to say, '*Sport, and be at your ease*'] sitting down on her bare knees, poured out many imprecations upon him."—(*Ditto*, same page.)

[*Still 1579.*] "The estates passed an act against 'strang and idle beggars,' and 'sic as make themselves fules, *and are bards,* . . . 'minstrels, sangsters, and tale tellers, not avowed in special service by some of the lords of parliament or great burghs,' and vagabond *scholars of the universities* of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen,' "Two poets hanged in August, and an act of Parliament against bards and minstrels in October; truly, it seems to have been sore times for the tuneful tribe."—(*Ditto*, p. 131.)

THE BALLAD OF "BALOW."

While on the subject of English and Scotch Ballads, I take the opportunity of printing the only two known hitherto-unprinted copies of *Balow*, which Mr. David Laing of Edinburgh has been kind enough to send me from Pinkerton's 4to. MS.¹ that now belongs to him. One of these copies, '*Palmer's Balow*,' is a ver-

¹ This is the MS. of which Ritson says in his *Scotish Songs*, vol. i. p. cix, note (108), "The editor of *Select Scotch ballads* pretends, that in a quarto manuscript in his possession, 'containing a collection of poems, by different hands, from the reign of queen Elizabeth to the middle of the last [17th] century, when it was apparently written, there are two *balowes*, as they are there stiled, the first, *The balow, Allon*, the second, *Palmer's balow.*'"

sion of the genuine old *Balow*; the other, 'The *Balow: Allane*,' is a poorer and later affair. See Evans's *Old Ballads*, 1810, 'the New *Balow*.'

The cause of my asking Mr. Laing for these copies, was this. In the *Percy Folio Ballads and Romances*, vol. iii. p. 516-523, we printed for the first time the only three MS. copies of the genuine *Balow* that had ever been in type in an uncooked state¹. In the Introduction to the ballad, p. 518-19, Mr. Wm. Chappell stated that *Balow* was a 16th century ballad, not a 17th; that it was English, not Scotch; and that Watson in Part III. of his *Comic and Serious Scots Poems*, Edinburgh, 1713, was the first to claim for Lady Anne Bothwell 'the particular honour of having been the wench of' his version of 'The new *Balow*; or, a Wenches Lamentation for the loss of her Sweetheart: he having left her a babe to play with, being the fruits of her folly.' Mr. Chappell further showed on the evidence of one of two stanzas added in Watson's Scotch version, and not in any English copy, that it was ridiculous to suppose that this Scotch addition, or the poem in which it was found, referred to Lady Anne Bothwell or any lady of rank. "In the second [stanza] we find the inducement supposed to have been offered by Lady Anne's lover:

I was too credulous at the first
To grant thee that a maiden durst,
And in thy bravery thou didst vaunt
That I no maintenance should want [!]"

Out of Watson's own mouth then, *his* attribution of the Ballad, at any rate, to Lady Anne Bothwell, was shown to be absurd. But this pricking of the Bothwell bubble by Mr. Chappell raised the bile of either Messrs. Ogle of Glasgow, or some shopman of theirs whom they employed to write notes to their new reprint of Watson's *Collection* in 1868; and in a very impertinent tone the said shopman attacked Mr. Chappell and his argument. The man seems to have felt acutely that Scotland's honour had been wounded by a little truth; 'yet he knew so little of his subject as to suppose Evans's *Collection of Old Ballads*, printed in 1811, of equal date and authority with the originals in the Roxburghe *Collection*.' It is needless to say that he does not move an inch Mr. Chappell's strong point, that the tune of *Balow*,—which

¹ Of the Percy Folio copy, I hold the 5th and 6th stanzas to be clearly later insertions.

implies the words—is in two 16th century English music-books, and that both tune and words are in two other English music-books of 1649 and 1658, while the words are in Bp. Percy's Folio MS. of, say, 1645–50. Against this, the only Scotch evidence is the report that Mr. Kirkpatrick Sharpe (Walter Scott's contemporary) said he had heard that the Ballad applied to Lady Anne Bothwell. This rumour is not worth serious notice. The appearance of the ballad in Pinkerton's 4to MS. belonging to Mr. Laing, —which he considers, as Pinkerton did, to be of about 1650—so far from being evidence in favour of the Scotch origin of the ballad, is against it; for, says Mr. Laing, "There is nothing in the MS to indicate when or where it was written." Had it been written in Scotland, the Scotch mark of dialect at least, if not of handwriting, would have been unmistakably on the MS. That being absent, we may safely conclude that the MS is English, as the ballad of *Balow* is. Even if we grant the *à priori* probability that a woman's lament over her seduction and desertion would belong to Scotland, the MS. evidence is yet clearly in favour of the ballad being English, as its language is. But annexed ballads, like annexed territories, and stolen waters, are sweet: and doubtless Scotch balladists will not be ready to give up *Balow*. The most profitable question hereafter will be, who shall gain the best title to it by admiring it most, for 'singularly beautiful,' 'most touching,' it is.

PALMER'S BALOW.

[*Pinkerton MS.* 4to p. 48. *On the margin Pinkerton writes "Lady Bothwell's Lament. Ball. 2. 194."*]

Balow my babe, ly still and sleepe!
 It greves me sore to see thé weepe!
 If thow wert quyet, I wold be glade;
 Thy murneinge makes thy mother sade!
 Balow, my boy, thy mother's ioy;
 Thy father bred me great annoy!
 Balow!

¹And thow, my darleinge, sleep awhyle,
 And when thow walkest, sueetlie smyle!
 O doe not smyle as thy father did
 To Cousinge² maides: nay God forbid!

¹ This stanza is like the third of the Addit. MS. 10, 337.

² cozen.

But yet I feare that thow wilt leare¹
Thy father's face and hart to¹ beare :
Balow !

²When he begane to court my loue,
And with his sugared wordes to move,
His fained tongue and flatteringe chearo
That tyme to me did not apeire ;
But now I see that crevell³ he
Caires nather for my babe nor me.
Balow !

Fairweell, fairweell, the falsest youthe
That ever kist a womans mouthe !
Let never maiden efter me
Commit hir to thy curtasio !
For crevell⁴ thow, if once she bowe,
Wilt her abuse ; thow caires not how.
Balow !

I cannot chuse, but ever will
Be loucinge to thy father still,
Though cuninge he procured my hart,
That can in no wayes from him pairt.
In weell or woe, whare ere he goe,
My hart sull never pairt him fro !
Balow !

⁵Heir, by my greeff, I wowe and sueare,
Thé, and all vthers, to forbear.
I'le never kise, nor cull, nor clape,
But lull my younglinge in my lape.
Hart, doe not greeve ! leave off to murno !
And sleepe securelie, hart, allone !
[Balow.]

[*Pinkerton's 4to MS. p. 46. His scarcely legible note in the margin says : "This in Ramsay is mingled with the following (Palmer's Balow) except a few stanzas."*]

THE BALOW. ALLANE.

Balow my babe, frowne not on me,
Who still will weepe for wronginge thé,
Till from myne eyes a sea sall flow,
To saile my soule from mortall woe
To that immortall mirtall shore,
Where greeff slane ghosts can greeve no more.
Balow, Balow, Balow, Balow !

¹ better readings than the *heare* and *still* of the Addit. MS. 10, 37.

² This is the 2nd stanza of the Addit. MS. copy.

³ cruel. ⁴ for crewell, cruel.

⁵ Marginal note by Pinkerton : "Wanting in Dr. Percy's edition." It's in both Gamble's copy and the Addit. MS. 10,337. *Percy Fol. Bal. & Rom.* ii. 516-17.

The Ballad of "Balow."

Be still my sad-one! spare those teares
 To weepe when thow hast witt and yeares!
 Thy greeffs are gatheringe to a sum,
 God send thé patience when they cum!
 Borne to Bewaile a father's shame,
 A Mother's fall, a bastard's name!
 Balow &c.

Balow, my deare! thy feathles dade,
 When he thé prodigall had mead,
 Of gudes and oathes regairdles, he
 Preferr'd the warrs to thé and me;
 Whare now, perhaps, thy curse and myne
 Makes him eate accornes with the swyne.
 Balow!

Yet peace, my comfort! curse not him,
 Who now in sea of greeff doth sweim,
 Perhaps of death, for who can tell,
 Wither the iudge of heavin and hell
 By some predest[i]ned deadlie lead,
 Revengeinge me, hath struke him dead?
 Balow!

And were I neir the fattall boundes
 Where he lyes gasping in his woundes;
 Repeatinge, as he pantes for breath,
 Hir name, that woundes more deep then death,
 And therwith dies: what hart so stronge
 But wold forgiue the greatest wronge?
 Balow!

If lininge¹ lack, for that loues sake
 Which once I bore him I wold make
 My smoake vnto his body meit,
 A[nd] wrap him in that winding sheet!
 Ay me! how hapy had I bein
 If he had nèir bein wrap't therin!
 Balow!

Balow, my babe! when thou hast yeares,
 Forget thy Mother, scorne hir teares,
 Thy birth denay, thy freindes deride,—
 It's but a courtlie trick of pryde,—
 Then mayest thou ryse, my sone, to be
 A courtier, by disclameinge me.
 Balow!

The copy of *Balow* in Ritson's *Scottish Songs*, i. 158, ed. 1794, like that in Herd's *Scottish Songs, etc.*, i. 65, ed. 1869, is in 13 stanzas, 9 of which are spurious; that in Pinkerton's *Select*

¹ for linnen.

Scotish Ballads, i. 59, has only 4 verses, the last being spurious, and all scotified.

I have now ended the list of work I set myself: to sketch hastily the stories of the books and ballads on which an Englishman of Shakespere's class and time tells us he was trained, and contrast them with those of a more educated Scotchman of a generation earlier. Of the Ballads of England the history has been written by Mr. Wm. Chappell. The Ballads of Scotland have, unluckily, not yet found their Chappell, so far as I know¹, the man who will honestly give us chapter and verse for every assertion, will go no further than his authorities warrant, and will expose the falsifications and forgeries of the men who have tampered with and invented many of their old ballads, real and unreal. Honest prints of all their old musical and ballad MSS.—however few—are much wanted, as these are evidence. We've had enough of Allan Ramsay, Watson, Buchan, and Co.

To trace the history of Kenilworth is no part of my task²—for that I refer to Dugdale, and the many copiers of him: as for its present state, I refer to Mr. Knowles's excellent photographs in his new edition of *Laneham*: to discuss the character of Leicester or his great Queen Elizabeth—great in spite of all her littlenesses—I do not purpose, much as I like to fancy our aftercomers setting Victorian England by the side of Elizabethan, and judging it worthy to be there. But, having spent this spring and summer in the sunshine and the glad light green of our fair native land, I cannot but dwell a while, in thought at least, on the bright days of our author during his happy stay in Warwickshire, a county lit for us all by a light of glory kindled in his time, and that will never die so long as our race lasts. Truly one understands the German soldier's quiet words to his comrade lately on the Rhine: "We are not worthy to be a nation, if we let the French take this from us." So felt the Elizabethans when the Armada was near; so the Georgians when the first Napoleon threatened; so the

¹ Of course I trust Mr. Laing and Mr. Maidment.

² I add in an Appendix, p. 63, the Survey of Kenilworth in Henry VIII's time, from the Cotton MS. Vespasian, F ix. It's in Dugdale, etc.

Victorian volunteers when the Colonels of the third Napoleon planned to plunder London. But what are our 170,000 to the two millions wanted? Where is our statesman to make us an armed nation? Where is our Moltke to organize our defence? May the splendid example that Prussian patriotism has set us, teach us to make sure, that a like fate to that which awaits Louis Napoleon's soldiers shall meet the foe that sets 'one foot¹' on our soil!

EGHAM,
August 21, 1870.

P.S.—The proof of the forgotten lines above comes on March 31, 1871, and makes me glad that I did not doubt Germany's triumph, much as I grieve over the present state of Paris. But, to return to Laneham:—

In exchange for the use of my description of Captain Cox's books, Mr. Knowles has been kind enough to give the Society copies of his map or plan of Kenilworth, reengraved from *Kenilworth Illustrated*, in order that our Members may be able to follow on it Laneham's description of the place. Mr. Knowles has also given us the following note on Elizabeth's reception at the Castle. She entered by the North-west Gate, from Warwick:—

"Besides postern gates (through the North-western one of which the Queen crossed 'the fayr tymbred bridge,' on July 11, 1575, 'too hunt the Hart of fors') there were not more than two entrance-gates to the Castle.

1. The fine portal under the keep opened originally on to the Redfen Lane. But it was now reduced in importance by Leicester, who, to make the Castle garden *private*, had shifted the great north entrance eastward, building his new stately Gateway near Lunn's Tower (see map), and forming aviaries in the Northern towers of the outer wall (see below).

2. Elizabeth came into the Castle by the entrance from Warwick, which was less altered. The floodgate or Gallery Tower had been rebuilt by Leicester, who had also (probably) widened the great dam, and made a broadish roadway on it.

¹ The French boast after Saarbruck.

The map will show Mortimer's Tower, an interesting building (1200-1223), which Leicester had left untouched. Here the Lady of the Lake meets Elizabeth, who, having thanked her, passes through to the eastern gateway close under Cæsar's Tower, along the edge of the original Norman ditch, which was now 'a dry valley.' Part of this fosse happily yet remains, as is said below, though Hawkesworth, when he dismantled the Castle (ab. 1650), filled up two-thirds of it with the wreck of Henry the Eighth's building."

P.P.S.—Since these lines were written, *i. e.* during the present year (1871), the foundations and some exceedingly fine fragments of a third chapel have been discovered. It stood in the lower or Eastern outer Bailey; and its dimensions were about 100 feet by 50 (outside measurement). A jamb-base of the Sedilia and a simple string-course are still in site. All that has been found is of rather Early Decorated work, say about 1330 A.D. Edward III was at Kenilworth in December, 1329, as a charter granted to the Cistercian Abbey at Stoneleigh proves.—E. H. K.

NOTES TO FOREWORDS.

Page x.—The first modern edition of Laneham's *Letter* was printed at Warwick in 1784.

2. In Nichols's *Progresses of Q. Eliz.* vol. i., 1788.

3. Printed for G. H. Burn in 1821.

4. In *Kenilworth Illustrated*, 1821.

5. Again in 2nd edit. vol. i. of Nichol's *Prog. of Q. E.* (1823).

6. A reprint of Burn's edit. in *Kenilworth Festivities* in 1825.

7. Hotten's modernised reprint.

8. Amye Robsart and the Earl of Leicester; a Critical Inquiry into the Authenticity of the various Statements in relation to the Death of Amye Robsart, and of the Libels on the Earl of Leicester, with a vindication of the Earl by his nephew Sir Philip Sydney, with a History of Kenilworth Castle, including an account of the Splendid Entertainment given to Queen Elizabeth by the Earl of Leicester, in 1575, from the Works of Robert Laneham and George Gascoigne; together with Memoirs and Correspondence of Sir Robert Dudley, Son of the Earl of Leicester. By GEORGE ADLARD, author of "The Sutton-Dudleys of England," &c. 8vo, pp. 368, with plates, cloth. 12s.

Nichols, in the 2nd ed. of *Q. E. Prog.*, extracts nearly the whole of Burn's Preface and most of Burn's notes, with an acknowledgment.

Page xi. *Progresses*.—Here is Hall's account of Henry VIII's first, in 1510:—

"From thence the whole Courte remoued to Wyndesore, than begynnyng his progresse, exercisyng hym self daily in shoting, singing, daunsyng, wrastelyng, casting of the barre, playyng at the recorders, flute, virginals, and in setting of songes, makyng of balettes, & dyd set .ii. goodly masses, euery of them fyue partes, whiche were sange oftentimes in hys chapel, and afterwardes in diuerse other places. And whan he came to Okyng [? Woking] there were kept both Iustes and Turneys: the rest of thys progresse was spent in huntyng, hawkyng, and shotyng."—*Hall's Chronicle*, p. 515, ed. 1809.

Page xxxii, l. 19, and note 4. *The boke of nurture*.—Jackson's edition of Hewe Rodes in 1577 was probably the sixth: "The Boke of Nurture, or Schoole of good maners for men Seruants and children, with Stans puer ad mensam. Newly corrected, &c." In my reprint I gave some collations of the second known edition, by Petyt,—from the imperfect copy in the Bodleian,—and of the

3rd known edition by Thomas Colwell, and the 4th by Abraham Veale, from Mr. Corser's unique copies, which he kindly lent me. Of the 5th edition by Thomas East in 1568, Lord Ashburnham has a copy, and I need not say that I have not seen it: he buys his books "for his own gratification, not for other people to look at." Of the first edition, about 1530, Mr. W. C. Hazlitt reports a copy to be in the possession of a Cornish gentleman, Mr. Robartes, "Imprynted at London in Southwarke by me Johan Redman." The 8th edition was perhaps 'The booke of Nurture' licensed to Thomas Easte on the 12th March, 1581-2.—Collier's *Extracts*, ii. 160.

Page xxxvii. *Olyuer of the Castl.*—Mr. F. W. Cosens says: In the Spanish translation of Ticknor by Gayangos and Védia, vol. i, p. 523, is the following note: "Of *El Rey Artus*, or more correctly, 'La historia de los nobles cavalleros Oliveros de Castilla y Artus de Algarve,' we have before us a copy printed at Burgos in 1499, an edition unknown to Mendez. It is in folio, with wood engravings. On the last leaf is printed, 'To the praise and glory of our redeemer Jesus Christ and of the blessed virgin Holy Mary. The present work was finished in the very noble and loyal city of Burgos the twenty-fifth day of May, year of our redemption 1499.' (In gothic letter, double columns.)

"Besides the editions cited by Brunet, 1501 and 1604, there is one by Cromberger, Seville, 20 November, 1510, folio, in double columns, without pagination, 34 leaves, Gothic letter (letra de tórtis), but of a different shape to that of the 1499 edition. In the earlier editions it is stated that the work was translated out of the Latin into the French tongue by "Felipe Comus," licenciado 'in utroque,' but in those of the 18th and later it is attributed to a certain Pedro de la Floresta."

Page xliii.—No. XVI. *The Castle of Ladiez.* Mr. Hy. Huth has, with his usual kindness, lent me his copy of *The Cyte of Ladyes*; but there is nothing in it to identify it with Laneham's *Castle of Ladiez* except that it is all about virtuous ladies, and that the 'Cyte' in the woodcut on the title-page, before which two ladies stand, is that of a castle or large tower, perhaps part of the city-wall. The book is a translation of the French work of Cristine de Pise, printed in 1496, *Le trésor de la cité des dames (contenant plusieurs histoires et enseignemens notables aux roys, roynes, princesses et chevaliers, etc.) selon dame Cristine.* Colophon: "Cy finist le tresor . . . imprime a Paris, le viij iour daoust mil quatre cens quatre vingtz et xvij pour Anthoine Verard . . . in fol. goth."—Brunet. Cristine, taking up a book by Matheolus who did 'not speke well of the reuerence of women'—perhaps

Le livre de Matheolus
qui nous monstre sans varier

les biens et aussi les vertus
qui viennent pour soi marier etc. (Paris, 1492)—

'made grete meruayle . . . what myght be the cause, and wherof it myght come, that so many dyuers men, clerkes and others, haue ben, and ben, enclnyed to say by mouthe / & in theyr treatyse and wrytynges, so many slaunders and blames of women and of theyr condycyons . . . that *the* condycyons of women ben fully enclnyed to all vyces.'" Cristine, having examined herself 'as a woman naturall,' and discust the matter with her friends, is foret to the conclusion '*that* god made a foule thyng when he fourned woman.' This troubles her much, and she dreams that three Ladies, Reason, Righteousness, and Justice, appear to her, argue against her conclusion, and say to her

We be come to tell the of a certayne buyldyng made in the manere of a cloystre of a Cyte strongly wrought by masons handes & well buylded / whiche is predestynate to the for to make and to stable it by our helpe and counsayle / in the whiche shall none enhabyte but onely ladyes of good fame / and women worthy of praysynges. For to them where vertue shall not be founde / the walles of our Cyte shall be strongly shytted. (sign. Cc.j.)

The City is a metaphorical one; the foundations are to be dug with the pickaxe of understanding, by asking questions of Reason as to women's nature and state. Woman is shown to be 'ryght a noble thyng,' and Cato's unpolite remark 'that the woman *that* pleaseth a man naturally resembleth the rose, whiche is pleasaunt to se / but *the* thorne is vnder, & prycketh' is explained to mean, that a good woman 'is one of the plesauntest thynges *that* is to se,' but the thorn is only for herself, 'the thorne of drede to do amysse' (sign. Ee. j.). Many good women are then described, Mary the mother of Christ, 'Mary Magdaleyne & Martha her syster,' 'the Empresse Nychole and dyuers noble quenes and pryncesses of Fraunce, the quene Fredegonde, Semyramys, the Amozones, the quene of Amozonye (Thamaris). Howe the stronge Hercules & Theseus wente vpon the Amozones, and howe the .ij. ladyes Menalope and Ipolyte had almoost ouercome them (cap. 18). Of the quene Pantassylea, howe she wente to the socours of Troye; of Cenobye, quene of Palmurenes'; Lylye, mother of *that* good knyght Thyerrys; quene Fredegonde, the mayde Camylle, quene Veronycle of Capadoce, the noble Archemyse, quene of Carye, and of the hardynesse of Cleolis. Then of the women that were enlumyned of grete scyences: the noble mayde Cornyfy (cap. 28), Probe the Romyne, Sapho poete and phylosophre (cap. 30), the mayde Manthoa, Medea and another quene named Cyrtes. Then of the women that of themselves 'founde ony thyng . . . that was not knowne before: Nycistrate, otherwyse called Carmentis (cap. 33); Mynerne that founde many scyences / and the

manere to make Armour of Iron and steele; the ryght noble quene Seres; and the noble quene Ises, that founde fyrste the crafte to make Orcharde, and to plante plantes. Then 'of the grete welthe that is come to the worlde by dyuers ladyes (cap. 37-8) . . . the mayden Arenye, that founde the crafte to shere sheepe / to dresse the wolles / and to make clothe; Pamphyle, that founde the crafte to drawe sylke of the wormes (cap. 40); Thamar, that was a souerayne maystresse in the crafte of payntyng / and . . . Irayne; and Semproyne.' Next of the 'naturall prudence in woman: of Gaye Cyrle (cap. 45), Dydo quene of Cartage, Opys, Lauyne, doughter of the kynge Latyn.' These end the first Book, and Reason's talk to Cristine.

The second Book contains Ryghtwysnesse (or Righteousness)'s account of good women, those who are to form 'good buyldyng & hyghe palaces / royal & noble mansyons of these excellento ladyes of grete worship and renowne, [whi]che shal be lodged in this cyte / & shal abyde perpetually fro hens forth.' 1. those of souerayne dygnyte hyghly fulfylled of Sapyence,' the .x. Sybylles, also of Sybylle Erytee, and Sybylle Almethea; of dyuers ladyes (cap. 4), also of Nycistrate / and of Cassandra / and of the quene Basyne; of Anthoynce that became Empresse: of doughters that loued fader & moder, & fyrst of Drypetue (cap. 8), also of Isyphyle, of the vyrgyne Caudyne, of a woman that gaue her moder sowke in pryson (cap. 11). Next of the 'grete loue of women to theyr housbandes: of the quene Ipsytrace, the Empresse Tryarye, quene Archemyse; Argyue, doughter of the kynge Adrastus; the noble lady Agryppyne; the noble lady Julye, doughter of Julyus Cezar / & wyfe of the prynce Pompee (cap. 19); the noble lady Tyerce Emulyen; Zancyppe, wyfe of the phylosophre Socrates (cap. 21); Pompay paulyne, wyfe of seneke; the noble Sulpyce; also of dyuers ladyes togyder that respyted theyr housbandes from the dethe' (cap. 24). Next, how wrong it is to say that 'women can kepe no counsayle,' and here 'of Poreya, doughter of Catho; of the noble lady Curya,' and of a Roman woman in Nero's time. Then, what a mistake it is to 'say that a man is a fole that byleueth the counsayle of his wyfe, & taketh ony trust to it,' with instances 'of men to whom it hathe well sewed of byleuyng of theyr wyues' (cap. 29). Then 'of the grete welthe that is come to the worlde, & cometh all day, bycause of women. Also of Judyth the noble wydowe, quene Hester, the ladyes of Sabyne, Veturye,' and 'the quene of Fraunce, Clotylde. Also agaynst them that say that it is not good that women lerne letters . . . and that there ben but fewe women chast; & speketh of Susau, of Sarra, Rebecca, Ruth, Penolope, Maryamyre, & of Anthoynce wyfe of Druse Tyber. Also agaynst them that saye that women wyll be wyfully rauysshed of men / ensamples dyuers / & fyrst of

Lucesse; also of *the* quene of Gawsrees, *the* Sycambres & other maydens.' Next, against the inconstancy of women, Ryghtwynesse cites examples 'of the inconstaunce of dyuers Emperors; also of Nero', Galba, and others. But of women's constancy, 'Grysylde, marquyse of Saluce, a stronge woman in vertue (cap. 50); Florence of Rome; and the wyfe of Barnabo the Geneuoyes. Then, how it is not true that 'there are but fewe women praysable in the lyfe of loue;' citing 'Dydo, quene of Cartage, to the purpose of stable loue in a woman'; also Medea, Tysbe the mayde, Hero, Sysmonde daughter of the prynce of Salerne, Lyzabeth & other louers, Juno & other worshypful ladyes' (cap. 60). Next is an answer 'agaynst those *that* sayth *that* women draweth men to them by theyr Jolytees: Of Claudyne, woman of Rome;' yet 'Howe *that* he lyeth not *that* sayth *that* some women delyteth them in fayre clothyng or araye (cap. 63). Of quene Blaunche, moder of saynt Lewes, & other good women loued for theyr vertues.' Lastly, that women are not by nature 'scarce and covetouse' as witness '*the* ryche lady, & lyberall, Buyse; and pryncesses & ladyes of Fraunce' (cap. 67).

The Third Part 'speketh howe & by whome the hyghe batylmentes of *the* towres of *the* Cyte of Ladyes were performed / & what noble ladyes were chosen for to dwelle in *the* hyghe & grete palays and hyghe dongeons.' They are the chief Women-Saints, described by the lady Justice: Mary, 'quene of heuen; the systers of oure Lady, Mary Magdaleyne, saynt(s) Katheryne, Margarete, Luce (of Rome), Martyne, Luce (of Syracuse), Justyne & other vyrgynes, the blessyd Theodosyne, Barbara, Dorothe, *Christine*; also dyuers sayntes whiche sawe theyr chyl dren martyred before them; also saynt Maryne the vyrgyne, Eufrosyne, Anastase & her felawes,' and among the others, the iij. systers vyrgynes, Agappe, Thyonne, Hyrene (x. 6, back); saynt Theodore, the noble Athalye (or Natalye), saynt Affre,' and 'dyuers noble ladyes whiche serued & herbourd *the* apostles & other dyuers sayntes' (cap. 18). Lastly, 'in *the* ende of this boke *Christine* speketh to the Ladyes,' telling them that 'nowe is our Cyte well accheued and made parfyte . . . that the matter wherof it is made is all of vertue,' exhorting them to be humble, obedient, chaste, and pure, guarding themselves against the wiles of men, who strive to snare them 'as one dothe to take wylde beestes':—

And thus that it please you, my ryght redoubted ladyes, to drawe to the vertues, and flee vyces, to encrease and multelye our Cyte / and ye to reioyce in well doynge. And me, your seruaunt, to be recommended vnto you in praynge god, whiche by his grace in this worlde graunte me for to lyue / and perseuer in his holy seruyce / and at the ende to be pyteous to my grete defaultes / and graunte bothe vnto you and me the Ioye whiche endure[th] enermore. AMEN. (I. Finis.

Surely a good book for Captain Cox and Robert Laneham to have. Let us believe that it was the Captain's *Castle of Ladies*. Its colophon, under a woodcut of two women, and between borders, is "¶ Here endeth the thyrde and the last partye of the boke of the Cyte of Ladyes. ¶ Imprynted at London in Poules chyrchyarde at the sygne of the Trynyte by Henry Pepwell. In the yere of our lorde .M. CCCC. xxj. The .xxvj. day of October. And the .xij. yere of the reygne of our souerayne lorde kynge Henry the .viij." On the back of the leaf is Pepwell's monogram, a large woodcut of the Trinity, with elaborate borders all round.

Page lxxxv. *The Ship of Fooles*.—Mr. W. Paterson of Princes St., Edinburgh, announces as in preparation a reprint of Alexander Barclay's *Shyp of Fooles* from Pynson's edition of 1509, with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary by T. H. Jamieson, and 112 Woodcuts reproduced in facsimile from the Basle edition in Latin of 1497, by John T. Reid, Artist. (P.S. I am dismayed to see that Warton in his *History of English Poetry* (§ 28, vol. iii. p. 193, ed. Hazlitt, etc., 1871) has made the same extract from *The Ship of Fools* that I have. The Book-Fool tempted both Warton and me.)

Page cxxviii, note ¹.—Here follows the moralized "Com ouer the Boorne, Besse," from Ritson's MS, which he gave to the British Museum.

[Addit. MS. 5665, leaf 143 back.]

Come ouer þ^e burne, besse,
þou lytyll praty besse!
com ouer the burne, besse, to me!

The burne is þis worlde blynde
& besse is mankynde;
so propyr I can none fynde as she.

she dauncys & lepys,
& crist stondys & clepys:
cum ouer the burne, besse, to me!
Cum ouer the burne, besse,
þou lytyll praty besse,
cum ouer the burne, besse, to me!

The original (says Mr. Chappell) is "A Songe betwene the Quenes Majestie and England," a duet between England and Queen Elizabeth, under the name of Bessy. Each stanza consists

of four lines, and they are marked alternately E. and B. The first verse is :

“E. Come over the born, Bessy, come over the born, Bessy,
Swete Bessy come over to me,
And I shal the take, and my dere Lady make,
Before all other that ever I see.”

23 verses. “Finis. q. Wylliam Birche.” “Imprinted at London by William Pickeringe, dwellyng under Saynt Magnus Church.” A copy in the library of the Society of Antiquaries. See Catalogue of Broad-sides, p. 17.

Page cxxxii. *Bagford and the Caxton Prognostication*.—“Bagford’s collection of printed Titles etc. (although mostly stolen from the Univ. Lib. Camb. and elsewhere) is certainly of value. His MS. Titles, and his remarks about Caxton and other printers, serve, as Dibdin truly said, only to mislead. His ‘prodnostication,’ printed by Caxton, 1493, is all fudge, like many other works he attributed to the same printer.”—William Blades.

P. xxii, No. IV. *Beuys of Hampton*.—A shilling abstract in modern prose, *The Romance of Sir Bevis of S. Hamtown, Newly done into English Prose from the Metrical Version of the Auchinleck MS*, by Eustace H. Jones has just been ‘publisht by H. M. Gilbert xxxvij Bernard St. and A. Randle cxxxix & cxi High St. Southampton.’ Mr. Jones doesn’t know much about Early English, but his book may be handy to many who can’t get at the original.

P. cxlii, No. 14. *Hercules*.—In Lilly’s Sale Catalogue (Sotheby’s, 1871) p. 139 is this entry: “1313. Hercules. The Birthe of Hercules. A Comedye. Manuscript of the XVIth Century, with directions for the actors in Latin and English on margins. Sæc. xvi (circa 1595). In all probability this is the first part of Martin Slaughter’s Play of Hercules, said to have been acted in 1598 by the Lord Admiral’s Servants, but of which no copy is now known.”

VNTOO MY GOOD FREEND, MA-
ster Humfrey Martin, Mercer.

A Fter my hartie commendacionz, I commende mee hartily too yoo. Vnderstande yée, that sins through God & good fréends, I am placed at Coourt héer (as yée wot) in a woorshipfull¹ room: whearby I am not onlie acquainted with the most, and well knoen too the best, and euery officer glad of my company: but also haue pour, a dayz, (while the Councell sits not,) to go and too sée things sight worthy, and too bée prezent at any sheaw or spectacl, only whear this Progressse reprinted vnto her highness: And of part of which sportez, hauing takin sum notez and obseruationz, (for I can not bée idl at ony hand in the world,) az well too put fro me suspition of sluggardy, az too pluk from yoo doout of ony my forgetfulnes of fréendship: I haue thought it méet too impart them vntoo yoo, az frankly, az fréendly, and az fully az I can. Well wot yée the blak Prins² waz neuer stained with disloyaltee of ingratitude towarde ony: I* dare bée his warrant hee [p. 2.] will not beginne with yoo, that hath at hiz hand so déeplly dezerued.

But héerin, the better for conceyuing of my minde, and instruction of yoors, ye must gyue mee leaue a littl, az well to preface vntoo my matter, az to discoors sumwhat of Kilyngwoorth Castl. A Territory of the right honorabl, my singular good Lord, my Lord the Earl of Leyceter: of whooz incomparabl cheeryng and enterteynment thear vntoo her Maiesty noow, I will shew yoo a part heer, that could not sée all; nor had I seen all, could well report the hallf: Whear thynges, for the parsons, for the place, time, cost, deuisez, straungnes, and aboundauns, of all that euer I sawe (and yet haue I been, what vnder my Master Bomsted, and what on my own affayres, whyle I occupied Merchaundize, both in Frauns and Flaunders long and many a day,) I saw none ovy where so memorabl, I tell you plain.

¹ *Orig.* worwipfull.

² Laneham. See his signature, *El Principe Negro* at the end. Perhaps the sign of his shop.—*J. H. Burn*, 1821.

Killing-
woorth
Castl.

The Castl hath name of Killingwoorth, but of truth grounded vpon feythfull storie, Kenelwoorth. It stonds in Warwykshyre, a lxxiiii. myle north-west from London, and az it wear in the Nauell of Englande†, foure myle sumwhat south from Couen-tree, (a proper Cittee,) and a lyke distauns from Warwyk, a fayre Sheere Toun on the North : In ayr sweet and hollsum, raised on an eazy mounted hill, iz sette eeuennie coasted with the froot straight intoo the East, hath the tenaunts and Tooun about it, that pleasantly shifts from dale too Hyll, sundry whear wyth sweet Springs bursting foorth : and iz so plentifullie well sorted on euery side, intoo arabl, meado, pasture, wood, water, & good ayrz, az it appeerz to haue need of nothing that may perteyn too liuing or pleazure. Too auantage¹ hath it, hard on the West, still nourisht with many liuely Springs, a goodly Pool of rare beauty, bredth, length, deapth, and store of all kinde freshwaterfish, delicat, great, and fat, and also of wildfooul byside. By a rare situation and natural amitee seemz this Pool conioynd to the Castlz, that on the West layz the head (az it wear) vpon the Castlz boosom, embraceth it on either side, Soouth [a]nd North, with both the armz, settlz it self az in a reach a flight-shoot brode², stretching foorth body and legs a myle or too Westward : between a fayre Park on the one side, which by [§p. 4.] the §Braiz³ is linked too the castl on the South, sprinckled at *the* entrauns with a feaw Coonyez, that for colour and smallnes of number séem too bée suffered more for pleasure then *commodité* : And on *the* oother side, North and West, a goodlie Chase : wast, wyde, large, and full of red Déer and oother statelie gamez for hunting : beautified with manie delectabl, fresh & vmbragious Boow[r]z, Arberz, Seatz, and walks, that with great art, cost, & diligens, wear very pleazauntly appointed : which also

¹ *Orig.* anauntage.

² This passage may have two significations : One derived from the same expression which Lancham uses when speaking of the fire-works (p. 12), in which place it is understood to mean a flying shot, or one discharged from a mortar. The other . . . supposing that a *flight* signified a small arrow ; in contradistinction to shafts, quarrels, bolts, and piles. The latter of these is, however, the most probable, as the pool itself was not more than 300 ft. in breadth.—*Burn*, p. 94 ; *Nichols*, i. 427 (edit. 1823).

³ The old military word for an outwork defended by palisades, with watch-towers at intervals, to protect sentinels. See Le Duc, under *braic*.—E. H. Knowles. The Park at Kenilworth was separated from the Castle on the South side by a part of the pool.—*Burn*, p. 94 ; *Nichols*, i. 427.

the naturall grace by the tall and fresh fragrant treez & soil did so far fourth commend, az Diana her selfe might haue deyned thear well enough too raunge for her pastime. The leaft arme of this pool Northward, had my Lorde adooournd with a beautifull bracelet of a fayr tymbred bridge¹, that iz of xiiii. foot wide, and a six hundred foot long : railed all on both sidez, strongly planked for passage, reaching from the Chase too the Castl : that thus in the midst hath clear prospect ouer thécz pleasurz on the² backpart : and forward, ouer all the Toun, and mooch of the Countree beside. Héer-too, a speciall commoditee at hand of sundrie quarreiz of large building stone, the goodnes whearof may the ||eazlyar

[[p. 5.] be iudged in the bilding and auncienty of the Castl, that (az by the name & by storiez, well may be gathered) waz first reared by Kenulph, and hiz young sun and successor Kenelm³ : born both indeed within the Ream héer, but yet of the race of Saxons : and reigned kings of Marchlond from the yeer of our Lord .798. too .23. yéerz toogether, aboue 770. yéer ago. Although the Castl hath one auncient, strong and large Kéep, that iz called Ceazarz Tour, rather (az I haue good cauz to think) for that it iz square and hye foormed, after the maner of Ceazarz Fortz, then that euer he bylt it.

Florileg.
fo. 221. &
225.

Guil. Mal-
mesb. li. 1.

Nay, noow I am a littl in, Master Martin, ile tell you all.

This Marchlond, that Storyerz call Mercia, iz numbred in their bookes, the fourth⁴ of the seauen Kingdomes that the Saxans had whilom heer diuided among them in the Ream. Began in Anno Domi. 616. 139. yéer after Horsins⁵ and Engist continued in the race of a 17. Kings a .249. yéer togyther : and ended in Ann. 875. Reyzed from the rest (sayz the book) at first by Pendaz presumption⁶ : ouerthroun at

¹ See Notes at the end.

² Orig. &

³ This is all gammon. "Sir William Dugdale says, that the land on which the Castle is situate was given by King Henry I. to a Norman, named Geoffry de Clinton, his Lord Chamberlain and Treasurer, by whom the building was first erected."—Note in *Gascoigne's Princ. Pleas*, ed. 1821, p. 81.

⁴ Robert Manning of Brunne makes it the sixth :—

þe syxte was Merce, now ys Lyndeseye,
þe hed toun þer to Lyncolne lay.

Stori of Englande, l. 14761–2, vol. ii. p. 512, ed. 1871, F. J. F.

⁵ Another copy reads 'Horsus,' *rectius* Horsa.—*Nichols*, 1788, i. 428.

⁶ See Notes at the end.

last by Buthreds Hascardy¹, and so fel to the kingdom of the West Saxons.

*And Marchlond had in it, London, Mildelsex,—
 [*p. 6.] héerin a Bishoprik;—Had more of Shyrez²: Gloceter,
 Mercia. Woorceter, and Warwik,—and héerin a Bishop-
 rik;—Chester (that noow we call Chesshyre), Darby, and
 Staffoord,—whervntoo one Bishop, that had also part of War-
 wik and Shrewsbery, and hiz See at Couentree, that waz then
 aforetime at Lychfeeld.—Héertoo: Hereford, (wherin a
 Bishoprik, that had more too iurisdiction, half Shreusbury,
 part of Warwik, and also of Gloceter, and the See at Here-
 ford;)—Also had Oxford, Buckingham, Hertford, Hunting-
 don, and halfe of Bedford, and too theez, Northampton³, part
 of Lecyter and also Lincoln, (whearvnto a Bisshop, whoz See
 at Lincoln Citee, that sumtime before waz at Dorchester.)
 Héerto, the rest of Leyceter & in Nottingham, that of oldd
 had a speciall Bishop, whooz See waz at Leyceter, but after,
 put to the charge of the Archbishop of Yorke.

Noow touching the name, that of oldd Recordes I vnder-
 stand, and of auncient writers I finde, iz calld Kenelworth.
 Syns most of the Worths in England stand ny vntoo like
 lakez, and ar eyther small Ilandz, such one az the seat of this

[†p. 7.] †Castl hath béen, & eazly may bee, or is londground
 Vpon Tacit by pool or riuier, whearon willoz, alderz, or such like
 fol. 142. doo gro: which Althamerus⁴ writtez precizely that
 The Ger- the Germaines cal Werd: Ioyning these too together,
 mains call with the nighness allso of the woords, and sybred⁵
 werk, that of the toongs, I am the bolder to pronooons, that
 we woork. az our English Woorth,⁶ with the rest of our aun-
 Wertt: az our English Woorth,⁶ with the rest of our aun-
 woorld. cient langage, waz leaft vs from the Germaines:

¹ Hask, harsh, Line.: *Bailey*. 'Hask, coarse, harsh, rough': *Brockett*. 'An Haskarde, proletarius, ignobilis': *Levins*. 'Haskerde, a rough fellow': *Dekker*. 'Vilane hastarddis' [*for* hascarddis]. *Percy's Rel.* p. 25.—*Halliwel*.

² See these (save Middlesex and Hertford) in English of ab. 1300 A.D. in the Life of St. Kenelm, in my *Early English Poems and Lives of Saints*, p. 48-9, l. 21-42. Mercia is there called 'þe march of Wales.'

³ *Orig.* Northampton.

⁴ Andrew Althamer, a Lutheran minister of Nuremberg, who lived about 1560; he wrote several controversial works, and some valuable notes on Tacitus, from which the passage in the text is taken. See *Dictionnaire Universel*.—*Burn*, p. 95; *Nichols*, i. 429.

⁵ A. Sax. *sibræden*, consanguinity.

⁶ The termination *Worth*, which is mentioned in the text to signify land situate by water, is more properly derived from the Saxon *ƿopð*, a court or farm; and hence the place was originally denominated Kenelm's Worth, or the Court of Kenelm.—*Burn*, p. 95; *Nichols*, i. 429.

Wermut : éeuen so that their Werd and our Woorth is all
 woorm- one thing in sign [i] fiauns, common too vs both, éen
 wood. So at this day. I take the case so cléer, that I say
viel wert : not az mooch as I moought. Thus proface ye¹ with
 So much woorth. the Preface. And noow to the matter.

ON Saterdag the nyenth of Iuly, at long Ichington, a Toun
 and Lordship of my Lord's, within a seauen² myle of
 Killingworth, hiz honor made her Maiesty great chéer at
 Dinner, and pleazaunt pastime in hunting by the wey after,
 that it was eight a clock in *the* euening ear her highness
 came too Killingwoorth. Whear, in the Park, about a flight-
 shoot from the Brayz, & first gate of the Castl, one of *the*
 ten Sibills, that (wée réed) wear all Fatidicæ and
 Sibyl. Theobulæð, (az partiez and priuy too the Gods gra-
 [\$p. 8.] cious good wilz,) cumly clad in a pall³ of white sylk,
 pronounced a proper poezi in English rime and méeter⁴: of
 effect, hoow great gladnesse her goodnesse prezenze⁵ brought
 into euerie steed⁶ whear it pleased her too cum, and speciall
 now into that place that had so long longed after the same :
 ended with prophesie certain, of mooch and long prospe-
 ritée, health, and felicitée : this, her Maiestie benignly ac-
 cepting⁷, passed foorth vntoo the next gate of the Brayz,
 which (for the length, largenes and vse, az well it may so
 serue,) they call noow the Tyiltyard, whear a Porter,
 The Porter. tall of person, big of lin, & stearn of counti-
 nauns, wrapt also all in silke, with a club & keiz of quanti-

¹ That is, 'I.'

² Another copy erroneously states this town to be only three miles distant from Kenilworth. In Dr. Thomas's edition of Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, Lond. 1730, vol. i. p. 345, it is related that at the period mentioned in the text, "the Earl of Leicester gave the Queen a glorious entertainment here, in her passage to Kenilworth Castle, erecting a tent of extraordinary largeness for that purpose, the pins belonging whereto amounted to seven cart-loads; by which the magnificence thereof may be guessed at." Lancham also subsequently notices this circumstance, when speaking of the preparations for the Queen's reception at Kenilworth (p. 56 below).—*Burn*, p. 95 (from Nichols's first edition of 1788, vol. i. p. 5); *Nichols*, ed. 1823, vol. i. p. 429.

³ A long and large upper mantle was denominated a pall, from the Latin *pallium*, or *palla*, a cloak. The great mantle worn by the Knights of the Garter, is by ancient writers called *pallium*.—*Burn*, p. 95; *Nichols*, i. 430.

⁴ These verses, written by Mr. Hunnis, Master of Queen Elizabeth's Chapel, are the first in Gascoigne's *Princely Pleasures*, p. 3-4, ed. 1821.

⁵ Another copy reads "gracious presence."—*Nichols*, i. 430.

⁶ *Steed* is from the Saxon *Stede*, a room or place. See Somner.—*Burn*, p. 96; *Nichols*, i. 430.

⁷ *Orig.* accepting.

tée according, had a rough speech, full of passions, in méeter aptly made to the purpose: whearby (az her highnes was cum within his warde) hée burst out in a great pang of impatiens¹ to sée such vncooth trudging too and fro, such riding in and out, with such dyn and noiz of talk within the charge of his offis: whearof hee neuer saw the like, nor had any warning afore, ne yet could make too him-

[†p. 9.] selfe any cauze of the matter: at last, vpon better vien and auisement†, as hee preast too cum neerar: confessing anon that hee found him self pearced at the prezens of a personage so euidently expressing an heroicall Soueraintee ouer all the whole estates & hy degrééz thear besyde, callmd hiz stoniz², proclaims open gates and frée passage to all, yéelds vp hiz club, hiz keyz³, hiz office, and all, and on hiz knéez humbly prayz pardon of hiz ignorauns and

The Trum- impaciens: which her highnes graciouslie graunting, he cauzd hiz Trumpetourz that stood vpon petoours. the wall of the gate thear, too soound vp a tune of welcum: which, besyde the nobl noyz, was so mooch the more pleazaunt too behold, becauz thééz Trumpetourz, beeing sixe in number, wear euery one an eight foot hye⁴, in due proportion of parson besyde, all in long garments of sylk sutabl, each with hiz sylucry Trumpet of a fue foot long, foormed Taperwyse, and straight from the vpper part vntoo the neather eend, whear the Diameter was a 16. ynchez ouer, and yet so tempered by art, that being very eazy too the blast, they cast foorth no greater noyz, nor a more vnpleazaunt soound for time and tune, then any oother

[*p. 10.] common Trumpet, bee it neuer so artificially* foormed. These armonious blasterz,—from the foreside of the gate at her highnes entrauns whear they began, walking vpon the wallz, vntoo the inner,—had this muzik mainteined from them very delectably while her highness all along this tilyard rode vnto the inner gate next the

Lady of base court of the Castl: where the Lady of the the Lake. Lake (famous in King Arthurz book¹) with too Nymphes waiting vppon her, arrayed all in sylks, attending her highness comming: from the midst of the Pool, whear, vpon a moouabl lland, bright blazing with

¹ See *Notes* at end.

² Astonishment.

³ *Orig.* heyz.

⁴ Sham ones with sham trumpets, but real men and trumpets behind. See p. 5 of *Gascoigne's Pr. Pleas*.

torches, she, floting to land, met her Maiesty with a well penned meter and matter¹ after this sort: first of the aun-
cientée of the Castl,—whoo had been ownerz of the same éen
till this day, most allwey in the hands of the Earls of
Leyceter,—hoow shée had kept this Lake sins king Arthurz
dayz, and now, vnderstanding of her highness hither cum-
ming, thought it both office and duetie in humbl wize to dis-
couer her and her estate: offering vp the same, her Lake
and pour therein, with promise of repayre vnto the Court.
It pleozed her highness too thank this Lady, & too ad
withall, “we had thought indéed the Lake had been ours,
[*p. 11.] and doo you *call it yourz noow? Wel, we will
héerin common more with yoo héerafter.”

This Pageaunt waz clozd vp with a delectable harmony of
Hautboiz², Shalmz³, Cornets⁴, and such oother looud muzik,

¹ Verses printed in Gascoigne's *Princely Pleasures*, p. 7-9, ed. 1821, and
'devised and penned by M. Ferrers, sometime Lord of Misrule in the Court.'
—*Nichols*, i. 431.

² Straight wooden wind-instruments, with holes down the front, and conical
ends, blown through reed mouthpieces at the top. See *Notes* at the end.

³ *Shalmz*. See Chappell's *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, i. 35, note b.
“A very early drawing of the Shalm or Shawm, is in one of the illustrations
to a copy of Froissart, in the Brit. Mus.—*Royal MSS.* 18 E. Another in Com-
menius' *Visible World*, translated by Hoole, 1650, (he translates the Latin
word *gingras*, shawm,) from which it is copied into Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*,
edited by Singer, vol. i. p. 114, ed. 1825. The modern clarionet is an improve-
ment upon the shawm, which was played with a quill, or reed, like the wayte,
or hautboy, but being a bass instrument, with about the compass of an octave,
had probably more the tone of a bassoon. It was used on occasions of state.
'What stately music have you? You have shawms? Ralph plays a stately
part, and he must needs have shawms.'—*Knight of the Burning Pestle*. Drayton
speaks of it as shrill-toned: 'E'en from the shrillest shawm, unto the corna-
mute.'—*Polyolbion*, vol. iv. p. 376. I conceive the shrillness to have arisen
from over-blowing, or else the following quotation will appear contradic-
tory:—

'A Shawme maketh a swete sounde, for he trowythe the basse,
It mountithe not to hyc, but kepithe rule and spae.
Yet yf it be blown withe to vehemend a wynde,
It makithe it to mysgerverne out of his kynde.'

“This is one of the ‘proverbis’ that were written about the time of Henry VII.,
on the walls of the Manor House at Leckington, near Beverley, Yorkshire,
anciently belonging to the Percys, Earls of Northumberland, but now des-
troyed. There were other proverbs relating to music and musical instru-
ments (harp, lute, recorder, clariorde, clarysymballis, virgynalls, clarion,
organ, singing, and musical notation), and the inscribing them on the walls
adds another to the numberless proofs of the estimation in which the art was
held. A manuscript copy of them is preserved in MS. Bibl. Reg. 18, D. 11,
Brit. Mus.”

⁴ Among Henry VIII.'s instruments were “Gitteron Pipes of ivory or
wood, called *Cornets*.” The Cornet described by Mersenne (the French writer
on musical instruments) is of a bent shape like the segment of a large circle,

that held on while her Maiestic pleazauntly so passed from thence toward the Castl gate : whearunto, from the baze Court, ouer a dry valley east into a good foorm, waz thear
 The bridge. framed a fayre Bridge of a twentie foot wide, and
 Seauen pair on either part with seauen posts on a side, that
 of posts. stood a twelue foot a sunder, thikned betweene with well proportioned Pillars turnd.

Vpon the first payr of posts were set too cumly square wyre cagez, each a thrée foot long, too foot wide and hy : in them, liue Bitters, Curluz, Shoouelarz, Hearsheawz¹, Godwitz, and such like deinty Byrds, of the prezents of
 Syluanus prezents. Syluanus, the God of foul.

On the second payr, too great Syluerd Bollz, featly apted too the purpose, filde with Applz, Pearz, Cheriz, Filberdz, Walnuts, fresh vpon their braunchez, and with Oringes, Pougarnets², Lemmanz, and Pipinz, all for the Pomona. giftz of Pomona, Goddes of frui[t]ez.

[+p. 12.] The third pair of posts, in too such syluerd† Bollz, had (all in earz, gréen and old) Wheat, Barly, Ceres. 3. Ootz, Beanz, and Peaz, az the gifts of Ceres.

The fourth Post on the leaft hand, in a like syluered Boll, had Grapes in Clusters, whyte and red, gracified with their Vine leauéz : the match post against it had a payree of great whyte syluer lyuery Pots for wyne : and before them two glassez of good capacitie filld full : the ton with whyte Wine, the two other with claret : so fresh of color, and of looke so louely smiling to the eyz of many, that by my feith mee thought by their léering they could haue found in their harts (az the euening was hot) to haue kist them swéetlie, and thought it no sin : and thééz for the potencial pre-Bacchus. 4. zents of Bacchus the God of wine.

The fift payr had, each a fair large trey streawd a littl³ with fresh grass, and in them, Coonger⁴, Burt⁵, Mullet,

gradually tapering from the bottom to the mouthpiece. The cornet was of a loud sound, but in skilful hands could be modulated so as to resemble the tones of the human voice.—*Chappell*, i. 248, note a : see also p. 631.

¹ Bitterns, curlews, shovellers, heronshaws (or herons). ² Pomegranates.

³ Nichols, copying a Bodleian edition, leaves out 'a littl' : ed. 1788, vol. i. p. 9.

⁴ *Conger* is nothing but a sea-eele, of a white, sweet, and fatty flesh : little Congers are taken in great plenty in the Severn, betwixt Gloucester and Tewkesbury, but the great ones keep onely in the salt seas, which are whiter-flesht and more tender.—Dr. Bennet's ed. of *Muffett's Healths Improvement*, p. 149.

⁵ Fr. *Limaude*, f. A Burt or Bret fish.—*Cotgrave*. 'Rhombi. Turbutis . . some

fresh Herring, Oysters, Samon, Creuis¹, and such like, from
Neptunus, God of the Sea.

Neptunus. 5. On the sixth payr of Posts wear set two ragged
stauez² of syluer, as my Lord ginez them in armz,
beautifully glittering of armour thereupon depending, Bowz,
[†p. 13.] Arroz, Spearz, Shéeld, Head pées, Gorget, Corse-
Mars. 6. †lets, Swords, Targets, and such like, for Mars
gifts, the God of war. And the aptlyer (me thought)
waz it that thooz ragged staués supported théez Martiall
presents, as well becauz théez staués by their tines³ séem
naturallie méete for the bearing of armour, as also that
they chiefly in this place might take vpon them principall
protection of her highnes Parson, that so benignly pleased
her to take herbour.

On the seauenth Posts⁴, the last and next too the Castl,
wear thear pight⁵, too faer Bay braunchez of a fourfoot hy,
adorned on all sides with Lutes, Viollz, Shallmz⁶, Cornets,
Flutes, Recorders⁷ and Harpes, as the presents of
Phœbus. 7. Phœbus, the God of Muzik, for reioysing the mind,
and also of Phizik, for health to the body.

call the Sea-Pheasant . . whilst they be young . . they are called *Butts*.—
Muffett, p. 173, in *Babees Book*, p. 167, and see p. 231 *ib*.

¹ Crayfish, or crab. See *Babees Book*, pp. 158, 159, 166, 174, 216, 231, 281.

² The Ragged Staff was the well-known badge of the house of the king-
maker Warwick.—See my *Political Religious and Love-Poems* (E. E. Text Soc.
1866) p. xii and 3:—

An R. for þe Raged staf þat no man may askape ;
from Scotlonde to Calles þerof they stonde in awe ;
he is a stafe of stedfastnes bothe erly and latte
To chastes siche kaytifés as don against þe lawe.

Also the passage there quoted from the Cotton Rolls, ii. 23, in Wright's *Politi-
cal Songs*, Rolls Series, vol. ii. p. 222:—

The Bere (Warwik) is bound that was so wild,
ffor he hath lost his ragged staffe.

Elizabeth's entertainer, Sir Robert Dudley, K.G., Earl of Leicester, was the
younger son of John Dudley, 19th Earl of Warwick, created Duke of Northum-
berland, 11th Oct. 1551, K.G. attainted and beheaded 1553.—*Nicolas's Peer-
age*, p. 369, 678.

³ *tines*, short pricks of an antler, prongs of a fork.

⁴ t. i. pair of posts.

⁵ Pitched, placed: pret. of *piechen* to pitch, fix.

⁶ See note, p. 7.

⁷ See "The Genteel Companion for the Recorder," by Humphery Salter,
1683. Recorders and (English) Flutes are to outward appearance the same,
although Lord Bacon, in his *Natural History*, cent. iii. sec. 221, says the Re-
corder hath a less bore, and a greater above and below. The number of holes
for the fingers is the same, and the scale, the compass, and the manner of
playing, the same. Salter describes the *recorder* from which the instrument
derives its name, as situate in the upper part of it, *i. e.* between the hole below
the mouth, and the highest hole for the finger. He says, "Of the kinds of

Ouer the Castl gate was there fastened a Tabl, beautifully garnisht abooue with her highness armes, and featlie with luy wreathz boordred about : of a ten foot square : the ground blak, whearupon, in large white Capitall Roman, fayr written, a Poem mencioning théez Gods and their giftes thus presented vntoo her highness : which, becauz it remained vnremoued, at leyzure & please¹ I took it oout, as foloeth :

[p. 14.] *AD MAIESTATEM REGIAM.*²

*Iupiter huc certos cernens TE tendere gressus,
Cœlicolus PRINCEPS actutum conuocat omnes :
Obsequium præstare iubet TIBI quenque benignum.
Vnde suas Syluanus aues, Pomonaque fructus,
Alma Ceres fruges, hilarantia vina Ixæus,
Neptunus Pisces, tela & tutantia Mauors,
Suaue melos Phœbus, solidam longamque salutem.
Dij TIBI REGINA hæc (cum SIS DIGNISSIMA) præbent :
Hæc TIBI cum Domino dedit se & werda Kenelmi.*

All the letterz that mention her Maiesty, which héer I put capitall, for reuerens and honor, wear thear made in gold.

But the night well spent, for that théez versez by Torchlight could not easily bée read, by a Poet thearfore in a long ceruleoous³ garment, with a side⁴ and wide sléeuez Vene-

music, vocal has always had the preference in esteem and in consequence, the Recorder, *as approaching nearest to the sweet delightfulness of the voice*, ought to have first place in opinion, as we see by the universal use of it confirmed." The Hautboy is considered now to approach most nearly to the human voice, and Mr. Ward, the military instrument manufacturer, informs me that he has seen "old English Flutes" with a hole bored through the side, in the upper part of the instrument, the holes being covered with a thin piece of skin, like gold-beater's skin. I suppose this would give somewhat the effect of the quill or reed in the Hautboy, and that these were Recorders. In the proverbs at Leckingfield (quoted *ante*, note *b*, p. 35), the Recorder is described as "desiring" the mean part, but manifold fingering and stops bringeth high (notes) from its clear tones. This agrees with Salter's book. He tells us the high notes are produced by placing the thumb *half* over the hole at the back, and blowing a little stronger. Recorders were used for teaching birds to pipe.—*Chappell's Pop. Music*, i. 246, note *a*. See *Notes* at the end.

¹ ? not *pleasure*, but *place* : 'time and place suiting.'

² We learn from Gascoigne (*Princely Pleasures*, p. 10–11) that these verses were written by M. Paten.—*Nichols*, i. 433.

³ Azure-blue, or sky-colour, from the Latin *ceruleus*. Anciently, blue dresses were worn by all servants.—See Strutt. *Burn*, p. 97; *Nichols*, i. 434.

⁴ *Side*, or *syde*, in the North of England, and in Scotland, is used for *long*,

cian wize¹, drawn vp to his elboz, his Dooblet sleeuez vnder that, Crimzen, nothing but silke : a Bay garland on hiz head, and a skro² in his hand, making first an humble obeizaunz at her highness cummyng, and pointing vntoo euerie present az hée spake : the same wear pronounced.³ Pleazauntly thus [tp. 15.] viewing the giftes az †she past, & hoow the posts might agrée with the spéech of the Poet, at the éend of the bridge & entrée of the gate waz her highnes receiued with a fresh delicate armony of Flutz, in perfourmauns of Phœbus presents.

So passing intoo the inner Court, her Maiesty (that neuer ridez but alone) thear set down from her Pallfree, waz

when applied to the garment; and the word has the same signification in Anglo-Saxon and Islandic or Danish :—

“The Erle Janys with his Rowte hale
Thare gert stent thare Pavillownys,
And for the Hete tuk on *syd* Gwnys.”

Wyntown's Chronicle, vol. ii. 339.

The wide and long-pocketed sleeve, called by heralds the *manche*, was much in fashion in the reign of Henry IV. Stowe, in his Chronicle, p. 327, temp. Henry IV., says, “This time was used exceeding pride in garments, gownes with deepe and broade sleeves commonly called poke sleeves, the servants ware them as well as their masters, which might well have been called receptacles of the devil, for what they stole, they hid in their sleeves, whereof some hung down to the foete, and at least to the knees, full of cuts and jaggés. Again, in Fitzherbert's “Book of Husbandrie,” is the following passage:—

“Theyr cotes be so *syde* that they be fayne to tucke them up when they ride, as women do theyr kirtels when they go to the market.”

Of these Hoccleve, a master of that age, says :—

Nor has this land less need of brooms
To sweep the filth out of the street,
Sen *side-sleeves* of pennyless groomes
Will lick it up be't dry or wet.

Camden's *Remains*; Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, xv. No. II. § 51.—
Kenilworth Illustrated, Appendix, p. 11; and *Nichols*, i. 434.

¹ Cp. on the enormously wide Venetian breeches or hose, Stubbes's *Anatomie*, in Nares, and the eleventh song in Thomas Heywood's Rape of Lucrece :—

The Spaniard loves his ancient slop,
The Lumbard his *Venetian*.

Percy MS. Loose Songs, p. 76.

The wide sleeve is spoken of by Peacham, says Fairholt (*Costume in England*, p. 211, note), “the wide saucy sleeve that would be in every dish before their master, with buttons as big as tablemen;” similar to the “men” now used for draughts.’ Peacham also tells us that “long stockings without garters, then was the Earl of Leicester's fashion, and theirs who had the handsomest leg.”

² scroll.

³ Gascoigne gives 13 other lines of Latin verse,—different from Mr. Paten's, —which he says ‘were devised by Master Muncaster. . . I am not very sure whether these or Master Paten's were pronounced by the Author, but they were all to one effect.’—*Princely Pleasures*, ed. 1821, p. 11.

conueied vp to chamber: when after, did follo so great a peal of gunz, and such lightning by fyr work a long space toogither, as Iupiter woold sheaw himself too bee no further behind with hiz welcum, then the rest of hiz Gods: and that woold hee haue all the countrie to kno: for indeed the noiz and flame wear heard and séene a twenty myle of. Thus much, Master Martin, (that I remember me) for the first daiz ‘*Bien venu.*’ Be yée not wery, for I am skant in the midst of my matter.

Sunday. On Sunday: the forenoon occupied (az for the Sabot day) in quiet and vacation from woork, & in diuine seruis & preaching at the parish church: The afternoon, in excelent muzik of sundry swet instruments, and in dauncing¹ of Lordes and Ladiez, and oother woorshipfull de-
[†page 16.] grées, vttered with such liuely agilitee & commend-
abl grace, †az, whither it moought be more straunge too the eye, or pleazunt too the minde, for my part indéed I could not discern: but excéedingly well waz it (me thought) in both.

At night late, az though Iupiter the last night had forgot for bizness, or forborn for curtezy & quiet, part of hiz well-coom vntoo her highness appointed: noow entring² at the fyrst intoo hiz purpoze moderately (az mortallz doo) with a warning péec or too, proceding on with encrez; at last the Altitonant displeaz³ me hiz mayn pcoor: with blaz of burning darts, flying too & fro, leanz⁴ of starz coruscant, streamz and hail of firie sparkes, lightninges of wildfier a water and lond, flight & shoot of thunderboltz: al with such countinauns, terror, and vehemencie, that the heauins thundred, the waters souarged, the earth shooke: and in such sort surly, az, had we not bee[n] assured of⁵ the fulmieant deitée waz all hot in amitée, and could not otherwise witesse hiz welcomming vnto her highnesse, it woold haue made mee,

¹ Compare Stubbes on dancing on Sundays. “But other some spend the sabaoth day for the most part in frequenting of baudie stage-playes and enterludes, in maintaining Lords of Misrule (for so they call a certaine kinde of play which they use), may-games, church-ales, feasts, and wakesses: in pyping, *dauncing*, dicing, carding, bowling, tennisse-playing; in beare-bayting, cock-fighting, hawking, hunting, and such like . . . *Anatomie of Abuses*, 1st ed. 1583, Collier’s reprint, p. 130. See also Stubbes’s most amusing chapter on “The horrible Vice of pestiferous dauncing, used in Ailgna,” *ib.* p. 150-168; and his next chapter “Of Musick in Ailgna, and how it allureth to vanitie,” p. 168-172.

² *Orig.* entrins.

³ displays.

⁴ A. Sax. *wóma*, a ray of light, a beam, light, flame.—*Bosworth*.

⁵ ? that.

for my part, az hardy az I am, very veangeably afeard. This a-doo lasted while [t]he midnight waz past, that well waz mee soon after when I waz cougth¹ in my Cabayn. And [†page 17.] thiz for †the secund day.

Munday, 3. Munday waz hot; and thearfore her highnesse kept in a till a fiue a clok in the éeuening: what time it pleazzd her too ryde foorth into the Chase² too hunt the Hart of fors³: which found anon, and after sore chased, and chafed by the hot pursuit of the hooundes, waz fain, of fine fors, at last to take soil.⁴ Thear to beholld the swift fléeting of the Déer afore, with the stately cariage of hiz head in hiz swymming, spred (for the quantitée) lyke the sail of a ship: the hoounds harroing after, az they had bin a number of skiphs⁵ too the spoyle of a karuell⁶: the ton no lesse eager in purchaz of hiz pray, then waz the other earnest in sauegard of hiz life: so az the earning⁷ of the hoounds in continuans of their crie, the swiftnes of the Déer, the running of footmen, the galloping of horsez, the blasting of hornz, the halloing & hewing⁸ of the huntsmen,⁹ with the excellent Echoz betwéen whilez from the woods and waters in valleiz resounding, moued pastime delectabl in so hy a degré, az for ony

¹ ? *coft*, cuffed, coffered, shut up as in a coffer.

² See *Notes* at the end.

³ fors, Fr. *force*, force, might, strength, power, abilitie, vigour.—*Cotgrave*.

⁴ A term used in hunting, when a deer runs into the water.—See *Phillips*; *Burn*, p. 97; *Nichols*, i. 435. See note 2, p. 33 below.

⁵ Lat. *scapha*, a boat; Fr. *esquif*, a Skiffe, or little boat.—*Cotgrave*.

⁶ At the lengthe, three shyppes were appoynted hym [Columbus] at the kinges charges: of the which one was a great caracte with deckes: and the other two were light marchaunte shyppes without deckes, whiche the Spaniardes call *Carauelas*.—Arber's reprint of *Peter Martyr's Decades*, bk. i. p. 65. Sp. *carobéla*, a small ship, called a caruell.—*Minshew*. 'A Carvel, or Caravel, was a species of light round vessel, with a square stern, rigged and fitted out like a galley, and of about 140 tons burthen. Such ships were formerly much used by the Portuguese, and were esteemed the best sailers on the seas. See *Phillips*.'—*Burn*, p. 97; *Nichols*, i. 435.

⁷ baying, connected with Lat. *hurrere*, Welsh *hyrrio*, Engl. *harr*, to snarl.—See *Wedgwood's Dict.* under *ire* and *irritate*, and my *Notes*, p. 63 &c.

⁸ Cp. our '*hue* and cry.' Fr. *huer*, to hoot, shout, exclaime, cry out, make hue and cry.—*Cotgrave*. See also *Wedgwood*.

⁹ Tourberville, in the "*Noble Art of Venerie, or Hunting*," 4to. Lond. 1611, has an entire chapter of "certaine observations and subtelties to be used by Huntsmen in hunting an Hart at force," and gives us the words of encouragement to the hounds as follows:—

"Hyke a Talbot, or Hyke a Bewmont, Hyke, Hyke, to him, to him!
There he goeth, that's he, that's he, to him, to him!

parson to take pleazure by moost sensez at onez, in mine
 [†page 18.] opinion thear can be none ony wey comparable to
 this; And speciall in †this place, that of nature iz
 foormed so féet for the purpose: in feith, Master Martin, if ye
 coold with a wish, I woold ye had been at it! Wel, the Hart
 waz kild, a goodly Déer; but so ceast not the game yet.

For about nien a clock, at the hither part of the Chase,
 whear torchlight attended: out of the woods, in her Mai-
 estiez return, rougghly came thear foorth Hombre
 The sauage man. Saluagio¹, with an Oken plant pluct vp by the roots
 in hiz hande, himself forgrone² all in moss and Iuy:
 who, for parsonage, gesture, and vtterauns beside, counten-
 aunst³ the matter too very good liking, and had speech to
 effect: "That continuing so long in theez wilde wastes,
 whearin oft had he fared both far and néer, yet hapt hée
 neuer to see so glorioous an assemble afore: and noow cast
 intoo great grief of mind, for that neyther by himself coold
 hee gess, nor knew whear else to bee taught, what they
 should be, or whoo bare estate. Reports sum had he hard
 of many straunge thinges, but brooyled thearby so mooch
 the more in desire of knoledge. Thus in great pangz be-
 thought he & cald he vpon all his familiarz & companionz:
 [†page 19.] the Fawnz, the Satyres, the Nymphs, the †Dryardes,
 and the Hamadryades; but none making aunswear,
 whearby hiz care the more encreasing, in vtter grief & ex-
 tréem refuge calld hee allowd at last after hiz olld freend
 Echo. Echo, that he wist would hyde nothing from him⁴, but
 tel him all if she wear heer." "Héer" (quoth Echo.)
 "Héer, Echo, and art thou thear? (sayz he) Ah, hoow mooch

To him, boyes, counter, to him, to him!
 Talbot, a Talbot, a Talbot!"

"Such is the cry,
 "And such th' harmonious din, the soldier deems
 The battle kindling, and the statesman grave
 Forgets his weighty cares; each age, each sex,
 In the wild transport joins!" —Somerville, in *Nichols*, i. 436.

¹ Bp. Percy mistakes his appellation of the print at the end of the third volume of his *Old Ballads*; it being the *hombre salvaggio* of Laneham.—*Nichols*, i. 436.

² *For, before* . . the radical meaning is 'in front of' . . *For* in composition has the meaning of 'out, without,' . . to *forget* is to away-get, to lose from memory . . In French we have *forjeter* to jut out.—*Wedgwood*, ii. 82. *Forgrown*, grown away, grown over.

³ Fr. *contenaneer*, to . . grace, maintaine, give countenance vnto; also, to frame, or set the face handsomely; to give it a gracefull and constant garbe.—*Cotgrave*.

⁴ *Orig.* hiw.

hast thou relieued my carefull spirits with thy curtezy onward! A, my good Echo, héer iz a marueilouuz prezenz of dignitée! what are they, I pray thée? who iz Souerain? tell me, I beséech thee, or elz hoow moought I kno?" "I kno" (quoth shee). "Knoest thou?" sayz hee: "Mary, that iz ezceedingly well: why then, I dezire thée hartily to sho mée what Maiestie (for no mean degréé iz it) haue wee héer: a King or a Quéén?" "A Queen" (quoth Echo.) "A Quéén?" sayez hee. Pauzing and wisely viewing a while, "noow full certeynlie seemez thy tale to be true." And procéding by this maner of dialog, with an earnest beholding her highnes a while, recounts he first hoow iustly that foormer reports agrée with hiz present sight: tooching the beautifull linaments of coountinauns, the cumly proportion of body, the prinsly [tp. 20.] grace of prezenz, the graciouuz giftz †of nature, with the rare and singular qualities of both body and mind in her Maiesty conioynd, and so apparant at ey. Then shortly rehearsing Saterdaiz acts: of Sibils salutation, of the Porters proposition, of hiz Trumpetours muzik, of the Lake ladies oration, of the seauen Gods seauen prezents: hee reporteth the incredibl ioy that all estatez in the land haue allweyz of her highnes whear so euer it¹ cums: éndeth with presage and prayer of perpetuall felicitée, and with humbl subiection of him and hizzen², & all that they may do. After this sort the matter went with littl differens, I gesse, sauing only in this point: that the thing which héer I report in vnpolisht proez, waz thear pronounced in good méeter and matter, very wel indighted in rime. Echo finely framed most aptly by answerz thus to vtter all.³ And I shall tell yoo, master Martin, by the mass, of a mad auenture: az thiz Sauage, for the more submission, brake hiz trée a sunder, kest the top from him, it had almost light vpon her highnes hors head: whereat he startld, and the gentlman mooch dismayd. Séé the benigntée of the Prins, az the foot men lookt well too the hors, and hee of Generositée †soon callmd [tp. 21.] of him self, "no hurt, no hurt!" quoth her highnes. Which words, I promis yoo, wee wear all glad to héer, & took them too be the best part of the play.

¹ ? sho.

² his'n, *gen. plur. of his.*

³ The speech of the Savage man, and his dialogue with Echo, all in verse, 'devised, penned and pronounced by Master Gascoyne,' are given in his *Princely Pleasures*, p. 12-21, ed. 1821.—*Nichols*, i. 437.

Tuesday. 4. Tuisday, pleazaunt passing of the time with muzik & daunsyng: sauing that toward night it liked her Maiesty too walk a foot into the Chase ouer the Bridge: whear it pleased her to stand, while vpon the Pool, oout of a Barge fine appoynted for the purpose, too heer sundry kinds of very delectabl Muzik. Thus recreated, & after sum walkk, her highnes returned.

Wedns. 5. Wednesday, her Maiesty rode into the chase a hunting again of the hart of fors. The Deer, after hiz property, for refuge took the soyl: but [was] so masterd by hote pursuit on al parts, that he was taken quik in the pool: the watermen held him vp hard by the hed, while at her highnes commaundement he lost hiz earz for a raundsum, and so had pardon of lyfe.

The Hart
pardoned.

Thursday 6. Thursday, the fourteenth of this Iuly, and the syxth day of her Maiestyez cumming: a great sort of bandogs¹ whear thear tyed in the vtter Coourt, and thyrteen bearz² in the inner. Whoosoeuer made the pannell, thear wear inoow for a Queast, & t̄one for challenge, & n̄eed wear. A wight of great wizzardoom and grauit̄e s̄eemed their forman to be,

A queast
of Bearz.
[tp. 22.]

¹ Bewick describes the Ban-dog as being a variety of the mastiff, but lighter, smaller, and more vigilant; although at the same time not so powerful. The nose is also less, and possesses somewhat of the hound's scent; the hair is rough, and of a yellowish-grey colour, marked with shades of black. The bite of a Ban-dog is keen, and considered dangerous; and its attack is usually made upon the flank. Dogs of this kind are now rarely to be met with.—*Burn*, p. 98; *Kenilworth Illustrated*, App. 14; *Nichols*, i. 438.

² Bear-baitings were at this time not only considered as suitable exhibitions before the Queen and her nobles, but the amusement was under the particular patronage of her Majesty. An Order of Privy Council, in July 1591, prohibits the exhibition of Plays on Thursdays, because on Thursdays bear-baiting, and such like pastimes, had been usually practised; and an injunction to the same effect was sent to the Lord Mayor, wherein it is stated, that "in divers places the players do use to recite their plays to the great hurt and destruction of the game of bear-baiting, and like pastimes, which are maintained for her Majesty's pleasure."—When confined at Hatfield House, Elizabeth and her sister Mary were recreated with a grand exhibition of bear-baiting, "with which their Highnesses were right well content." (Warton's *Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, sect. iii. p. 85.) The French Ambassadors were, soon after her ascension of the throne, entertained with bear and bull-baiting, and she stood to see the exhibition until six in the evening. A similar exhibition took place the next day at Paris-garden for the same party. The Danish Ambassador, twenty-seven years afterwards, was entertained by a like spectacle at Greenwich. The Bear-gardens on the Bankside are too well known to be noticed here, further than to mention that Crowley, a poet [parson and printer] in the time of Henry VIII. describes them as then existing, that they exhibited on Sundays, and the price of admission to Paris-garden was one halfpenny.—*Kenilworth Illustrated*, App., 14; *Nichols*, i. 438.

had it cum to a Iury: But it fell out that they wear cauzd too appeer thear vpon no such matter, but onlie too aunswear too an auncient quarrell betwéen them and the bandogs, in a cause of controuersy that hath long depended, béen obstinatly full often debated with sharp and byting arguments a both sydes, and coold neuer bee decided: grown noow too so marueyloous a mallys, that with spitefull obrayds and vncharitabl chaffings alweiz they freat, az far az any whear the ton can héer, see, or smell the toother: and indeed at vtter deadly fohod.¹ Many a maymd member, (God wot,) bloody face, & a torn cote, hath the quarrell cost betwéene them; so far likely the lesse yet noow too be appeazd, az thear wants not partakerz too bak them a both sidez.

Well, syr, the Bearz wear brought foorth intoo the Coourt, the Dogs set too them, too argu the points eeuen face too face: they had learnd coounsell allso a both parts: what, may they be coounted parciall that are retaind but a to² syde? [tp. 23.] I wéen no. Very féers, both ton and toother, & †eager in argument: if the dog in pleadyng woold pluk the bear by the throte, the bear with trauers woould claw him again by the skalp, confess & a list, but a-voyd a coold not, that waz bound too the bar: and hiz coounsell tolld him that it coold bee too him no pollecy in pleading.

Thearfore thus, with fending & proouing, with plucking & tugging, skratting³ & byting, by plain tooth & nayll a to side & toother, such expsens of blood & leather waz thear between them, az a moonths licking (I wéen) wyl not recouer: and yet remain az far oout az euer they wear.

It waz a sport very pleazaunt, of théez bestz: to sée the bear with hiz pink nyez⁴ léering after hiz enmiez approach, the nimblness & wayt⁵ of the dog too take hiz anauntage, and the fors & experiens of the bear agayn to auoyd the assaults: if he wear bitten in one place, hoow he woold pynch in an oother too get frée: that if he wear taken onez, then what shyft, with byting, with clawyng, with roring, tossing & tumbling, he woold woork too wynde hym self from them: and when he waz lose, to shake hiz earz twyse or thryse wyth the blud & the slauer about hiz fiz-

[tp. 24.] namy, waz †a matter of a goodly reléef.⁶

¹ foehood, feud.

² on one.

³ *scrat*, to scratch.—*Bröckett's Gloss.*

⁴ See *Notes* at the end.

⁵ watch.

⁶ So evidently thought also the nobles of Elizabeth's court (p. 16, note 2),

Gunshot & firework. Az this sport waz had a day time in the Castl, so waz thear abrode at night very straunge and sundry kindez of fier works¹, compelled by cunning too fly too and fro, and too moount very hy into the ayr² vpwward, and allso too burn vnquenshabl in the water beneath: contrary, yee wot, too fyerz kinde. This, intermingld with a great peal of guns: which all gaue, both too the ear and to the ey, the greater grace and delight, for that with such order and art they wear tempered tooching³ time and continuauns, that waz about too houres space.

Tumbling. Noow within allso in the mean time waz thear of the sheawed before her highnes, by an Italian, such Italian. feats of agilitiee, in goinges, turninges, tumblings, castinges, hops, iumps, leaps, skips, springs, gambaud⁴, sommersauts, caprettiez⁵ and flights: forward, backward, syde wize, a downward, vpwward, and with sundry windings, gyrings⁶, and circumflexions: allso lightly, and with such easines, az by mee in feaw words it iz not expressibl by pen or speech, I tell yoo plain. I bleast me, by my faith, to behold him, and began to doout whither a waz a man or a

whose 'moral grace' Mr. Froude holds has departed, and is not with us Victorians. *Short Studies on great Subjects* quoted in the Forewords to my *Queen Elizabethes Achademy*. (E. E. Text Soc. 1869). Set beside the moral grace that delighted in bear-baiting, the opinion of the old puritan Stubbes in 1583, whom the gracious nobles would have no doubt called a coarse and vulgar brute: "is not the baiting of a bear besides that it is a filthy, stinking, and lothsome game, a daungerous and perilous exercyse? wherein a man is in daunger of his life every minut of an howre; which thing, though it weare not so, yet what exercyse is this meet for any Christian? What Christen heart can take pleasure to see one poore beast to-rent, teare, and kill another, and all for his foolish pleasure? And although they be bloody beasts to mankind, and seeke his destruction, yet we are not to abuse them, for his sake who made them, and whose creatures they are. . . . And some, who take themselves for no small fooles, are so farre assotted that they will not stick to keep a dozen or a score of great mastives and bandogs, to their no small charges, for the maintenance of this goodly game (forsooth); and wil not make anie bones of xx. xl. c. pound at once to hazard on a bait, with "feight dog," "feight beare," (say they), "the devill part all!" And, to be plaine, I thinke the devill is the maister of the game, beareward and all. A goodly pastime, forsooth! worthie of commendation! and wel fitting these gentlemen of such reputation!"—*Anatomie of Abuses*, ed. 1583, Collier's reprint, p. 177-8.

¹ See *Nichols*, vol. i. p. 319, under the year 1572, when Fireworks were introduced for the Queen's amusement at Warwick.—N.

² *Orig. ayz.*

³ *Orig. couching.*

⁴ *Gambade*, a gamboll, yew-game, tumbling-tricke. *Gambader*, to turne heeles ower head, make many gambols, fetch many friskes, shew tumbling tricks.—*Cotgrave*.

⁵ *Capriot*, a caper in dauncing.—*Cotgrave*. Sp. *capriola*, a caper or lofty tricke in dauncing.—*Minsheu*.

⁶ *L. gyrus*, a circle, circuit.

[tp. 25.] spirite; and I wéen had †douted mée till this day, had it not been that anon I bethought me of men that can reazon & talk with too toongs, and with too parsons at onez, sing like burds, curteiz of behaiour, of body strong, and in ioyns so nymbly withall, that their bonez séem az lythie and plyaunt az syneuz. They dwel in a happy lland (az the booke tearmz it) four moonths sayling Southward beyond Ethiop.¹

Nay, Master Martin, I tell you no iest: for both Diodor. Sicul. De Diadorus Siculus, an auncient Greeke historiograph- anti. Egyp- er, in his third book of the acts of the olld Egyp- tiorum cians²: and also from him, Conrad Gesnerus³ a great

¹ See Mandeville (from Pliny) on Ethiopie, p. 157, ed. 1839. There, are the 'folk that han but o foote: and thei gon so fast that it is marvaylle: and the foote is so large, that it schadewethe alle the Body azen the Sonne, whanne thei wole lye and reste hem.'

² The reference made in the text to the third book of this author is errone- ous; the passage alluded to, being in the fourth chapter of the second book, the which, as it tends more perfectly to illustrate Laneham's remarks, is here extracted from Booth's translation of Diodorus Siculus, page 82. "The in- habitants are much unlike to us in this part of the world, both as to their bodies and their way of living; but among themselves, they are for form and shape like one to another, and in stature about four cubits high (six feet). They can bend and turn their bodies like unto nerves; and as the nervous parts, after motion ended, return to their former state and position, so do their bones. Their bodies are very tender, but their nerves far stronger than ours, for whatever they grasp in their hands, none are able to wrest out of their fingers. They have not the least hair on any part of their bodies, but upon their heads, eyebrows, eyelids, and chins; all other parts are so smooth, that not the least down appears anywhere. They are very comely and well- shaped, but the holes of their ears are much wider than ours, and have some- thing like little tongues growing out of them. Their tongues have something in them singular and remarkable, the effect both of nature and art; for they have partly a double tongue, naturally a little divided, but cut further in- wards by art, so that it forms two, as far as to the very root, and therefore there is great variety of speech among them, and they not only imitate man's voice in articulate speaking, but the various chatterings of birds, and even all sorts of notes, as they please; and that which is more wonderful than all, is, that they can speak perfectly to two men at once, both in answering to what is said, and aptly carrying on a continued discourse relating to subject- matter in hand; so that with one part of their tongue they speak to one, and with the other part to the other." Diodorus, surnamed Siculus, because he was born at Argyra in Sicily, flourished about 44 years before the Christian era.—Burn, p. 98-9; Nichols, i. 440.

³ An eminent physician, naturalist, and scholar of the 16th century, who was born at Zurich in 1516. He was made Professor of Greek at Lausanne, and at Basil he took the degree of Doctor of Medicine. After having pub- lished many valuable works in Botany, Medicine, Natural History, and Phi- lology, he died of the plague in the year 1565, aged forty-nine. His "Mi- thridates," mentioned in the text, is a work on the difference of tongues throughout the world.—Burn, p. 99; Nichols, i. 441.

gestis.¹ learned man, and a very diligent writer in all good
lib. 3. arguments of our time (but deceased), in the first
Mithrid. Chapter of his Mithridates reporteth the same. Az
Gesneri. for this fellow, I cannot tell what too make of him,
saue that I may gesse his bak be metalld like a Lamprey,
that haz no bone², but a lyne like to a Lute string.

Wel, syr, let him passe and his featz, and this dayz pastime
withall; for héer iz az mooch az I can remember mee for
Thursdaiz entertainment.

Friday. Friday and Saterdag wear thear no open †sheawz
Saterdag. 8. abrode, becauz the weather enclynde too sum
[†p. 26.] moyster & wynde: that very seasonably temperd
the drought and the heat cauzed by the continuans
of fayr weather & sunshyne afore, all the whyle syns her
Maiestiez thither cumming.

Sunday 9. A Sunday, opportunely, the weather brake vp
again, and after diuine scruis in the parish church
for the Sabot day, and a frutefull sermon thear in the fore-
noon: at after noon, in woorship of this Kenelwoorth Castl,
and of God & Saint Kenelm³, whooz day forsooth by the cal-
Brideale. endar this waz: a solem brydeale⁴ of a proper
coopl waz appointed: set in order in the tylytyard,
too cum and make thear sheaw before the Castl in the great

¹ *Orig. gestia.*

² See Dr. Christ. Bennet's ed. of Muffet's *Healths Improvement*, 1655, p. 182, in which we find, of Lampreys, and Lamprons, *Lamprete, Muræne*, that "They are best (if ever good) in March and April; for then they are so fat, that they have, in a manner, *no back-bone at all*: towards Summer they wax harder, and then they have a manifest bone, but their flesh is consumed."

³ See his Life in my *Early English Poems and Lives of Saints*, 1862, p. 47-57. He was king of the March of Wales [see above, p. 4, note], and Warwickshire was one of his counties. 'His day is given as July 17 in the Primer of 1536, but as Dec. 13 by Butler.'—*E. H. Knowles.*

⁴ As the account of this rustic bride-ale has a considerable share of the ludicrous mixed up with it, the following description of the procession of a bride of middle rank, from the "History of Jack of Newbury," may not be unacceptable: "The bride, being attired in a gown of sheep's russet, and a kirtle of fine worsted, attired with a billement of gold, and her hair as yellow as gold, hanging down behind her, which was curiously combed and plaited, she was led to church between two sweet boys, with bride laces and rosemary tied about their silken sleeves. There was a fair bride-cup of silver gilt carried before her, wherein was a goodly branch of rosemary, gilded very fair, hung about with silken ribands of all colours. Musicians came next, then a group of maidens, some bearing great bride-cakes, others garlands of wheat finely gilded; and thus they passed unto the church." Out of the bride-cup, above described, it was customary for all the persons present, together with the new-married couple, to drink in the church. There is a ludicrous re-

coourt, whear az waz pight a cumly quintine¹ for featz at armz, which, when they had don, too march out: at the northgate of the Castl, homeward againe intoo the tooun.

And thus were they marshalld. Fyrst, all the lustie lads and bolld bachelorz of the parish, sutable euery wight with hiz blu buckeram bridelace² vpon a braunch of green broom (cauz rozemary³ iz skant thear) tyed on hiz leaft arme (for a [tp. 27.] that syde lyez the heart), and hiz allder poll †for a spear in hiz right hand, in marciall order raunged on a fore, too & too in a rank: sum with a hat, sum in a cap, sum a cote, sum a ierken, sum (for lightnes) in hiz dooblet & hiz hoze, clean trust with a point afore: sum botes & no spurz, he spurz & no boots, and he neyther nother: one a sadel, anoother a pad or a pannell fastened with a cord, for gyrts wear geazon:⁴ and théez too the number of a sixtén

ference to this in the mad wedding of Catherine and Petruchio, the latter of whom

Quaff'd off the muscadel,

And threw the sops all in the sexton's face.

The custom, indeed, was universal, from the Prince to the Peasant; and at the marriage of the Elector Palatine to the daughter of James I. in 1613, we are informed by an eye-witness there was, "in conclusion, a joy pronounced by the King and Queen, and seconded with congratulation of the Lords there present, which crowned with draughts of Ippocras out of a great golden bowle, as an health to the prosperity of the marriage (began by the Prince Palatine and answered by the Princess.) After which were served up, by six or seven Barons, as many bowles filled with wafers, so much of that work was consummate."—*Kentworth Illustrated*, App. 16, 17; *Nichols*, i. 441.

¹ See *Brand* ii. 102–3, and i. 212 (ed. 1841), referring to many authorities, and quoting Aubrey, Hasted, etc., and Blount, whose *Glossographia* (5th ed. ed. 1681, 2 years after his death) says "Quintain, a game or sport still in request at Marriages, in some parts of this Nation, specially in Shropshire, the manner now corruptly [as is clear from Laneham's account] thus: A *Quintin*, Buttress, or thick Plank of Wood is set fast in the ground of the High-way where the Bride and Bridegroom are to pass; and Poles are provided, with which the young men run a Tilt on Horse-back; and he that breaks most Poles, and shews most activity, wins the Garland. But Stow, in his *Survey of London*, p. 76, says, That in anno 1253, the youthfull Citizens, for an exercise of their activity, set forth a game to run at the *Quintin*; and whosoever did best, should have a Peacock for prize, etc." Fr. *Quintaine*: f. A *Quintane* (or *Whintane*) for countrey youthes to runne at.—*Cotgrave*, A.D. 1611.

² Blue bride-laces were worn at weddings, and given to the guests in the 16th and 17th centuries.—*Fairholt's Costume in England*, p. 520. See examples in *Brand*, ii. 81, ed. 1841, from Ben Jonson, Herrick, etc.

³ See *Brand*, ii. 74 on 'Rosemary and Bays at Weddings.'

⁴ *Geason*, scarce: 'scant and geason.'—Harrison's *England*, p. 236, in *Halliwel's Gloss*. *Geason*, an ancient word signifying rare or scarce.—See Phillips.

"And if we speake of Astronomy,
They will say it is a great lye,
For they can no other reason;

wight¹ riding men, and well beséen²: but the bridegroom foremost, in hiz fatherz tawny worsted iacket, (for his fréends wear fayn that he shoold be a brydegroom before the Quéén) a fayr strawn³ hat, with a capitall crooun stéep wyze on hiz hed: a payr of haruest glouez on hiz hands, az a sign of good husbandry: a pen & inkorn at his bak, for he woold be knowen to be bookish; lame of a leg, that in his yooth was broken at football⁴: wellbeloued yet of hiz mother, that lent him a nu mufflar for a napkin, that was tyed too hiz gyrdl for⁵ lozyng: It was no small sport too marke this minion in hiz full apointment, that through good scoolation becam az formall in his action az had he béen a bride groom indéed: [tp. 28.] with this special grace by the wey, that euer az †he woold hauc framed him the better countenauns, with the woors face he lookt.

Well, syr, after théez horsmen, a liuely morisdauns⁶, ac-

But all that knoweth good and better,
As gentleman that loveth swete and swetter,
Wisdom with them is not *geason*," &c.

Shepheard's Kalendar, sign A. 56.

¹ active.

² clad. *ib.*

³ straw-en, made of straw.

⁴ See Stubbes's most amusing account of this Sunday-game, in his *Anatomic of Abuses*, p. 184 of Collier's reprint of the 1st ed. 1583: "as concerning football playing, I protest unto you it may rather be called a frendly kinde of fight, then a play or recreation; a bloody and murdering practise, than a felowly sporte or pastime. For dooth not every one lye in waight for his adversarie, seeking to overthrowe him, and to picke [= pitch] him on his nose, though it be upon hard stones? in ditch or dale, in valley or hil, or what place soever it be, hee careth not, so he have him down. And he that can serve the most of this fashion, he is counted the only felow; and who but he? So that by this means, sometimes their backs, *sometime their legs*, sometime their armes; sometime one part thrust out of joynt, sometime an other; sometime the noses gush out with blood, sometime their eyes start out, and sometimes hurt in one place, sometimes in another. But whosoever scapeth away the best, goeth not scotfree, but is either sore wounded, craised, and brused, so as he dyeth of it, or els scapeth very hardly. And no mervaile, for they have the sleights to meet one betwixt two, to dashe him against the hart with their elbowes, to hit him under the short ribbes with their griped fists, and with their knees to catch him upon the hip, and to pitch him on his neck, with a hundred such murdering devices: and hereof groweth envie, malice, rancour, cholor, hatred, displeasure, enmitie, and what not els: and sometimes fighting, brawling, contention, quarrel-picking, murder, homicide, and great effusion of blood, as experience dayly teacheth.

"Is this murdering play, now, an exercise for the sabaoth day? is this a Christian dealing, for one brother to mayne and hurt another, and that upon prepensd malice or set purpose? is this to do to another as we would wish another to doo to us? God make us more careful over the bodyes of our brethren!"

⁵ against, to prevent, losing it.
⁶ See 'Morris Dancers' in Brand, i. 142-155, ed. 1841.—Blount's *Glossographia*, there quoted, gives only six performers, as against Laneham's eight: "*Moriseo* (Span.) a Moor; also a Dance so called, wherein there were usually

cording too the auncient manner, six daunserz, Mawdmarion, and the fool. Then, thrée prety puzels¹ az bright az a breast of bacon, of a thirtie yéere old² a pées, that carried thrée speciall spiscakes³ of a bushell of wheat, (they had it by meazure oout of my Lord's backhouse⁴;) before the Bryde: Syzely, with set countenauns, and lips so demurely simpring, az it had béen a Mare cropping of a thistl. After théez, a loouely loober woorts⁵, freklfaced, red headed, cléen trust in his dooblet & hiz hoze, taken vp now in déed by commission, for that hee waz so loth to cum forward, for reuerens (belike) of hiz nu cut canuas⁶ dooblet: & woold by hiz good will haue béen but a gazer, but found too bée a meet actor for hiz offis: that waz, to beare the bridecup, foormed of a sweet sucket⁷ barrell, a faire turnd foot set too it, all seemly besyluerd and parcell⁸ gilt, adourned with a bea[u]tiful braunch of broom, gayly begilded for rosemary: from which, too brode brydelaces of red and yelloo buckeram begilded, and galauntly streaming by such wind az thear †waz (for hée [tp. 29.] carried it aloft:) This gentl cupbearer yet had hiz freckld fiznemy sumwhat vnhappily infested, az hee went, by the byzy flyez, that floct about the bride cup for the swéetnes of the sucket that it sauored on: but hée, like a tall fello, withstood their mallis stoutly (sée what manhood may do!), bet them away, kild them by scores, stood to hiz charge, and marched on in good order.

five Men, and a Boy dressed in a Girls habit, whom they call the *Maid Marrion* . . . Common people call it a *Morris Dance*." Brand's quotation, i. 149, from *Cobbe's Prophecies*, 1614, says that

. . . cheefest of them all, the Foole
Plaied with a ladle and a toole.

¹ Fr. *pucelle*, a maid, virgine; girle, damsell, mother.—*Cotgrave*.

² Nichols's copy reads 'a thirtie-five yeer old.'

³ See Brand on Bride-cake, ii. 62-4, ed. 1841. ⁴ bakehouse.

⁵ Fr. *Baligaut*: m. An unwelody lubber, great lobcocke, huge luske, misshapen lowt, ill-favoured flabergullion.—*Cotgrave*. '*Loobber woorts*, a dull, heavy, and useless fellow. The word is probably derived from the Danish *tubben*, gross, or fat, and *vorte*, a wart or wen.—See Wolff. Shakespeare uses the latter word somewhat in this sense, when he makes Prince Henry say to Falstaff, "I do allow this *wen* to be as familiar with me as my dog."—*Burn*, p. 100; *Nichols*, i. 443.

⁶ Cp. Laneham's saying of himself, p. 57, below. "I go noow in my sylks, that else might ruffl in my *cut canuas*,"—poor man's clothes.

⁷ *Suckets*, dried sweet-meats or sugar-plums; that which is sucked.—*Nares*: see the quotations there, and cp. Fr. *dragée* any jonkets, comfets, or sweet-meats, served in as the last course (or otherwise) for stomake-closers.—*Cotgrave*. ⁸ partly.—*Burn*.

Then folloed the worshipfull Bride, led (after the cuntrie maner) betwéen too auncient parishionerz, honest tooonsmen. But a stale stallion¹ and a wel spred, (hot az the weather waz,) God wot, and an il smelling, waz she : a thirtie² yéer old, of colour brounbay, not very beautifull in déed, but vgly, fooul, ill fauord : yet marueyloous fain of the offis, because shee hard say shee shoold dauns before the Quéén, in which feat shée thought shee woold foote it az finely az the best : Well, after this bride cam thear, by too and too, a dozen damzels for bridemaides : that for fauor, attyre, for facion and cleanlines, were az meete for such a bride, az a tréen³ lادل for a porige pot : mo, but for fear of carring all clean, had béen appointed : but theez feaw wear inoow.

[†p. 30.] †Az the cumpany in this order wear cum into the coourt, maruelous wear the marciall ācts that wear doon thear that day.

The Brydegroome for preeminens had the fyrst Running
at Quintine. coors at the Quintyne, brake hiz spear *tres hardiment* : but his mare in hiz manage did a littl so titubate⁴, that mooch a doo had hiz manhod to sit in his sadl, & too scape the foyl of a fall : with the help of his band, yet he recoouerd himself, and lost not hiz styrops (for he had none too his saddl) : had no hurt, as it hapt, but only that hiz gyrt burst, and lost hiz pen & inkorn, that he waz redy to wep for. But hiz handkercher, az good hap waz, found he safe at his gyrdl : that chéerd him sumwhat, & had good regard it shoold not be fyeld. For though heat & coolnes vpon sundry occasions made him sumtime too sweat, and sumtime rumaticke : yet durst he be bollder too blo hiz noze, & wype hiz face, with the flapet of his fatherz iacket⁵, then with hiz mothers mufflar ;—tiz a goodly matter, when yooth iz manerly brought vp in fatherly looue & motherly aw.

¹ *Stallion*, a term of reproof, applied to a woman in the *Life of Long Meg of Westminster*, 1635. Cotgrave's first meaning for *Estalon* is, 'a Stallion for Mares;' his second meaning 'a stale (as a Larke, etc.) wherewith Fowlers raine silly birds unto their destruction.'

² Nichols, following a Bodleian copy, reads "thirtie-five." Ed. 1788, i. 19.

³ made of tree or wood.

⁴ *Titubant* tripping, stumbling, staggering.—Cotgrave.

⁵ *Yf thy nose thou clense, as may befall,
Loke thy honde thou clense, as wythe-alle,
Priuely with skyrt do hit away,
Other ellis thurghe thi tepet that is so gay.*

Boke of Curtasye, ab. 1460 A.D., in *Babees Book*,
p. 301, l. 89-92.

Noow, syr, after the Brydegroom had made hiz coors, ran
 [fp. 31.] the rest of the band a †whyle in sum order, but
 soon after, tag and rag¹, cut & long tail²: whear the
 specialty of the sport waz, to see, how sum for hiz slakness
 had a good bob with the bag³, and sum for his haste too
 toppl dooun right, & cum tumbling to the post: sum stryuing
 so mooch at the first setting oout, that it séemd a question
 betwéene the man & the beast, whither the coors shoold
 be made a horsback or a foot: and put foorth with the
 spurz, then wold run hiz race byas⁴ among the thickest of
 the throng, that dooun came they toogyther, hand ouer hed:
 anoother, whyle he directed hiz coors to the quintyne, hiz
 iument⁵ wold cary him too a mare amoong the pepl: so hiz
 hors az amoroos, az him selfe aduenturoos. Another, too
 run & miss the quintyne with hiz staff, and hit the boord
 with his hed.

Many such gay gamez wear thear among théez ryderz:
 who by & by after, vpon a greater coorage, leaft thear quin-
 tining, and ran one at anoother. Thear to sée the stearn
 countenauns, the grym looks, the cooragioous attempts, the
 desperat aduenturez, the daungeroous cooruez⁶, the féers
 encounterz, whearby the buff⁷ at the man, and the counter-
 [fp. 32.] buff at the hors, that †both sumtime cam topling to
 the ground. By my trooth, Master Martyn, twaz a

¹ *En bloc et en tasche*, one with another, tag and rag, all together.—*Cotgrave*.

² This phrase [*cut and long tail*] occurs in the Merry Wives of Windsor, where Slender after the declaration of Shallow, that he shall maintain Ann Page like a gentlewoman, says, "Ay, that I will, come *cut and long-tail*, under the degree of a squire." It is also found in the First Part of the Eighth Liberal Science, entitled, "*Ars Adulandi*," &c, devised and compiled by Ulpian Fulwell 1576, "Yea, even their very dogs, Rug, Rig, and Risbie, yea, *cut and long-taille*, they shall be welcome." Many other instances of the usage of this phrase are to be met with in old plays, and it seems probable that it originally referred to horses only, which might be denominated *cut and long-tail*, as they were curtailed of this appendage or allowed its full growth: and this might be practised according to their value or uses. In this view, *cut and long-tail*, would include the whole species of horses, good and bad, and such appears to be the comprehensive meaning of the phrase.—*Kenilworth Illustrated*, App. 19; *Nichols*, i. 445.

³ Hung at the other end of the cross-bar of the quintain-pole.

⁴ *Biais*: m. Byas, compasse, aslope, or sloping.—*Cotgrave*.

⁵ stallion; though Fr. *jument* is a mare. Lat. *jumentum*, a beast of burden.

⁶ 'curves,' as Mr. Knowles suggests; not for 'courses;' or from Fr. *Corvée*, *Courvée*, a dayes worke, due by a Tenant vnto his Lord. *Il a fait une grande courvée*, he hath done a great dayes worke, he hath made a long dayes iourney; or, he hath dispatched the matter with verie much toyle.—*Cotgrave*.

⁷ *Buffe*: f. A buffet, blow, cuffe, boxe, or whirret on the eare, &c.—*Cotgrave*.

liuely pastime; I beléeue it woold haue mooued sum man too a right méery mood, though had it be toold him hiz wife lay a dying.

Hok Tuis- And héertoo folloed az good a sport (me thooght)
day¹ by the presented in an historicall ku², by certain good
Coouentre harted men of Couentree³, my Lordes neighbors
men. thear : who, vnderstanding amoong them *the* thing
that could not bee hidden from ony, hoow carefull and stu-
dious hiz honor waz, that by all pleazaunt recreasions her
highnes might best fynd her self wellcom, and bee made
gladsum and mery, (the groundworke indeede, and fundacion,
of hiz Lordship's myrth and gladnesse of vs all), made peti-
tion that they moought renu noow their olld storiall sheaw⁴ :
Florileg. Of argument, how the Danez whylom héere in a
li. I. fol. troublous seazon wear for quietnesse born withall,
300. & suffeard in peas, that anon, by outrage & import-
abl insolency, abuzing both Ethelred, the king then, and all
estates cuerie whear byside : at the greuouous complaint &

¹ See Brand and Ellis's long notes on this custom in their *Antiquities*, i. 107-114, ed. 1841.

² ? style. *Cue*. From the letter *Q*, of *quando* or *qualis* by which the place for a fresh actor's speech was marked.—See *Wedgwood*, iii. 550.

³ On the Coventry men's plays, &c. see Thomas Sharpe's "Dissertation on the Pageants or Dramatic Mysteries anciently performed at Coventry by the Trading Companies of that City &c." 1825; and "the Coventry Mysteries," edited for the Shakspeare Society by Mr. Halliwell, 1841. "Previous to the suppression of the English Monasteries, the City of Coventry was particularly famed for the pageants which were performed in it on the 14th of June, or Corpus-Christi day. This appears to have been one of the ancient fairs; and the Grey Friars, or Friars Minors, of that City, had, as Dugdale relates, "Theatres for the several scenes very large and high, placed upon wheels, and drawn to all the eminent parts of the city, for the better advantage of the spectators; and contained the story of the Old and New Testament, composed in the Old English rhyme." Coventry appears to have derived great benefit from the numbers of persons who came to visit these Pageants."—*Burn*, p. 101; *Nichols*, i. 446.

⁴ The origin of this once popular holiday, called Hoke-day, Hoke-tuesday, or Hoke-tide, is involved in considerable obscurity. By some writers it is supposed to be commemorative of the massacre of the Danes in the reign of Ethelred, on the 13th of November, 1002; whilst by others, the deliverance of the English from the tyranny of the Danes, by the death of Hardicanute, on Tuesday the 8th of June, 1042, is pointed out as its origin. Our author adopts the former hypothesis, though the weight of argument preponderates in favour of the national deliverance by Hardicanute's death; and it must not be forgotten that the festival was celebrated on a Tuesday, and that Hoke-tuesday was the Tuesday in the second week after Easter. Various conjectures have been offered respecting the etymology of the word *Hoke*. Lambard imagined it to be a corruption of *Huertyde*, the time of scorning or mocking. Bryant prefers *Hock*, *high*, apprehending that *Hock-day* means no more than a high day; but Mr. Denne, in a very learned memoir upon this subject, printed in the

coounsell of Huna, the king's chieftain in warz, on Saint
 [tp. 33.] Brices night, Ann. Dom. 1012.¹ †(Az the book sayz)
 that falleth yéerely on the thirtéenth of Nouember,
 wear all dispatcht, and the Ream rid. And for becauz
 the matter mencioneth how valiantly our English women for
 looue of their cuntrée behaued themseluez: expressed in
 actionz & rymez after their maner, they thought it moought
 mooue sum myrth to her Maiestie the rather.

The thing, said they, iz grounded on story, and for pastime
 woont too bee plaid in oour Citee yéerely: without ill ex-
 ampl of mannerz, papistry, or ony superstition: and elz did
 so occupy the heads of a number, that likely inoough woold
 haue had woorz meditationz: had an auncient beginning, and
 a long continuauns: tyll noow of late laid dooun, they knu
 no cauz why, unless it wear by the zeal of certain theyr
 Preacherz²: men very commendabl for their behauiour and
 learning, & swéet in their sermons, but sunwhat too sour
 in preaching away theyr pastime³: wisht therefore, that az
 they shoold continu their good doctrine in pulpet, so, for
 matters of pollicy & gouernauns of the Citie, they woold per-

Archæologia, vol. vii. p. 244, &c., adopts Spelman's derivation of the term
 from the German *Hocken*, in reference to the practice of *binding*, which was
 formerly practised by the women upon the men upon Hoke-tuesday; though
 he considers this as metaphorical, and that the German word for marriage, or
 a wedding-feast, *Hock-zeit*, is more immediately applicable, because it was at
 the wedding feast of a Danish Lord, with the daughter of a Saxon Nobleman,
 that Hardicanute died suddenly, not without suspicion of being poisoned.—
Nichols, i. 446.

¹ More correctly 1002.—*Kenilworth Illustrated*, 20; *Nichols*.

² Compare Stubbes's chapter 'Of Stage-playes and Enterludes, with their
 wickednes,' *Anatomic*, p. 134-141; Northbrooke's Treatise on Dicing, Dan-
 cing, Plays and Interludes, &c., 1577, A.D. (Shaksp. Soc. 1843), &c. &c.

³ While the Catholic Religion was the established faith of England, there
 were, in connection with it, many public amusements and festivals, by which
 all the orders of society were entertained; such as the performance of Moralities
 or sacred plays, popular customs to be observed on certain vigils and
 Saints' days, and the keeping of the many holidays enjoined by the Romish
 Calendar, in the pastimes common to the lower classes. In the commencement
 of most reformations in society, it is common to find the reverse of wrong
 assumed for right; and hence the Puritans, who increased rapidly after the
 English Reformation, not only banished all those festivals and customs pecu-
 liar to the Catholic religion, but also violently declaimed against popular
 pastimes, innocent in themselves, but condemned by them because they had
 existed in former times. This illiberal spirit of denouncing public amuse-
 ments, was, however, not without some opposition; Randolph severely at-
 tacked "the sanctified fraternity of Blackfriars," in his "Muses Looking
 Glass," and Ben Jonson scarcely ever let them pass without some satirical
 remark. In the Monologue, or "Masque of Owls," the latter of which, as it
 was performed at Kenilworth, in the Reign of Charles I., is most to the pre-

mit them to the Mair and Magistratez : and seyed, by my
[†p. 34.] feyth, Master Martyn, they †woold make theyr
humbl peticion vntoo her highnes, that they might
haue theyr playz vp agayn.

Captain But aware, kéep bak, make room noow, heer they
Cox. cum! And fyrst, captin Cox, an od man I promiz yoo:
by profession a Mason, and that right skilfull, very cunning

sent purpose; the third owl is intended to represent a Puritan of Coventry, one of those who contributed to put down the Coventry plays, and is thus described:—

HEY OWL THIRD.

“A pure native bird
This, and though his hue
Be Coventry blue,
Yet is he undone
By the thread he has spun;
For since the wise town
Has let the sports down
Of May-games and Morris,
For which he right sorry is;
Where their maids and their makes,

At dancings and wakes,
Had their napkins and posies,
And the wipers for their noses,
And their smocks all-be-wrought
With his thread which they bought:
It now lies on his hands,
And having neither wit or lands,
Is ready to hang or choke him,
In a skein of that that broke him.”

From the above keen satire may be gathered, that in abolishing of the Coventry Pageants, the trade of that City suffered considerably. The chief staple of the place was the manufactory of blue thread, of which a great consumption was formerly made in the embroidering of scarfs and napkins. But beside the decay of trade in Coventry, occasioned by the loss of the Pageants, the unpatriotic taste for articles of foreign production, was also of considerable detriment to that, as well as to the other manufacturing Towns of England. In a very rare tract, entitled, “A Briefe Concepte of English Pollicye,” Lond. 1581, with the initials W. S., and ascribed to Shakspeare, but in reality written by W. Stafford, there are the following passages concerning the effect of this destructive fashion upon the staple of Coventry: and as they tend so particularly to illustrate the period of the Kenilworth pageants, and Laneham’s own manners, which were so strongly tinctured with foreign fopperies, it is presumed that their insertion will not be unacceptable to the reader: (fo. 48) “I will tell you: while men were contented with such as were made in the market-townes next vnto them, then were they of our Townes & Cities well set a worke: as I knewe the time when men were content with Cappes, Hattes, Gyrdels, and Poyntes, and all manner of garmentes made in the townes next adioyning, whereby the Townes were then well occupied and set a worke, and yet the money payd for the same stuffe remayned in the country. Now, the poorest younge man in a country cannot be content with a lether gyrdle, or lether poyntes, Kniues or Daggers, made nigh home. And specially no Gentleman can be contente to haue eyther Cappe, Cote, Dublet, Hose, or shyрте, in his country, but they must haue this geare come from London; and yet many thinges hereof are not there made, but beyond the sea: whereby the artificers of our good townes are idle, and the occupations in London, and specially of the townes beyond the seaes, are well set a worke euen vpon our costes. . . (f. 49) I haue heard say that the chiefe trade of Coventry was heretofore in making of blewe threde, and then the towne was riche euen vpon that trade in manner onely; and now our thredde comes all from beyond Sea. Wherefore that trade of Couentry is decaied, and thereby the towne likewise.” (fol. 49).—In consequence, therefore, of the desire for foreign articles of dress

in fens, and hardy az Gawin ; for hiz tonsword¹ hangs at his tablz éend : great ouersight hath he in matters of storie : For, az for king Arthurz book², Huon of Burdeaus, The four

and ornament, England, which had been hitherto in a great measure supplied from her own resources, became about the close of the 16th century filled with manufactures which were imported from the Continent ; while at the same time the most important British productions were exchanged for what, in a commercial sense, might be considered only as superfluities. This, also, is very forcibly hinted at in the pamphlet before quoted, in the following manner :—"And I maruell no man takes heede to it, what number first of trifles comes hether from beyond the sea, that wee might either cleane spare, or els make them within our realme, for the which wee either pay inestimable treasure euery yere, or else exchange substantiall wares and necessary, for them, for the which we might receaue great treasure. Of the which sort I meane as well looking-glasses as drinking, and also to glaze windowes, Dialles, Tables, Cardes, Balles, Puppettes, Penners [pen-cases], Inkehorns, Toothe-picks, Gloues, Kniues, Daggges, Owches [jewels or ornaments], Brouches, Agglettes [the metal ends of tags or laces], Buttons of silke & siluer, Earthen pots, Pinnes and Pointes, Hawkes belles, Paper both white and browne, and a thousand like thinges that might either be cleane spared, or els made within the realme, sufficient for vs : and as for some thinges, they make it of our owne commodities, and send it vs againe, whereby they set their people a worke, and doe exhauste much treasure out of this Realme : as, of our woll they make Clothes, Cappes, and Kerseis ; of our felles [hides] they make Spanish skins, Gloues, and Girdels ; of our Tinne, Saltsellers, Spooones, and Dishes ; of our broken Linnen, clothes and ragges, Paper both white and browne. What Treasure (thinke yee) goes out of this Realme for euery of these thinges ? and then for all together, it exceeds myne estimation. There is no man that can be contented now with any other Gloues than be made in Fraunce or in Spayne ; nor Kersie, but it must be of Flaunders die ; nor Cloth, but French, or Fryscadowe ; nor Ouche, Brooch, or Agglet, but of Venice making, or Millen ; nor Dagger, Swearde, Knife, or Gyrdle, but of Spanish making, or some outward cuntry ; no, not as much as a Spurre, but that is fetched at the Millener. I haue heard within these xl. years, when there were not of these Haberdashers that selles French or Millen Cappes, Glasses, Kniues, Dagggers, Swordes, Gyrdels, and such thinges, not a dosen in all London : & now from the Tower to Westminster alonge, euery streate is full of them ; and their shoppes glitter and shyne of Glasses, as well drynking as looking, yea, all manner of vessel of the same stuffe : paynted Cruses, gaye Dagggers, Knyues, Swordes, and Gyrdels, that it is able to make any temperate man to gase on them, and to buy somewhat, though it serue to no purpose necessarie."—*Burn*, p. 101-4 ; *Nichols*, i. 447-449. (Corrected by *Stafford*. Fol. 25. I shall re-edit the book for the E. E. Text Soc. in a year or two.)

¹ "Perhaps a one-handed sword, from *ton* the one (see p. 37), guesses Nares, who says he has not found the word anywhere else than in this tract, here, and on page 31. *Burn* (p. 106), more probably, makes it a large two-handed sword. See *Preface*. "In the account of expenses by the Drapers' Company in Coventry on Midsummer night, 1557, occur, fifteen gunners, a flag-bearer, flute, drum, and a "wysseler." There is also the following Item, "payd for a *long-sworde* and the skouryng, xijd." which long sword was evidently for the person marshalling or commanding the fifteen gunners, and seems to be exactly analogous to the *tonsword* of Captain Cox."—*Kenilworth Illustrated*, App. 22 ; *Nichols*, i. 451.

² For notes on all this and the following names of books, ballads, etc., see the *Forewords*.

suns of Aymon, Beuys of Hampton, The squyre of lo degré, The knight of courtesy, and the Lady Faguell, Frederik of Gene, Syr Eglamoor, Sir Tryamoor, Sir Lamwell, Syr Isenbras, Syr Gawyn, Olyuer of the Castl, Lucrez and Euralus¹, Virgil's life, The castle of Ladiez, The wido Edyth, The King & the Tanner, Frier Rous, Howleglas, Gargantua, Robinhood, Adambel, Clim of the clough, & William of Cloudesley, The Churl & the Burd, The seauen wise Masters, The wife lapt in a Morel's skin, The sak full of nuez, The seargeaunt that became a Fryar, Skogan, Collyn cloout, The Fryar & the boy, Elynor Rumming, and the Nutbrooun [tp. 35.] maid, with many moe †then I rehearz héere: I bé-
léue hee haue them all at hiz fingers endz.

Then, in Philosophy, both morall & naturall, I think he be az naturally ouerseen²: beside poetrie and Astronomie, and oother hid sciencez, as I may gesse by the omberty³ of hiz books: whearof part az I remember, the Sheperdz kalender, The Ship of Foolz, Danielz dreamz, the booke of Fortune, *Stans puer ad mensam*, the hy way to the Spithouse, Iulian of Brainford's testament, the castle of Loue, the booget of Demaunds, the hundred Mery talez, the book of Riddels, the Seauen sororz of wemen, the proud wiues Pater noster, the Chapman of a peniwoorth of Wit: Beside hiz auncient playz, Yooth & charitee, Hikskorner, Nugize, Impacient pouerty; and héerwith, doctor Boord's breuiary of health. What shoold I rehearz heer, what a bunch of ballets & songs, all auncient: Az Broom broom on hil. So wo iz me begon, troy lo. Ouer a whinny Meg. Hey ding a ding. Bony lass vpon a gréen. My bony on gaue me a bek. By a bank az I lay: and a hundred more, he hath, fair wrapt vp in Parchment, and bound with a whipcord.

[tp. 36.] And az for Allmanaks of antiquitée, (a †point for Ephemerides) I wéene hee can sheaw from Iasper Laet of Antwarp vnto Nostradam of Frauns, and thens vnto our John Securiz of Salsbury. To stay ye no longer héerin, I dare say hee hath az fair a library for théez sciencez, & az many goodly monuments both in proze & poetry, & at

¹ Nichols reads 'Curialus,' ed. 1788, vol. i. p. 23.

² Well-read, learned: cp. Fr. *retraicter*, to revise, peruse, overlook, oversee, run over.—*Cotgrave*.

³ ?shadowing. Cp. 'coming events cast their shadows before;' and Fr. *Vn poil fait ombre*: Prov. A haire makes a shadow; the smallest things haue their shadows; viz. their vse, or some ornament.—*Cotgrave*.

afternoonz can talk az much without book, az ony Inholder betwixt Brainford¹ and Bagshot, what degree soeuer he be.

Beside thiz, in the field a good Marshall at musters²: of very great credite & trust in the toun héer, for he haz béen chozen Alecunner³ many a yéere, when hiz betterz haue stond by: & euer quited himself with such estimation, az yet too the tast of a cup of Nippitate⁴, his iudgement will be taken aboue the best in the parish, be hiz noze near so read.

Captain Cox cam marching on valiantly before, cléen trust, & gartered aboue the knée, all fresh in a veluet cap (master Goldingham⁵ lent it him) floorishing with hiz ton-sword, and another fensmaster with him: thus in the fore-ward making room for the rest. After them proudly prickt on formost, the Danish launsknights⁶ on horsbak, and then the English: each with their allder †poll marcially in their

[tp. 37.] Eeuen at the first entrée the méeting waxt sumwhat warm: that by and by kindled with
The Couen-
tree play. corage a both sidez, gru from a hot skirmish vnto a blazing battail: first by speare and shield, outrageous in their racez az ramz at their rut⁷, with furious encoounterz, that togyther they tumbl too the dust, sumtime hors and man: and after fall too it with sworde & target, good bangz a both sidez: the fight so ceassing; but the battail not so ended: folloed the footmen, both the hostez, ton after toother: first marching in ranks: then warlik turning, then from ranks into squadrons, then in too trianglz; from

¹ Brentford in Middlesex, and Bagshot in Surrey, are both on the South-Western road from London. What can have made Laneham quote them here?

² See *Notes* at the end.

³ *Ale-comer* or *Ale-taster*, an Officer appointed in evcry Court-Leet, and Sworn to look to the Assize and Goodness of Bread, Ale and Beer, sold within the Jurisdiction of the Leet.—*Kersey's Phillips*, A.D. 1706.

⁴ See note on *Arion*, p. 34, in *Notes* at the end.

⁵ Stubbes, in his *Anatomie of Abuses*, 1595, describing the excesses at *Church-ales*, on which occasion he says ten or twenty quarters of malt is frequently made into very strong ale or beer; adds, "Then, when this *nippitatum*, this huffe-cappe, as they call it, this nectar of life, is set abroach, well is he that can get the soonest to it, and spend the most at it; for he is counted the godliest man of all the rest, and most in God's favour, because it is spent upon his Church forsooth." May not the terms *nappy-ale* and *brown-nappy*, be derived from this origin?—*Kenilworth Illustrated*, App. 23; *Nichols*, i. 455. See *Notes* at the end.

⁶ Dan. *lantse* a lancee, *knegt* a knight; Germ. *lands-knecht* a foot-soldier.—*Ludwig*.

⁷ Fr. *ruit*: m. The rut of Deere or Bores; their lust; and the season wherein they ingender.—*Cotgrave*.

that intoo rings, & so winding oout again: A valiant captain of great prowéz, az fiers az a fox assauting a gooz, waz so hardy to giue the first stroke: then get they grisly togyther: that great waz the actiuitée that day too be séen thear a both sidez: ton very eager for purchaz¹ of pray, toother vtterly stout for redemption of libertie: thus, quarrell enflamed fury a both sidez. Twise the Danes had *the* better; but at the last conflict, beaten down, ouercom, and many led captiue for triumph by our English wéemen.

[tp. 38.] This waz the effect of this sheaw, that, †az it waz handled, made mooch matter of good pastime: brought all indéed intoo the great court, een vnder her highnes windo too haue been séen: but (az vnhappy it waz for the bride) that cam thither too soon, (and yet waz it a four a klok). For her highnes beholding in the chamber delectabl dauncing indéed: and héerwith the great throng and vnrulines of the people, waz cauz that this solemnitee of Brideale & dauncing, had not the full muster waz hoped for: and but a littl of the Couentrée plea her highnes also saw: commaunded thearfore on the Tuisday folloing to haue it ful oout: az accordingly it waz presented, whearat her Maiestie laught well: they wear the iocunder, and so mooch the more becauz her highnes had giuen them too buckes, and fine marke in mony, to make mery togyther: they prayed for her Maiesty, long, happily to reign, & oft to cum thither, that oft they moought sée héer: & what, reioycing vpon their ampl reward, and what, triumphing vpon the good acceptauns, they vaunted their play waz neuer so dignified, nor euer any players afore so beatified.

[tp. 39.] Thus though the day took an éend, yet †slipt not the night all sléeing away: for az neyther offis nor obsequy ceased at any tyme too the full, to perform the plot hiz honor had appoynted: So, after supper waz thear a play presented of a very good theam, but so set foorth by the Actoourz wel handling, that pleasure & mirth made it seeme very short, though it lasted too good ourz and more. But stay, master Martyn, all iz not doon yet.

After the play oout of hand, folloed a most delicioouz and (if I may so terme it) an Ambrosiall Banket: whearof, whither I myght more muze at the deintynesse, shapez and the cost: or els at the variete & number of the disshez (that

¹ Fr. *pourchas*, eager pursuit, earnest chace after (*Cotgrave*) and so, gain getting, securing.

wear a three hundred), for my part I could littl tel them, and noow less, I assure yoo. Her Maiesty eat smally or nothing: which vnderstood, the coorsez wear not so orderly serued, & sizely set dooun, but wear by and by az disorderly wasted & coorsly consumed; more courtly¹, me thought, then curteously. But that was no part of *the* matter: moought it pleaz and be liked, & do that it cam for, then waz all well inough.

Vntoo this banket thear waz appoynted a mask: for [tp. 40.] riches of aray, of an incredibl† cost: but the time so far spent, and very late in the night noow, waz cauz that it cam not foorth to the sheaw. And thus for Sundayz season hauing stayd yoo the lenger (according too the matter) heer make I an eend: ye maye breath yee a while.

Munday. 10. Munday, the eyghteenth of this Iuly, the weather being hot, her highnes kept the Castl for coolness, till about fiue a clok her Maiesty in the Chase hunted the hart (az afore) of fors: that, whyther wear it by the cunning

of the huntsmen, or by the naturall desyre of the Psal. 24. Deer, or els by both: anon he gat him too soyl² agayne, which reyzed the accustomed delight: a pastime indéede so intyrelly pleazaunt, az whearof at times whoo may haue the ful and frée fruition, can find no more sacie-tée (I ween) for a recreation, then of theyr good viaundes at tizez for their sustentation.

Well, the game waz gotten: and her highnes returning, cam thear vppon a swimming Mermayd (that from top too tayl waz an eyghtéen foot long,) Triton, Neptunes blaster: Triton. whoo, with hiz trumpet foormed of a wrinkld wealk, [tp. 41.] az her Maiesty† waz in sight, gane soound very shrill & sonoroous, in sign he had an ambassy too pronooouns: anon her highnes waz cummen vpon the bridge, whearunto he made hiz fish to swim the swifter, and he then declared³: “how the supream salsipotent⁴ Monarch Neptune, the great

¹ Compare, in Russell's Book of Nurture, *Babees Book*, p. 163, the caution to the officers to look out that no dish of a course is stolen, l. 180; and the note there from *Household Ordinances*, p. 45, that Edw. IV's Surveyor is to see that 'of every messe that cummyth from the dressing bourde . . . thereof be nothing withdrawn by the squires.'

² took to the water. Fr. *batre les eaux*, a Deere to take soyle.—*Cotgrave*.

³ See *Notes* at the end.

⁴ An epithet derived from the Latin *salsipotens*, which signifies one who has power over the salt seas; in which sense it is used by Plautus.—*Ainsworth*, in *Burn*.

God of the swelling seaz, Prins of profunditées, and Souerain Segnior of al Lakez, freshwaterz, Riuerz, Créekes, & Goolphs : vnderstanding how a cruel Knight, one syr Bruse sauns pitée¹, a mortall enmy vntoo Ladiez of estate, had long lyen about the banks of this pooll, in wayt with his bands heer to distress the Lady of the lake, whearby she hath béen restrayned not only from hauing any vse of her ancient liberty and territoriez in thééz parts, but also of making repayr & giuing attendauns vnto yoo, nobl Quéén, (qd. he) az she woold, shée promist, and allso shoold : dooth thearfore signify : and héerto, of yoo, az of hiz good leag and déer fréend, make this request, that ye will deyn but too sheaw yoor parson toward this pool, whearby yoor only prezens shallbe matter sufficient of abandoning this vncurtess knight, and putting all his bands too flight, & also of deliuerauns [tp. 42.] of †the lady out of this thralldom." Moouing héer- with from the bridge, & fléeting more intoo the pool, chargeth he in Neptunes name : both Eolus with al his windez, the waters with hiz springs, hiz fysh & fowl, and all his clients in the same, that they ne be so hardye in any fors too stur, but kéepe them calm & quiet while this Quéén be present. At which petition her highnes staying, it appeerd straight hoow syr Bruse became vnséen, his bands skaled², and the Lady by and by, with her too Nymphs, flotting vpon her moouable Ilands (Triton on hiz mermaid skimming by,) approched toward her highnes on the bridge : az well too declarè that her Maiestiez prezens hath so gracioulye thus wrought her deliuerauns, az allso to excuze her not comming to coourt az she promist, and chéefly to present her Maiesty (az a token of her duty & good hart) for her highness recreation, with thiz gift, which was Arion³, that excellent & famouz Muzicien, in tyre & appointment straunge well séeming too hiz parson, ryding alofte vpon hiz olld fréend the Dolphin, (that from hed to tayl waz a [tp. 43.] fouer & twenty foot long) & swymd hard by theez Ilands : †héerwith Arion, for theez great benefitez, after a feaw well couched words vntoo her Maiesty of thanksgyuing, in supplement of the same, béegan a de-

¹ See *Notes* at the end.

² skedaddled? 'Skate, to scatter, in haymaking, is still used transitively in Cumberland.'—*E. H. Knowles*.

³ See the note on Goldingham from *Ken. Ill.* p. 25; and *Nichols*, i. 458, in *Notes* at the end.

lectabl ditty of a song¹ wel apted too a melodious noiz², compounded of six seuerall instruments al couuert, casting soound from *the Dolphin's* belly within; *Arion*, the seauenth, sitting thus singing (az I say) without.

Noow syr, the ditty in miter so aptly endighted to the matter, and after by voys so deliciously deliuerd: *the* song by a skilful artist intoo hiz parts so swéetly sorted: each part in hiz instrument so clean & sharpely tooched, euery instrument again in hiz kind so excellently tunabl: and this in the éeu[en]ing of the day, resoounding from the callm waters: whear prezens of her Maiesty, & longing too listen, had vtterly damped all noyz & dyn; the hole armony conueyd in tyme, tune, & temper, thus incomparably melodious: with what pleazure (Master Martin), with what sharpnes of conceyt, with what lyuely delighte, this moought pears into the heerers harts, I pray ye imagin yoor self az ye may; for, so God iudge me, by all the wit & cunning I haue, I cannot ex-

[tp. 44.] press, I promis yoo. *Mais ¶ieo bien vieu cela, Monsieur, que forte grande est la pouuoyr qu'auoit la tresnoble Science de Musique sur les esprites humains: perceiue ye me? I haue told ye a great matter noow. As for me, surely I was lulld in such liking, & so loth too leaue of, that mooch a doo, a good while after, had I, to fynde me whear I waz. And take ye this by the way, that for the smal skyl in muzik that God hath sent me, (ye kno it iz sumwhat,) ile set the more by my self while my name iz Laneham, and grace a God. A! muzik iz a nobl Art!*

A! stay a while! see a short wit: by my trooth I had almost forgot. This daye waz a day of grace beside, whearin wear auanced fyue gentlemen of woorshippe vnto the de-

grée of knighthood: Sir Thomas Cecyl, sun & heyr vntoo the right honorabl the Lord Treazorer; Syr Henry Cobham, broother vnto the Lord Cobham; Syr Thomas Stanhop, Syr Arthur Basset, and Syr Thomas Tresham: and allso, by her highnes accustumed mercy & charitée, nyne cured of the peynfull and daungerous diseaz, called *the kings euill*; for that Kings & Quéenz of this Realm,

[tp. 45.] without oother medsin (saue only by ¶handling & prayerz), only doo cure it: bear with me, though perchauns I place not thoz Gentlmen in my recitall héer,

¹ In Gascoigne's account the song is given, but *Protheus* is the character instead of *Arion*, which is apparently an error.—*Nichols*, i. 458; *Ken. Ill.* p. 25, note 3. ² 'noiz' = noise—a company, or band, of musicians.—*W. C.*

after theyr estatez : for I am neyther good heraud of armez, nor yet kno hoow they are set in the Subsydy bookez. Men of great woorship I vnderstand they are all.

Tuisday, 11. Tuisday, according to commaundement, cam our Couentrée men : what their matter waz, of her highnes myrth and good acceptauns, and rewarde vntoo them, and of their reioysing thearat, I sheawd you afore, and so say the less noow.

Wedns. 12. Wednesday in the forenoon, preparacion was in hand for her Maiesty too haue supt in Wedgenall, a thrée myle west from the Castl. A goodly park of the Quéenz Maiestyez¹ : for that cauz, a fayr Paulion, and other prouision accordingly thither sent & prepared : but by meanz of weather not so cléerly dispozed, *the* matter waz countermaunded again. That had her highnes hapned this daye too haue cummen abrode : there was made redde a deuise of Goddesses & Nymphes² : which, az well for the ingenious argument, az for *the* wel handling of it in rime & endighting, [tp. 46.] woold vndooutedly haue gaine great lyking, & mooued no less delight. Of *the* particularitéez, whearof, I ceas to entreat : least, like the boongling carpentar, by missorting the péceez, I mar a good frame in the bad setting vp, or by my fond tempring afore hand embleanish the beauty, when it shoold be reard vp in déede.

A this day also waz thear such earnest talkk & appointment of remouing, that I gaue ouer my noting, and harkened after my hors.

Mary, syr, I must tell yoo : Az all endeuoour waz too mooue mirth & pastime (az I tolld ye) : éeuen so a ridiculoous deuise of an auncient minstrell & hiz song waz prepared to haue been profferd, if méet time & place had béen foound for it. Ons in a woorshipfull company, whear, full appointed, he recoounted his matter in sort az it shoould haue been vttred, I chaused too be : what I noted, heer thus I tel yoo : A parson very méet séemed he for the purpoze, of a xlv.³ yéers olld, apparelled partly as he woold himself. Hiz

¹ The Duchess of Portland's copy reads "a goodly park of the right honourable my very good Lord the Earl of Warwick." It still belongs to that noble family, and is now called *Wedgnoek Park*.—*Nichols's Progresses*, 1788, vol. i. p. 29.

² See *Notes* at the end.

³ The Duchess of Portland's copy reads "xiv."—*Nichols*, ed. 1788, vol. i. p. 30.

cap of : his hed séemly rounded tonster wyze¹ : fayr kemb, that with a sponge deintly dipt in a littl capons greaz was [†p. 47.] finely smoothed too make †it shine like a Mallard's wing. Hiz beard smugly shauen : and yet hiz shyrt after the nu trink², with ruffis fayr starched, slécked, and glistering like a payr of nu shooz : marshalld in good order : wyth a stetting stick, and stoout, that euery ruff stood vp like a wafer : a side gooun of kendall green, after the freshnes of the yéer noow, gathered at the neck with a narro gorget, fastened afore with a white clasp and a keeper close vp to the chin : but easily for heat too vndoo when he list : Séemly begyrt in a red caddiz³ gyrdl : from that a payr

¹ Fr. *tondre*, to sheere, clip, cut, powle, nott, pare round.—*Cotgrave*.

² ? trick, fashion.

³ *Caddis*, worsted, such as is now termed *cruell*, used for the ornament of the dresses of servants and the lower classes in the 16th century. *Caddis* garters are mentioned by writers of that era as worn by country folks.—*Faiholt's Costume in England*.—"This description of the minstrel's dress is particularly valuable, as it gives a highly-finished portrait of a class of men long since entirely extinct; and therefore, as many parts of the costume alluded to in the text are now unknown, it will form an interesting note to consider over and to explain them. The person mentioned is stated to have resembled "a Squire Minstrel of Middlesex;" and from this Dr. Percy supposes, that "there were other inferior orders, as yeomen minstrels, or the like." Philip Stubbes, in his "Anatomy of Abuses," 1595, gives a particular detail of the *Ruff*, which is the first part of the minstrel's dress mentioned in the text. From this it may be learned, that a *setting stick*, also alluded to, was an instrument made either of wood or bone for laying the plaits of the ruff in proper form. "*A side gown of Kendal grece*," was a long hanging robe of coarse green woollen cloth or baize, for the manufacture of which the town of Kendal in Westmoreland was very anciently celebrated. From Stafford's tract already cited (p. 28), it would appear that this cloth was appropriated to servants; as he there says, "For I know when a Seruingman was co tent to go in a Kendall coate in Sommer, and a frise coate in winter; and with a plaine white hose made meete for his body; And with a piece of biefe, or some other dishe of soddene meate, all the weeke longe. Now he will looke to haue at the least for sommer, a coate of the finest cloth that may bee gotten for money, and his Hosen of the finest Kersey, and that of some straung die, as Flaunders die or French puke, that a Prince or great Lord can weare no finer if he weare cloth." (Fol. 53 b.) The mantle of Kendal-green, Laneham proceeds to state, was gathered at the neck with a *narrow gorget*, or collar. The gorget, which literally signifies a throat-piece, was originally a part of the female dress, and consisted of a long piece of cloth, or other stuff, wrapped several times about the neck, raised on either side the face, and secured in the front by long pins driven into the folds. The *white clasp and keeper* were probably formed of pewter, as the words "white metal" are often used in this sense in the writers of Laneham's period. A *red Caddis girdle* was one of those Spanish manufactures of which Stafford so much complains; they derived their name from being made at the city of Cadiz in Spain, out of the fells or untanned hides, which were sent from England to be formed into skins of Spanish leather. To this girdle hung, as usual, a pair of *Sheffield knives*, *capp'd*, or placed within a case; for as the use of forks was not known in England till about the year 1610, knives, for com-

of capped Sheffield kniuez¹ hanging a to side: Out of hiz bozome drawne foorth a lappet of his napkin, edged with a blu lace, & marked with a trulooue², a hart, and A. D. for Damian: for he was but a bachelor yet.

Hiz gooun had syde³ sleeuez dooun to midlegge, slit from the shooulder too the hand, & lined with white cotten. Hiz doobled sleeuez of blak woorsted, vpon them a⁴ payr of poynets⁵ of townty Chamblet⁶ laced a long the wreast wyth blu threedden points, a wealt toward the hand of fustian anapes:⁷ a payr of red neatherstocks: a pair of pumps on hiz féet, with a cross cut at the toze for cornz: not nu in-
[tp. 48.] déede, yet cleanly †blakt with soot, & shining az a shoeing horn.

About hiz nek a red rebond sutable too hiz girld: hiz harp in good grace dependaunt before him: hiz wreast⁸ tyed to a gréen lace, and hanging by: vnder the gorget of hiz gooun a fair flagon cheyn, (pewter, for) siluer, az a squier minstrel of Middilsex⁹, that trauaild the cuntrée this soommer season vnto fairz & worshipfull mens hoousez: from hiz chein hoong a Schoochion, with mettall & cooler resplendant vpon hiz breast, of the auncient armez of Islington: vpon a question whearof: he, az one that waz wel schoold,

mon purposes, were usually made in pairs. The word *napkin* is placed for handkerchief. The description of the minstrel's gown will easily be understood; and it is only requisite to remark upon it, that *fustian-a-napes* signifies Naples fustian, or what was sometimes called fustian bustian. *Nether stocks* were under stockings. The scutcheon about the minstrel's neck, alludes to an ancient custom for persons of that profession to wear the badge of that family by which they were retained; as the three belonging to the House of Percy wore each of them a silver crescent.

"Towards the end of the sixteenth century, this class of men had lost all their former credit, and were sunk so low in public estimation, that in 1597, 39th of Eliz. a statute was passed, by which minstrels, wandering abroad, were included with "rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars," and were directed to be punished as such. This act seems to have put an end to the profession."—*Burn*, p. 107-8; *Nichols*, i. 461.

¹ See *Notes* at the end.

² A true-lover's knot. *Truelove* is. *Herb Paris*, a quatrefoil whose leaves bear a sort of likeness to a true-lover's knot.—See Gloss. to my *Wright's Chaste Wife*.

³ 1, wide; 2, long.

⁴ *Orig.* a a.

⁵ *Poynets*, Fr. wristbands.

⁶ *Camlet* a mixed stuff of wool and silk, used for gowns, temp. Elizabeth and James I., and mentioned by writers of that era. It was originally manufactured of the hair of the camel, and from thence its name is derived.—*Fairholt*.

⁷ *Fustian anapes* [=of Naples] is Naples fustian; sometimes called fustian bustian.—*Ken. III.* p. 101.

⁸ *wrest*=tuning hammer, to wrest or turn the tuning pins of the harp. See p. 41, 52.

⁹ *Orig.* Middilsex.

& could hiz lesson parfit withoout booke too aunswear at full, if question wear askt hym, declared: hoow the woorshipfull village of Islington in Middelsex, well knooen too bee one of the most auncient and best toounz in England next London at thiz day: for the feythfull fréndship of long time sheawed, az well at Cookez feast in Aldersgate stréete yeerely vpon holly Rood day¹, az allso at all solem bridalez in the cite of London all the yéer after: in well serueng them of furmenty for porage², not ouersod till it be too weak: of mylk for theyr flawnez³, not pild nor chalked: [tp. 49.] of cream for their custardes, not †frothed nor thykned with flour: and of butter for theyr pastiez, and pyepast, not made of well curds, nor gathered of whey in soommer: nor mingled in winter with salt butter watered or washt, did obteyn long ago thez woorshipfull armez in cooler & foorm az yee sée: which are the armz, a field argent, as the field and ground indeed, whearin the milk-wiuez of thiz woorthy tooun, and euery man els in hys faculty doth trade for hiz liuing: on a Fess Tenny⁴ thrée platez betwéene thrée milke tankerds proper. The thrée milk tankerds, az the proper vessell whearin the substauns and matter of their trade iz too and fro transported. The Fess Tenny, which iz a cooler betokeneng dout & suspition⁵: so az suspition & good heed taking, az wel to their markets & seruants, az to their customers, that they trust not too farre: may bring vnto them platez, that iz, coynd syluer: thrée, that iz, sufficient and plentie, for so that number in Armory may well signifie.

For Creast, vpon a wad of ote strawe for a wreath, a boll of furmenty: Wheat (az yee kno) iz the most precious gyft of Ceres, and in the midst of it, sticking, a doozen
 The horn
 spoonz.⁶ of hornspoonz in a bunch, az the instrumentst
 [tp. 50.] meetest too eate furmenty porage wythall: a doozen, az a number of plenty compleat for full cheere or a banket, and of horn, az of a substauns more es-

¹ 14 Sept., the boys' nutting-day.—Ellis's *Brand*, i. 194–5.

² furmity: 'be frumenty potage.'—*Babees Book*, p. 141, l. 391, etc.; *Percy MS. Loose Songs*, p. 61, 64–5.

³ Fr. *flans*: m. Flawns, Custards, Egge-Pies.—*Cotgrave*. A Cheesc-cake or Flawne.—*Hexham*; see *Babees Book Index*.

⁴ An orange-coloured band, horizontally crossing the middle of the shield, of which it takes up the third part.—*Cussans*.

⁵ Orange or yellow is the colour of doubt.

⁶ 'spnooz' in the Brit. Mus. copy; but *spoonz* in the St. John's copy.

timabl then iz made for a great deel : béeing nether so churlish in weight az iz mettall : nor so froward and brittl to manure az stone, nor yet so soily in vse, nor roough to the lips, az wood iz : but lyght, plyaunt, and smooth, that with a littl licking wooll allweiz be kept az clen az a dy. “With yoor paciens, Gentlmen,” (quoth the minstrel) “be it said : wear it not in deede that hornz bee so plentie, hornware I beleeue woold bee more set by than it iz, and yet are thear in our parts, that wyll not stick too auoow that many an honest man both in citée and cuntrée hath had hiz hoous by horning well vpholden¹, and a daily fréend allso at néed. And thiz (with your fanooour) may I further affirm : a very ingenious parson waz hée, that for dignitée of the stuff, coold thus by spooning, deuise to aduauns the horn so neer too the hed.

“With great congruens also wear théez hornspoonz put too the wheat : az a token and porcion of Cornucopiæ, the horn of Achelous, which the Naiades² did fil with fall good frutez, corn & grain : & after did consecrate vnto abooundauns and plenty.

Ouid. met.
lib. 9.

[tp. 51.]

“This skoochion, with beastz very aptly agréeing both to the armz and to the trade of the bearerz, glorioously supported. Betwéen a gray Mare (a beast meetest for carying of mylktankards,) her pannell on her bak, az always reddy for seruis at euery feast and brydale at neede, her tail splayd at most eaz : and her filly fole³, fallo, and a flaxen mane after the syre.

“In the skro vndergrauen,” (quoth hee) “thiz ear a proper woord, an hemistichi, well squaring with al the rest, taken out of Salerns chapter of things that most noorish man’s body : *Lac, Caseus infans*. That iz, good milke and yoong chéez. And thus mooch, Gintlmen, and pleaz you (quoth he) for the armz of oour woorschipfull tooun.” And thearwithal made a manerly leg, and so held his peas.

Az the cumpany pawzde, and the minstrell séemde to gape after a praiz for hiz *Beauparlur* : and bicauz he had rendered hiz lesson so well : Saiz a good fello of the cumpany, “I am sorry to see hoow mooch the poore minstrell mistakez the matter : for indeed the armez are thus.

¹ See the Ballad of “Cuckold’s Haven, or The Married Man’s Miserie, who must abide the penaltie of being hornify’d” in the Ballad Soc.’s *Roxb. Ballads*, i. 148.

² Qu. Maiades?—*Nichols*, i. 464.

³ fallow (-coloured) she-foal : *foal* is a horse-colt; *filly* a mare-colt.

[tp. 52.] “†Thrée milk tankerds proper, in a field of cloouted cream; thrée gréen chéesez vpon a shealf of cakebread. The fyrmenty boll and hornspoonz: cauz their profit coms all by horned beastz. Supported by a Mare with a gald back, & thearfore still couerd with a panniell, fisking with her tail for flyez, and her filly fole neying after the dam for suk. This woord *Lac, Caseus infans*. That is, a fresh cheez and cream, & the common cry that theez milk-wiueez make in London stréetes yéerly, betwixt Easter and Whitsontide: and this iz the very matter; I kno it well enough:” and so ended hiz tale, and sate him dooun again.

Héerat euery man laught a good, saue the minstrell: that, though the fooll wear made priuy, all waz but for sport, yet too see him self thus crost with a contrary ku that hee lookt not for, woold straight haue geen¹ ouer all, waxt very wayward, eager², and soour: hoow be it, last, by sum entreaty & and many fayr woords, with sak & suger, we sweetned him againe, and after becam az mery az a py. Appeerez then a fresh, in hiz ful formalitée, with a louely loock: after thrée loly cooursiez³, cleered his vois with a hem and a reach, and [tp. 53.] spat out withal, wiped† hiz lips with the hollo of his hand, for⁴ fying hiz napkin, temperd a string or too with his wreat: and after a littl warbling on hiz harp for a prelude, came foorth with a sollem song, war-raunted for story out of King Arthurz acts, the first booke and 26. chapter⁵, whearof I gate a copy, and that iz this.

King Ar-
thurs book.

SO it befell vpon a Penticost day,
 S When King Arthur at Camelot kept court rial,
 With hiz cumly Quéen, dame Gaynoour the gay,
 And many bolld Barrons sitting in hall,
 Ladies apparaild in purpl and pall,
 When herauds in hukes⁶ herried full by⁷,
 “Largess! Largess! cheualiers treshardy!”

¶ A doouty Dwarf too the vppermost deas
 Right peartly gan prik, and, knéeling on knee,
 With steuen⁸ full stoout amids all the preas,

¹ given.

² Fr. *aigre*.

³ lowly curtsies.

⁴ to prevent. Compare, on the saving of the napkin, the *muffler* above, p. 24.

⁵ See *Notes* at the end.

⁶ See *Notes* at the end.

⁷ *Ken. Ill.* reads *hy* (high) and translates *herried*, cried, (Fr. *huier*).

⁸ voice. A. Sax. *stefn*.

Said "hail, syr king! God thee saue and see!
King Ryens of Northgalez gréeteth well thee,
And bids that thy beard anon thou him send,
Or els from thy iawz he will it of rend.

¶ For his robe of state, a rich skarlet mantell,
With a-leauen kings beards bordred about,
Hee hath made late, and yet in a cantell¹
Iz leaft a place, the twelth to make oout: [p. 54.]
Wear thin must stand, bee thou neuer so stout:
This must bee doon, I tell thee no fabl,
Mawgre the pour of all thy round tabl."

¶ When thiz mortall message from hiz moouth waz past,
Great waz the brute in hall and in boour:
The King fumed, *the* quéen shrieked, ladies wear agast,
Princes puft, Bar[o]nz blustered, Lordz began too loour,
Knights stampt, squirez startld, az stéedz in a stoour²,
Yeemen and pagez yeald³ oout in the hall:
Thearwith cam in Syr Kay of Seneshall.

¶ Sylens, my suffrainz," quoth the courteyz Knight,
And in that stoound the chearm becam still,
The Dwarfs dynner full deerly waz dight,
For wine and wastell⁴ hée had at hiz will:
And when hee had eaten and fed hiz fill,
One hundred peeces of coyned gould
Wear giuen the Dwarfe for hiz message bolld.

¶ Say too Syr Ryens, thou Dwarf," quoth the King,
"That for his proud message I him defy,
And shortly with basinz and panz will him ring
Oout of Northgalez, whearaz hée and I
With sweards (and no razerz) shall vtterly try
Which of vs both iz the better Barber:"
And thearwith he shook hiz sword Excalaber.

[†p. 56⁵.] †At this, the minstrell made a pauz & a curtezy,
for *Primus passus*⁶. More of the song iz thear, but

¹ A piece, or part. Shakspeare uses the word in King Henry IV. part I. act 3, scene 1.

"And cuts me, from the best of all my land,
A huge half-moon, a monstrous *cantle* out.—*Burn*, p. 10.

² battle.—*Burn*. ³ yelled. ⁴ *Wastel*, fine bread.

⁵ In the numbering of the pages in the original, 55 is skipped.

⁶ First fitt, 1st canto. *Passus* is the name for the divisions in *Piers Plowman*.

I gat it not. Az for the matter, had it cum to the sheaw, I think the fello would haue handled it well ynoough.

Her highnes tarryed at Kyllingwoorth tyll the Wednesday after, being the 27 of this Iuly, and the nintéenth (inclusive) of her Maiestiez cumming thither¹.

For which seuen daiz, perceyuing my notez so slenderly aunswering: I tooke it less blame too ceas, & thearof too write yoo nothing at al, then in such matterz to write nothing likely. And so mooch the rather (az I haue well be-thought me) that if I dyd but ruminare the dayz I haue spoken of, I shall bring oout yet sumwhat more, méet for yoor appetite, (though a deinty tooth haue ye,) which I beleue yoor tender stomak will brook wel inoogh.

Whearof part iz: fyrst hoow according to her highnes name ELIZABETH, which I heer say oout of the
 The Hebru signifieth (among oother) the *Seauenth of*
 seauenz. *my God*: diuerz things heer did soo iustly in number square with the same. Az fyrst, her highnes hither cumming in this seauenth †moonth: then, prezented with the
 [†p. 57.] seauen prezents of the seauen Gods: and after, with the melody of the seauen sorted muzik in the dollphin, the Lakeladies gyft.

Then, too, consider how fully the Gods (az it séemed) had conspyred most magnificently in aboundauns too bestow theyr influencez & gyfts vpon her coourt, thear too make her Maiesty merry.

Sage Saturn himself in parson (that bycauz of
 Saturn and Pallas. his lame leg could not so well stur) in chayr thearfore too take order with the grane officerz of hooushold, holpen in deed with the good aduise of his prudent Nees Pallas: That no vnruely body or disquiet disturb the nobl assemblée, or els be ons so bolld too enter within the Castl gatez. Awey with al rascallz, captiueez, melancholik, waiward, froward, Coniurerz, and Vsurers! and to haue laborers and vnderwoorkmen for *the* beautifying of ony place, alwey at hand, az they should be commaunded.

Iupiter. Sent parsonagez of hy honor & dignitée: Barons, Lords, Ladies, Iuges, Bishops, Lawyerz, Doctors: with them, vertu, noblness, equitée, libéralitée & compassion†: due seazon, & fayr weather:
 [†p. 58.] sauing that, at the petition of hiz déer sister Ceres,

¹ See *Notes* at the end.

he graunted a day or too of sum swéet shoourz for rypening of her corn that waz so well set, & too set forward haruest: Heerwith, bestoed he such plenty of pleazaunt thunder, lightning, & thunderbolts, by hiz halting sun & fyer-master, Vulcan, stil fresh & fresh framed, alweyz so frequent, so intellabl, & of such continuauus in the spending (az I partly tolld ye) consumed, that surely he séemz too be, az of pour inestimabl, so, in store of municion, vnwastabl, For all Ouid's censure, that saiz:

*Si quoties peccant homines, sua fulmina mittat
Iupiter: exiguo tempore inermis erit.*

If Ioue should shoot hiz thunderbolts az oft as men offend, Assure yoo hiz artillery wold soon be at an end.

What a number of estatez & of nobilitéé had Iupiter assembled thear, gess yée by this: that of sort woorshipfull thear wear in the court dayly aboone fourty, whearof the meynest, of a thoouzand mark yéerly reuenu, and many of mooch more. This great gyft byside did hiz deitée cast vpon her highnes, too haue fayr & seasonabl weather at her ooun appointment: ||According whearvnto, her Maiestye so had. For her gracious prezens thearfore with this great gift indewed, Lichféeld, Worceter, and Middelton¹, with manye placez mo, made humbl sute vntoo her highnes too cum: too such whearof as her Maiesty coold, it cam: and they season acceptabl.

Phœbus. Phœbus. Biside his continuall & most delicious muzik (az I haue toold yoo), appointed he Princes too adourn her highnes court, Coounselers, Herauds, and sanguine yooth, pleazaunt & mery, costlye garments, learned Phizicianz, & no néede of them.

Iuno. Iuno. Gollid cheynez, Ouchez, Iewels of gret price, & rich attyre, woorn in mooch grace & good beséeming, without pryde, or emulacion of ony.

Mars. Mars. Captainz of good conduct, Men skylfull in feats of armz, pollitik in stratagemz, Good coorage in good quarelz, valiant, & wizehardy: Abandoning pikquarrels & ruffianz: appoynting also Pursyuaunts, currarz² & posts, still féeding her highnes with nuze & intelligencez from all parts.

Venus. Venus. Vntoo the Ladyez & Gentl-šwemen, beauty, good fauour, cumlinesse, galant attyre,

¹ See Notes at the end.

² couriers.

dauncing with cunly grace, swéet vois in song, & pleazaunt talk: with express commaundment & charge vntoo her sunn¹, on her blessing, that he shoote not a shaft in the Coourt all the while her highnes remayned at Killingwoorth.

Mercuri. Mercuri. Learned men in Sciencez, Poets, Merchants, Painterz, Karuerz, Players, Engyners, Deuyserz, & dexteritée in handling of all pleazaunt attempts.

Luna. Luna. Callm nights for quiet rest, and syluer moonshinc, that nightly in-déede shone for most of her Maiestyez béeing thear.

Plutus. Blinde Plutus. Bags of moony, Custumerz², Exchaungers, Bankers, Store of riches in plate and in coyn.

Bacchus. Bacchus. Full Cups euery whear, euery oour, of al kynds of wyne.

Neptunc. Thear waz no deintée that the sea could yéeld, but Neptune (though hiz reign at the néerest ly well ny a hundred mile of) did dayly send in great plenty, swéet and fresh. As for freshwaterr fish, the store of all sorts waz abundaunt.

Ceres. And hoow bountifull Ceres in prouizion waz, gess ye by this: that in lyttl more then *a thrée dayz space, 72. tunn of Ale & Béer waz pyept³ vp quite, [*p. 61.] what that mighte, whilst with it of bread, beside meat, I report me to yoo. And yet, master Controller, master Coferar, and diuerz officers of the Coourt, sum honorabl, and sundrye right woorshipfull, placed at Warwik for more rooum in the Castl. But heer was no ho⁴, Master Martin, in deuout drinking allwey: that broughte a lak⁵ vnlookt for; whiche being knoen too the Woorshipfull my Lord's good neigheboourz, cam thear in a too dayz space, from sundry friendz, a reléef of a xl. tunn, till a nu supply was gotten agayn: and then too oour drinking a freshe, az fast az euer we did.

Flora. Flora. Abrode & within the hoous ministred of flourz so great a quantitée: of such swéet sauour, so beautifully hued, so large and fayr of proporcion, and of so straunge kindez & shápez, that it waz great pleasure too

¹ Cupid.

² ? not buyers, but collectors of the customary dues of manors, and of customs. See Master Smith, *Custumer*, p. 61.

³ piped, sucked, swallowed.

⁴ halt, stop.

⁵ *Orig.* a-lak.

sée: & so mooch the more, az thear waz great store yet counterfet & foormed of featherz by art, lyke glorioous too the sheaw az wear the naturall.

Protheus. Protheus. Hiz Tumbler that coold by nimbleness cast himself intoo so many† foorms & facionz. [†p. 62.]

Pan. Pan. Hiz mery morrys dauns, with their pype & taber.

Bellona. Bellona. Her quintine knights, & proper bick-erings of the Couentrée men.

Polyphemus. Polyphemus. Neptunez sun & heyr (let him, I pray, & it be but for hiz father's sake and for his good wyll, he allowed for a God,) with hiz bearz, hiz bearwhealps, and bandogs.

Aeolus. Æolus. Hollding vp hiz windez while her highnes at any tyme took pleazure on the water, and staying of tempests during [her] abode héer.

Syluanus. Syluanus. Beside hiz plentifull prouizion of fooul for deynty viaunds, his pleazaunt and swéet singing byrds: whearof I will sheaw yoo more anon.

Echo. Echo. Her wel endighted dialog.

Faunus. Faunus. Hiz ioly Sauage.

Genius. Genius loci. Hiz tempring of al things within & without, with apt tyme & place too pleazure & delight.

Charites. Then the thrée Charites: Aglaia, with her lightsum gladnes. Thalia, her flourishng freshnes.

Euphrosyne, her cheerfullnes of spirite; and with theez

[†p. 63.] three in one assent, Concordia: with †her amitée and good agrément. That too hoow great effects their

poourz wear poured oout heer among vs, let it bée iudged by this: that by a multytude thus met, of a thrée or four thoouzand, euery day, and diuerz dayz more, of so sundry degrés, professions, agez, appetytz, dispozicions, & affections: such a drifte of tyme was thear passed, with such amitée, looue, pastime, agrément, and obediens whear it should: and without quarrel, iarring, grudging, or (that I coold heer) of yll woord betwéen any. A thing, master Martin, very rare & straunge; and yet no more straunge then tru.

parcæ. The Parcæ (as earst I should haue sayd) the first night of her Maiestiez cumming: they—héering

& séeing so precioous ado héer at a place vnlookt for, in an vplondish cuntrée so far within the Ream,—preassing intoo euery stéed whear her highnes went, whearby so

duddld¹ with such varietee of delyghts, did set aside their huswifrye, coold not for their harts tend their work a whyt. But after they had séen her Maiesty a bed, gat them a prying into euery place; olld hags, az fond of nuellries², az yoong girls that had neuer séen Court afore*: but neyther [*p. 64.] full with gazing, nor wery with gadding, leaft of yet for that time; and at high midnight, gate them gigling, (but not alooud,) into the prezens Chamber: minding indéed with their present diligens, too recompens their former slaknes.

So, setting themseluez thus dooun too their woork: "alas!" sayz Atropos, "I haue lost my shéerz:" Lachesis laught apace, and woold not draw a thréed: "And thinke ye, damez, that ile hoold the distaff whyle both ye sit idle? why, no! by my mootherz soll!" quod Clotho. Thearwith, fayr lapt in a fine lawn the spindel and rok³, that waz dizend with pure purpl sylk, layd they safely vp toogether: that of hir Maiestyez distaff, for an eightéen dayz, thear waz not a thréed spoon, I assure you.

The two systers after that, (I hard say,) began their woork again: *that* long may they continu; but Atropos hard no tydings of her sheers; and not a man that moned her loss. She iz not belooued surely; for this I can tell yoo: that whither it bee for hate too the hag, or looue to her highnes, or els for both, euery man prayz God she may neuer find [tp. 64.] them for that woork, and so pray I †daily and duly with the deuoutest.

Thus partly ye perceyue noow, hoow greatly the Gods can do for mortals, and hoow mooch alwey they looue whear they like, that what a gentl Ioue waz thys, thus curteosly too contriue heer such a treyn of Gods! Nay then rather, master Martin, (to cum oout of oour poeticalitéez, & too talk no more serioous tearms), what a magnificent lord may we iustly account him, that cold so highli cast order for such a Iupiter, & all hiz Gods besid, that none with hiz influens, good property, or present, wear wanting: but aalweis redy at hand, in such order and aboundans, for the honoring and delight of so high a Prins, oour most gracious Quéén & souerain. A prins (I say,) so singuler in preeminens & worthines abooue al other Princes and dignitéez of oour

¹ muddled, confused. Cp. *doddle* to totter; *doddy-pate*, *doddypoll*, a numskull, fool, in my *Ballads from MSS*, vol. i.

² novelries, novelties, new things.

³ See *Notes* at the end.

time: though I make no comparison too yeez past, to him that in thiz point, either of ignorauns (if any such can be) or els of maleuolens, woold make any doout: '*Sit liber iudex*' (az they say) let him look on the matter, and aunswer himself: he haz not far too trauell.

Az for the Amplitude of his Lordship's mynde: all bee it.
 [§p. 66.] that I, poor soll, can in §conceit no more attain vntoo, then iudge of a gem, whearof I haue no skill, ye, though daily worn & resplendant in myne ey: yet sum of the vertuze and propertiez thearof, in quantitée or qualitée so apparaunt az cannot be hidden, but séene of all men, moought I be the boolder too reaport her vnto yoo: but as for the valu, yoor iewellers by their Carrets let them cast, and they can.

And fyrst: who that considerz vntoo the stately seat of Kenelwoorth Castl, the rare beauty of bilding that his honor hath auanced¹: all of the hard quarry stone: euery room so spacious, so well belighted, and so hy roofed within: So seemely too sight by du proportion without: a day time on euerye side so glittering by glasse, a nights by continuall brightnesse of candel, fyre, & torchlight, transparent through the lyghtsom wyndz, az it wear the Egiptian Pharos re-lucent vntoo all the Alexandrian coast; or els (too tallke merily with my mery freend) thus radiaunt, as though Phœbus for hiz eaz woold rest him in the Castl, and not euery night so to trauell dooun vnto the Antipodes. Heertoo,
 [*p. 67.] so fully furnisht of rich apparell, & vtensilez *apted in all pointes to the best.

Vntoo thiz, hiz honorz exquisit appointment of a
 The Gar- beautifull garden², an aker or more of quantitee,
 den. that lyeth on the north thear. Whearin, hard all
 along the Castl wall, iz reared a pleazaunt Terres of a ten

¹ See *Notes* at the end.

² It would appear from the "Secret Memoirs of the Earl of Leicester," that the magnificent gardens and spacious parks at Kenilworth were not completed without some oppression on the part of their possessor, as the unknown author of the above work thus speaks concerning them:—"The like proceedings he used with the tenants about Killingworth, where he received the said Lordship and Castle from the Prince, in gift, of 24*l.* yearly rent, or thereabouts, hath made it better than 500*l.* by year, by an old record also found, by great good fortune, in a hole of the wall, as it is given out (for he hath singular good luck always in finding out records for his purpose;) by virtue whereof he hath taken from his tenants round about, their lands, woods, pastures, and commons, to make himself parks, chases, and other commodities therewith, to the subversion of many a good family which was maintained there before this

foot hy & a twelue brode, éeuen vnder foot, & fresh of fyne grass: az iz also the side thearof toward the gardein, in whiche by sundry equall distaunceez, with obelisks, sphearz, and white bearez¹, all of stone, vpon theyr curioouz basez, by goodly shew wear set: too theez, too fine arbers redolent by swéet trées and flourz, at ech end one, the garden plot

devourer set foot in that country." At a subsequent part of the same volume is mentioned Lord Leicester's "intolerable tyranny" upon the lands of one Lane, "who offered to take Killingworth Castle." A royal favourite, however, and a successful minister, was never yet without enemies, and it is certain that Lord Leicester was not; the whole of the volume out of which these extracts have been made, is filled with charges of the most dreadful crimes with which human nature can be stained; yet even these are related with such levity, such seeming familiarity with vice, that the reader is tempted to believe that a great proportion of it was fabricated by malice, and that the author was even worse than the character he describes. But to return:—The garden mentioned in the text will doubtless remind some readers of those splendid pleasure-grounds which belonged to Lord Burleigh, at Theobalds in Hertfordshire, and Sir Walter Raleigh's at Shirburne Castle in Dorsetshire. Of the former, Peck, in his "Desiderata Curiosa," says, "He also greatly delighted in making gardens, fountains, and walks, which at Theobalds were perfected most costly, beautifully, and pleasantly. Where one might walk two miles in the walks before he came to their ends." Sir Paul Hentzner, in his "Journey into England," when speaking of the same place, describes it more particularly. "From this place" [i. e. the gallery,] "one goes into the garden, encompassed with a ditch full of water, large enough for one to have the pleasure of going in a boat, and rowing between the shrubs; here are great variety of trees and plants; labyrinths made with a great deal of labour; a *jet d'eau*, with its bason of white marble; and columns and pyramids of wood and other materials up and down the garden: After seeing these, we were led by the gardener into the summer-house, in the lower part of which, built semicircularly, are the twelve Roman Emperors, in white marble, and a table of touchstone; the upper part of it is set round with cisterns of lead, into which water is conveyed through pipes, so that fish may be kept in them, and in summer time they are very convenient for bathing; in another room for entertainment, very near this, and joined to it by a little bridge, is an oval table of red marble." Concerning the pleasure-grounds at Shirburne, in Peck's work before cited, there is only a notice that Sir Walter Raleigh had drawn the river through the rocks into his garden; but Coker states, that he built in the park adjoining to the Castle, "from the ground, a most fine house, which he beautified with orchards, gardens, and groves, of such variety and delight, that whether you consider the goodness of the soil, the pleasantness of the seat, and other delicacies belonging to it, it is unparalleled by any in these parts." The above extracts will be an amusing counterpart to Laneham's elaborate description of Lord Leicester's gardens.—*Burn*, p. 110–112; *Nichols*, i. 472.

¹ "These effigies were allusive to the ancient badge of the Earls of Warwick, which was, *a bear erect Argent, muzzled Gules, supporting a ragged staff of the first*; the ragged staffs were introduced in another part of the garden, *vide ante*, page 75. Lord Leicester's connexion with the Earls of Warwick was through the houses of Lisle and Beauchamp, brought into the family of Dudley by his mother, Elizabeth Talbot. In 1561, Ambrose Dudley, Robert's elder brother, was made Earl of Warwick, and consequently the badge was thus introduced."—*Burn*, p. 112; *Nichols*, i. 473.

vnder that, with fayr alleyz gréen by grass, éeuen voided from the borderz a both sydez, and sum (for chaunge) with sand, not light or to soft, or soily by dust, but smooth and fyrm, pleasaunt too walk on az a sea shore when the water iz auaild¹: then, much gracified by du proporcion of four éeuen quarterz: in the midst of each, vpon a base a too foot square, & hy, séemly borderd of it self, a square pilaster rizing pyramidally, of a fyftéen foote hy: Simmetrically péerced through, from a foot beneath, vntill a too foot [tp. 68.] of the top: whear vpon, for a Capitell, an Orb of a ten† inches thik: euery of théez (with hiz base) from the ground too the top of one hole pées, heauen oout of hard Porphyry, and with great art & héed (thinks me) thyther conueyd, & thear erected.

Whear further allso, by great cast & cost, the swéetnes of sauocour on all sidez, made so respiraunt² from the redolent³ plants and fragrant earbs and floourz, in foorm, cooller and quantité, so deliciously variant: and frute Trées bedecked with their Applz, Peares, and ripe Cherryez.

The Cage. And vnto theez, in the midst, agaynst the Terres: a square cage, sumptuocous and beautifull, ioyned hard to the Northwall (that a that side gards the gardein, as the gardein the Castl), of a rare form and excellency was reyzed: in heyth a twentye foot, thyrtty long, and a foor-téen brode. From the ground strong & close, reared breast hy, whearat a soyl of a fayr moolding was couched all about: From that vpward, foor great wyndoz a froot, and too at each éend, euery one a fyue foot wide, az many mo éeuen abooue them, diuided on all parts by a transum⁴ and Architraue⁵ so likewise raunging about the Cage. Each windo arched in the top, and §parted from oother in eeuen [§p. 69.] distauns by flat fayr bolteld⁶ columns, all in foorm & beauty like, that supported a cumly Cornish,

¹ aualed, lowered, gone down, ebbd. Fr. à val.

² Fit for breathing, refreshing; Lat. *respira-*, revive, be refreshed.

³ Lat. *redolent-*, emitting a scent, diffusing an odour.

⁴ *Transom*, an overthwart Beam or Brow-Post: *Kersey's Phillips*; the piece of Timber which is fram'd across in a double light Window: *Blount*.

⁵ *Architrave*, the main Beam in any Building, and the first Member of the Entablature, *i. e.* that part of a Stone-Pillar which is above the Capital and below the Frize: In Timber-Buildings, it is called the *Reason-picce* or *Master-Beam*; in Chimneys, the *Mantle-picce*; and over the Jambs of Doors or Lintels of Windows, 'tis termed *Hyperthyron*.—*Kersey's Phillips*.

⁶ *Boltel* is a term used in building, to signify any prominence or jetting-out beyond the flat face of the wall.—*Burn*, p. 112; *Nichols*, i. 474.

couched al along vpon the hole¹ square. Which, with a wire net, finely knit, of mashez sixe square, an inch wyde (az it wear for a flat roof) and likewise the space of euery windo, with great cunning and cumlines, éeuen and tight, waz al ouerstrained. Vnder the Cornish again, euery part beautified with great Diamons, Emerauds, Rubyes, and Saphyres: poynted, tabld, rok, and roound², garnisht with their gold by skilfull hed and hand, and by toile and pensill so lyuely exprest, az it mought bee great marueil and pleasure to consider how neer excellency of art could approch vntoo perfection of nature.

Bear with me, good cuntréeman, though thinges be not sheawed heer az well az I woold, or az well as they shoold. For indéed I can better imagin & conceyue that I see, then wel vtter, or duly declare it. Holez wear thear also, and cauerns, in orderly distauns & facion, voyded intoo the wall, az wel for heat, for coolnes, for roost a nightz, & refuge in weather, az allso for breeding, when time iz. More, fayr, [tp. 70.] eeuen, and fresh †holly treez, for pearching and proining³, set within, tooward each eend one. Heercto their diuersitée of meats, theyr fine seueral vessels for their water, and sundry grainz, And a man skilful and diligent to looke too them and tend them.

But (shall I tell yoo) the siluer soounded Lute, without the swéet toouch of hand: the glorioous goolden cup, without the fresh fragrant wine; or the rich ring with gem, without the fayr feawtered⁴ fuynger, iz nothing indéede in hiz proper grace & vse: Euen so his Honor accounted of thiz mansion, till he had plast thear tenauntes according: Had it thearfore replenishte with liuely Burds, English, French, Spanish, Canarian, and (I am deceaued if I saw not

¹ *Orig.* bole.

² It is evident that these precious stones were imitated in painting; and that they were meant to represent the gems in their various appearances. *Pointed*, or rose, as it is termed by the lapidaries, is when a stone is cut with many angles rising from an octagon, and terminating in a point. *Tabled* is when a diamond is formed with one flat upper surface; and the word table also signifies the principal face. *Rough* is understood to mean the gem in its primary state, when its radiance is seen to sparkle through the dross of the mine. *Round* denotes the jewel when it is cut and polished with a convex surface. The expression, "Garnisht with their gold," which follows in the text, signifies ornamented with their settings.—*Burn*, p. 112–13; *Nichols*, i: 474.—See, also, *Kenilworth Illustrated*, p. 102, where the writer says, that "rough" is the modern term for Lancham's "rok."

³ preening: for birds to trim and clean their feathers on.

⁴ ?*featured*, shaped, or *feutred*, poised.

sum) African. Whearby, whither it becam more delight-
sum in chaunge of tuncz and armony too the eare: or els in
differens of coollerz, kyndez, & propertyez too the ey, Ile tell
yoo if I can when I haue better bethought me.

The Gardiner. One day (Master Martin) az the Gardin-door
waz open, & her highnes a hunting, by licens of my
good fréend Adrian I cam in at a bek, but woold
skant out with a thrust: for sure I waz loth so soon to depart.

[§p. 71.] §Well may this (Master Martyn) bee sumwhat
too magnitude of mynde: but more thearof az ye
shall kno, more cauz ye shall haue so too think: heer out
what I tel yoo, and tell me when we méet.

The Fountain. In the center (az it wear) of this goodly Gar-
dein, was theer placed a very fayre Fountayn,
cast intoo an eight square, reared a four foot hy,
from the midst whearof a Colum vp set in the shape of too
Athlants ioined togeather a backhalf, the toon looking East,
toother West, with theyr hands vphollding a fayr formed
boll, of a thrée foot ouer: from wheans sundrye fine pipez
did liuely distill continuall streamz intoo the receyt¹ of the
Fountayn, maynteyned styll too foot décp by the same
fresh falling water: whearin pleazauntly playing too & fro,
& round about, Carp, Tench, Bream, and for varietée, Pearch
& Eel, fysh fayrliking all, and large; in the toppe, the ragged
staffe², which, with the boll, the pillar, and eyght sides
beneath, wear all heawen out of rich & hard white Marbl.
A one syde, Neptune with his Tridental Fuskin³ triumphing
in hiz Throne, trayled into the décp by his marine horsez.
On another, Thetis in her chariot drawn *by her Dollphins.

[*p. 72.] Then, Triton by hiz fyshez. Héer, Protheus heard-
ing hiz sea buls. Thear, Doris & her dooughterz
solacyng a sea & sandz. The wauetz soourging with froth
& fome, entermengled in place with whalez, whirlpoolz⁴,
sturgeonz, Tunneyz, Conchs, & wealks: all engrauen by ex-
quisit deuize and skill, so az I maye thinke this not much
inferioour vnto Phœbus gategz, which (Ouid sayz), & perad-
uentur a pattern to thiz, *that* Vulcan himself dyd cut: whear-
of such was the excellency of art, that the woork in valu sur-
moounted the stuff; and yet wer the gategz all of clean massy
sylvuer.

¹ pool, basin.

² See note 2 above, p. 9.

³ Lat. *fuscina*, a three-pronged spear, a trident.

⁴ Fr. *Horepole*: *f.*, A whirlpoole (fish).—*Cotgrave*.

Héer wear thinges, ye see, moought enflame ony mynde too long after looking : but whoo so was found so hot in desyre, with the wreast¹ of a Cok was sure of a coloar : water spurt- ing vpward with such vehemeney, az they shoold by & by be moystned from top too to : The hées to sum laughing, but the shées to more sport.

This sumtime waz occupied to very good pastime².

A Garden then so appoynted, az whearin aloft vpon swéet shadoed walk of Terres, in heat of Soomer, too féel [tp. 73.] the pleazaunt† whysking winde abooue, or delectabl coolnes of the fountaine spring beneath : Too tast of delicious strawberiez, cheryez, & oother frutez, éeuén from their stalks : Too smell such fragraney of swéet odoourz breathing from the plants, earbs, & flourz : Too heer such naturall melodious musik, and tunez of burds : To haue in ey, for myrth, sumtime theez vndersprynging streamz ; then, the woods, the waters (for both pool & chase wer hard at hand in sight), the deer, the peepl (that oout of the East arber in the base court, allso at hande in view), the frute trées, the plants, the earbs, the flourz, the chaunge in coolers, the Burds flyttering, the Fountaine streaming, the Fysh swymming : all in such delectabl varietée, order, dig- nitée : whearby at one moment, in one place, at hande, without trauell, too haue so full fruition of so many Gods blessinges, by entyer delight vnto al sencez (if al can take) at ones : for Etymon of Parades, id the woord woorthy to bée calld Paradys³ : and est, Hortus. though not so goodly az Paradis, for want of the fayr Riucers, yet better a great deel by the lak of so vnhappy a trée. Argument most certein of a right nobl minde, that in this soort coold shauē thus all contriued.

[§p. 74.] But, Master Martin, yet one wyndlesse⁴ must I featch, too make ye one more fayr coorz, and I can : The num- ber 1. and cauz I speak of one : let me tel yoo a littl of the dignitée of onehod, whearin allweyze al hy Deitee, al Soue- raintee, Préeminens, Principalitée, and Concord without pos-

¹ twist, turn.

² This sentence is wanting in the Dutchess of Portland's copy.—Nichols, ed. 1788, i. 46.

³ Lanham, in making use of this expression, gave to Lord Leicester's gardens a name which it was customary to apply to pleasure-grounds and houses in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as in the instances of Wressell and Leginfield, in the East Riding of Yorkshire.—Burn, p. 113 Nichols, i. 477.

⁴ See Notes at the end.

sibilité of disagreement, iz conteyned. Az one God, one Sauiour, one Feith, one Prins, one Sun, one Phenix; and, az one of great wozdom sayz, one hart, one wey¹. Whear onehod reinz, ther quiet bears rule, & discord fliez a pase. Thrée again may signify cumpany, a méeting, a multitude, pluralité: so az all talez and numbrings from too vntoo thrée, and so vpward, may well be counted numberz, till they moount vntoo infinitée, or els too confusion, which thing the sum of Too can neuer admit: nor it self can well bee counted a number, but rather a fréendly coniunction of too ones, that, keeping in a synceritée of accord, may purport vnto vs, Charitée each too other, mutuall looue, agrément, & integritée of friendship withoout dissimulation. Az iz in thez: The too testaments. The too Tables of the Law. The too great lights, *Duo luminaria† magna*, The Sun & Moon. [†p. 75.] And but mark a lyttl, I pray, and see hoow of all things in the world, our toongs in talk doo alweyz so redily trip vpon tooz, payrz, & cooplz: sumtymez as of things in equality, sumtime of differens, sumtime of contrariez, or for comparyzon, but chéefly, for the most part, of things that betwéen themseluez do well agrée & ar fast linked in amitée: Az fyrst, for pastymez, hoounds and hawks: déer, red & fallo; hare and fox; partrich & fezaunt; fysh & foull; carp & tench. For warz, spear & shéeld, hors & harneis, sword & bukler. For sustenauns, wheat & barly, peaz and beanz, meat and drinke, bread & meat, béer & ale, appls and pearz.

But least by such dualitéez I draw you too far: let vs heer stay, and cum néerer home. Séee what a sort of fréendly binitéez we oour seluez doo consist & stond vpon. Fyrst, oour too féet, too legs, too knéez, so vpward: and abooue, too shoolderz, too armz & too hands. But chéefly our principll Too, that iz, body and soll: then in the hed, whear all oour sensez méet, and allmost all in Tooz: too noze-thrills, too earz, and too eyz. So ar we of fréendly Tooz, from top too to. Wel, to this number of binitéez§, take [§p. 76.] ye one mo for an vpshot, & héer an éend. Too The two Dyallz ny vnto the battilments ar set aloft vpon too Diallz. of the sidez of Cezarz toour, one East, thooother Soouth²; for so stond they best to sheaw the oourz too the

¹ The motto of the great Lord Bacon was *Cor unum, una via*.—*Ken. Ill.* p. 38.

² The marks occasioned by fastening up these dials are very distinct and obvious at the present day (1821).—*Ken. Ill.* p. 38, note 4.

tooun & cuntrée: both fayre, large, and rich, by vyse¹ for groound, & goold for letterz, whearby they glitter conspicuous a great wey of. The clokbell that iz good & shrill, waz commaunded too silens at first, and in déede sang not a note all the while her highnes waz thear; the clok stood also still withall. But mark noow, whither wear it by chauns, by constellation of starz, or by fatall appoyntment (if fatez and starz doo deal with dialz). Thus waz it in déede: The

The Diallz
at ii. a klok. handz of both the tablz stood firm and fast, allweyz poynting too iust too a klok, still at too a klok. Which thing beholding by hap at first, but after seriously marking in déed, enprinted intoo me a déepe sign & argument certain, That thiz thing, amoong the rest, waz for full signifiawns of his Lordship's honorabl, frank, frendly, and nobl hart toward al estates. Which, whither cum they to stay & take chéer, or straight to returne: too see, [*p. 77.] or to be séene: cum they for duty too her Maiesty or looue *too hiz Lordship, or for both; cum they early or late: for his Lordship's part, they cum allweyz all at too a klok, een iump² at too a klok: That iz to say, in good harte, good acceptawns, in amitée, and freendlye wellcoom. Who saw els that I saw, in right must say az I say. For so manye thinges byside, Master Humfrey, wear heerin so consonant vnto my construction, that thiz poynting of the klok (to my self) I took in amitée, as an oracle certain. And héer iz my windlesse, lyke yoor coorse as pleaz ye.

But noow, syr, to cum to eend. For receyuing of her hig[h]nes, and entertainment of all thoother estatez. Syns of delicatez that ony wey mought serue or delight: az of wyne, spice, deynty viaunds, plate, Musik, ornaments of hoous, rich arras & sylk, (too say nothing of *the* meaner thinges,) the mass by prouizion waz heaped so hoouge, which the boounty in spending did after bewray. The conceit so déep in casting the plat at first. Such a wizdom and cunning in acquiring things so rich, so rare, and in such abundauns: by so imminens³ & profuse a charge of expens, whiche [tp. 78.] by so honorabl seruis & exquisit order, curteizy †officerz, and humanitée of al, wear after so boountifully bestoed and spent, what may this express, what may this set out vntoo vs, but only a magnifyk minde, a singuler

¹ See *Notes* at the end.

² plump, exactly. Did the two mean Elizabeth and Leicester?

³ immense; or noteworthy, wondrous, startling, from *eminens*.

wizdoom, a prinsly purs, and an heroicall hart? If it wear my theam, Master Martin, too speake of hiz Lordship's great honor & magnif[i]cens, though it be not in me too say sufficiently, az bad a penclark az I am, yet coold I say a great deel more.

But being heer now in magnificens, & matters of greatnes: it fals wel too mynd, The greatnes of his honor's Tent, that for her Maiestyez dining was pighte at long Ichington, the day her highnes cam to Killingworth Castl. A tabernacl indéed, for number and shift of large and goodlye roomz, for fayr & eazy offices, both inward & ooutward, al so likesum in order & eysight, that iustly for dignitée may be comparabl with a beautifull Pallais, & for greatnes & quantité with a proper tooun, or rather, a Cittadell. But to be short, least I kéepe yoo too long from the Ryall Exchaunge noow, and too cauz yoo conceyue mooche matter in feawest woordes: the Iron bedsted of

Og the King of Basan (ye wot) waz foor yards and a halfe long, and too yards §wide¹, whearby ye consider a Gyaunt of a great proportion waz he.

This tent had seauen cart lode of pynz² perteing too it: noow for the greatness, gess az ye can.

And great az it waz (too marshall oor matters of greatnes together), not forgetting a Weather at Grafton, brought too the Coort, that for body and wooll was exceding great: the meazure I tooke not; let me sheaw you with what great marueyl a great Chyld of Leycetershire, at this long Ichington, by the Parents waz prezented: great (I say) of limz & proportion, of a foor foot & foor inches hy: and els lanuginous³ az a lad of eyghtéen yee[r]z, béeing indeede auowd too be but six yéer olld: nothing more bewraying hiz age then hiz wit: that waz, as for thooz yeers, simpl & childish.

As for vnto hiz Lordship, hauing with such greatnes of honorabl modestye & benignitée so passed foorth, as *Laudem sine inuidia et amicos pararit*, By greatnesse of well dooing, woon with all sorts to bée in such reuerens, az: *De quo mentiri fama veretur*. In synceritée of fréendship so great, az no man more deuootly woorships.

¹ Deuteronomy, chap. iii. verse 11.—*Burn*.

² The pins or pegs driven into the ground to hold the tent-ropes. (See note ², p. 5 above.)

³ Lat. *lanuginosus*, full of, or abounding in *lanugo* (a wool-like production, down, etc.), hence 'covered with down, downy.'—*White and Riddle*.

⁴ Terentius, *Andr.* T. i. 39.—*Nichols*, ed. 1788, i. 50.

[*p. 80.] **Illud amicitiae sanctum et venerabile nomen.*
Ouid.

So great in liberalitie, az hath no wey to heap vp the mass of hiz trezure, but only by liberal gyuing & boounteous bestoing hiz trezure: foloing (az it séemez) the saw¹ of Martiall², that sayth,

*Extra fortunam est, quicquid donatur amicis ;
Quas dederis, solas semper habebis opes.*

Oout of all hazered doest thou set that to thy freends
thoou gyuest :
A surer trezure canst thoou not haue euer whyle
thoou lyst.

What may théez greatneses bode, but only az great honor, fame, & renouom, for théez parts héer away, az euer waz vntoo thoz too nobl Greatz : the Macedonian Alexander in Emathia or Grées, or to Romane Charles in Germanye or Italy? which, wear it in me ony wey to set oout, no man of all men, by God (Master Martin), had euer more cauz, and that héerby consider yoo. It pleased his honor to beare me good wil at fyrst, & so too continu. To haue giuen me apparail, éeuen from hiz bak, to get me allowauns in the stabl, too aduauns me vntoo this worshipfull office, so néer the most honorabl Councill, to help me in my licens of Beanz (though indéed I do not so much vze it, for I thank [†p. 81.] God I néed not), to permit my good Father to serue the stabl. †Whearby I go noow in my sylks, that else might ruffl in my cut canues: I ryde now a hors bak, that els many timez mighte mannage it a foot: am knoen to their honors, & taken foorth with the best, that els might be bidden to stand bak my self: My good Father a good reléef, that hee farez mooch the better by; and none of theez for my dezert, eyther at fyrst or syns: God, hee knoez. What say ye, my good fréend Humfrey? shoold I not for euer honor, extol him, al the weyz I can? Yes, by your leaue, while God lends me pooder to vtter my minde! And (hauing az good cauz of his honor, az Virgil had of Augustus Cezar,) wil I poet it a littl with Virgill, and say,

¹ Nichols, ed. 1788, i. 50, reads 'that saw,' and says 'Another copy reads the law of Martial.'

² Lib. V., Epig. xliii.—Nichols.

Eglog. I. *Namque erit ille mihi semper Deus, illius aram
Sepe tener nostris ab ouilibus imbuet agnus.*

For he shall be a god to me, till death my life consumez :
His auters will I sacrifice with incens and parfumez.

A singular patron of humanitée may he be well vnto vs,
toward all degréez ; of Honor, toward hy Estates ; and
chéeflye, whearby we may learne in what dignitée, worship,
and reuerens, her highnes iz to be estéemed, honored, and
receiued, that waz neuer indéed more condignly doon then
héer, so as neither by the bylders at first, nor by †the
1266. An. Edict of pacification after¹, was euer Kenelworth
50 Hen. 3. more nobled then by thiz, hiz Lordship's receiuing
[†p. 82.] hir highnes héer now.

But, Iesu ! Iesu ! whither am I drawen noow ? But talk I of
my Lord onz, éen thus it farez with me : I forget all, my
fréends, & my self too. And yet yoo, being a Mercer, a
Merchant, az I am : my cuntréeman born, & my good
fréend withal, whearby I kno ye ar compassiond with me :
Me thought it my part, sumwhat to empарт vnto yoo hoow
it iz héer with me, & hoow I lead my life, which indéed
iz this :

A mornings I rize ordinarily at seauen a clok : Then
reddy, I go intoo the Chappell : soon after eyght, I get me
commonly intoo my Lord's Chamber, or intoo my Lord's pre-
zidents. Thear, at the cupboard, after I haue eaten *the*
manchet, serued ouer night for liuery², (for I dare be az bolld,
I promis yoo, az any of my freends the seruaunts thear : and
indeed, coold I haue fresh if I woold tary ; but I am of woont
iolly & dry³ a mornings) I drink me vp a good bol of Ale :
when in a swéet pot it iz defecated by al nights standing, the
drink iz *the* better ; take that of me⁴ : & a morsell in a morn-
ing, with a sound draught, iz very holsome and good for the
[‡p. 83.] eysight. Then I am az fresh all ‡*the* forenoon after,
az had I eaten a hole pées of béef. Noow, syr,

¹ See *Notes* at the end.

² A loaf of fine bread served-out over-night as Laneham's *livery* or allowance. Henry VIII.'s Knights, and others of the King's Councell, Gentlemen of the Chamber, etc., had each in 1526, 'Everie of them, being lodged within the courte, for their Bouch in the morning, one chet [coarse] loafe, one *manchet*, one gallon of ale.'—*Household Ordinances*, p. 163.

³ Is this the first use of this now slang phrase ?

⁴ John Russell and Andrew Boorde say that Ale must be 5 days old before it is drunk.—*Babees Book*, p. 128, 208. Before it was hopt, it had to be brewed fresh and fresh, and must have been all the better for standing.

if the Councill sit, I am at hand, wait at an inch, I warrant yoo. If any make babling, "peas!" (say I) "woot ye whear ye ar?" if I take a lystenar, or a priar in at the chinks or at the lokhole, I am by & by in the bones of him¹; but now they kéep good order; they kno me well inough: If a be a fréend, or such one az I lyke, I make him sit dooun by me on a foorm, or a cheast: let the rest walk, a God's name!

And héer doth my langagez now and than stond me in good sted, my French, my Spanish, my Dutch, & my Latten, sumtime amoong Ambassadours men, if their Master be within with the Council, sumtime with the Ambassadour himself, if hee bid call hiz lacky, or ask me whats a klok: and I warrant ye I aunswer him roundly, that they maruell to sée such a fello thear: then laugh I, & say nothing. Dinner & supper I haue twenty placez to go to, & hartly prayd to: And sumtime get I too Master Pinner, by my faith a worshipfull Gentlman, and az carefull for his charge az ony hir highnez hath: thear find I alway good store of very good viaunds: we eat and bee merry, thank God & the Quéene! Himself in féeding very temperat & moderat az ye shall sée

[*p. 84.] ony: *and yet, by your leaue, of a dish—az a colld pigeon or so, that hath cum to him at meat, more then he lookt for,—I haue seen him éen so by and by surfit, az he hath pluct of hiz napkin, wyept his knife, & eat not a morsell more: lyke ynough to stik in hiz stomake a too dayz after: (Sum hard message from the higher officers, perceiue ye me?) Vpon search, hiz faithfull dealing and diligens hath found him faultles. In afternoons & a nights, sumtime am I with the right worshipfull Sir George Howard, az good a Gentlman as ony lieuz: And sumtime at my good Lady Sidneis² chamber, a Noblewooman that I am az mooch boound vntoo, as ony poore man may bee vnto so gracyous a Lady: And sumtime in sum oother place; But alwayez among the Gentlwemen³ by my good will (O, yée kno that cum alweyez of a gentle spirite); & when I sée cumpany according, than can I be az lyuely to; sumtyme I foote it with daunsing: noow with my Gittern, and els with my Cittern,

¹ give him a good dig in the ribs.

² Mary, the sister of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, wife of Sir Henry Sydney, K.G. Their son, Robert Sydney, was created Baron Sydney of Penshurst, in Kent, 13th May, 1603; created Viscount L'Isle, May 4, 1605; and on 2 August, 1618, Earl of Leicester.—*Nicolus's Peerage*, ii. 630.

³ See note ² on next page.

then at the Virgynalz¹:—Ye kno nothing cums amisse to mée :
—then carroll I vp a song withall², that by and by they com
flocking about me lyke béez too hunny : and euer they cry,
[†p. 85.] “anoother, good Langham, anoother !” Shall I tell
you ? †when I sée Misterz—(A ! sée a madde
knaue ! I had almost tollde all !) that shee gyuez onz but an ey
or an ear : why, then man, am I blest ! my grace, my corage,
my cunning iz doobled : She sayz sumtime she likez it, & then
I like it mooch the better ; it dooth me good to heer hoow
well I can doo. And, too say truth : what, with myne eyz, az I
can amoroously gloit it, with my Spanish sospires,³ my French

¹ The musical instruments principally in use in barbers' shops, during the 16th. and 17th. centuries were the *cittern*, the *gittern*, the lute, and the *virginals*. Of these the *cittern* . . . was in shape somewhat like the English guitar of the last century, but had only four double strings of *wire*, *i. e.* two to each note . . . The peculiarity of the *cittern*, or *cithren*, was that the third string was tuned lower than the fourth, so that if the first or highest string was tuned to *e*, the third would be the *g* below, and the fourth the *intermediate b* . . . The *gittern* . . . Ritson rightly says, differed chiefly from the *cittern* in being strung with *gut* instead of *wire*. It was in fact a guitar. In the catalogue of musical instruments left in the charge of Philip von Wilder at the death of Henry VIII, we find “four *Gitterons*, which are called Spanish vialles.” These were guitars with *six* strings, for, at this time, the Spanish guitar had but four strings, and the Spaniards gave the name of *Vihuela* to those with six. In the old play of ‘*Lingua*’ we read

’Tis true the finding of a dead horse-head
Was the first invention of *string* instruments,
Whence rose the *Gitterne*, Viol and the Lute.

Dodsley's Old Plays, vol. v., p. 198

The *virginals* (probably so called because chiefly played upon by young girls) resembled in shape the ‘square’ pianoforte of the present day, as the harpsichord did the ‘grand.’ The sound of the pianoforte is produced by a hammer striking the strings ; but when the keys of the virginal or harpsichord were pressed, the *jacks* (slender pieces of wood, armed at the upper end with quills) were raised to the strings, they acted as *plectra*, by impinging, or twitching them.—*Chappell's Popular Music*, vol. i. p. 101-4. See also p. 35, 98, 248, 764, etc.

² Compare Hugh Rhodes’s *Boke of Nurture* in the *Babees Book*, p. 85,

A plyaunt seruaunt gets fauour to his great aduantage ;
Promoted shall he be in offyce or fee, easilier to lyue in age.
Vse honest pastyme, talke or synge, or some Instrument vse :
Though they be thy betters, to heare they will thee not refuse.

(l. 129-36.)

And as to the ‘Gentlwemen’ above, compare Rhodes’s further directions, p. 86,

For your preferment resort to such as may you vauntage :
Among Gentlemen for their rewards ; to honest dames for maryage . . .
Honest quallities and gentle, many men doth aduaunce
To good maryages, trust me, and their names doth inhaunce. (l. 141-52.)

³ Laneham gives in this passage a specimen of making love in the various languages in which he was skilled. *Suspiro*, in the Spanish tongue, signifies

vp fyn
houe.

heighes, mine Italian dulcets, my Dutch houe, my doobl releas, my hy reachez, my fine feyning, my déep diapason, my wanton warblz, my running, my tyming, my tuning, and my twynkling, I can gracify the matters az well az the prowdest of them; and waz yet neuer staynd, I thank God. By my troth, cuntreman, it iz sumtim by midnight ear I can get from them. And thus haue I told ye most of my trade, al the léue long daye: what will ye more? God saue the Quéene and my Lord! I am well, I thank yoo.

Héerwith ment I fully to bid ye farewell, had not this doubt cum to my minde, that heer remainz a doout in yoo, which I ought (me thought) in any wyze to cléer: Which iz, ye maruel perchauns to sée me so bookish. Let me tell yoo in few words: I went to scool forsooth both at Pollez, [**p. 86.*] & *allso at Saint Antoniez: in the fifth foorm, past Esop fabls iwys, red Terens: "Vos istæc intro auferte;" & began with my Virgill "Tytire tu patulæ." I coold' my rulez, coold conster & pars with the best of them. Syns that, az partly ye kno, haue I traded the feat of marchaundize in sundry Cuntreyz, & so gat me Langagez, which do so littl hinder my Latten, az (I thank God) haue mooch encreast it. I haue leizure sumtime, when I tend not vpon the coounsell: whearby, now look I on one booke, noow on an other. Stories I delight in, the more auncient & rare, the more likesum vntoo mee. If I tolld ye, I lyked William a Malmesbery so well, bicauz of hiz diligenz & antiquitée. Perchauns ye woold conster it bicauz I loue Mamzey so well: but, I feith! it iz not so: for sipt I no more Sak & suger (& yet neuer but with company) then I doo Malmzey, I should not blush so moch a dayz as I doo: ye kno my minde. Well, noow! thus fare ye hartily well! y feith! if with wishing it coold haue béen, ye had had a buk or too this soomer; but we shal cum neerer shortly, & then shal we merely méet; & grace a God! in the mean time commend me, I besek yo, vntoo my good freends, almost most of them your [*§p. 87.*] neighbors, Master §Alderman Pullison², a speciall fréende of mine: and, in ony wise, too my good old freend Master Smith, Custumer³, by that same token, "Set

a very deep sigh; *Hé*, in the French, expresses the emotions of the soul in love; *Dolce*, in Italian, means dear or beloved; and in Dutch, *Hoofsheid* is the word for courtship.—*Burn*, p. 114; *Nichols*, i. 483.

¹ knew; as in 'coold hiz lesson,' p. 38.

² Afterwards Sir Thomas Pullison, and Lord Mayor in 1584.—*Nichols* and *Burn*.

³ See p. 45, note.

my hors vp too the rak, & then lets haue a cup of Sak!"—He knoez the token well ynough, & wil laugh, I hold ye a grote. —Too Master Thorogood: And too my mery cumpanion (a Mercer, ye wot, az we be,) Master Denman, "Mio fratello in Christo:" he iz woont too summon me by the name of "Ro. La. of the Coounty Nosingham¹, Gentlman." A good companion, I feyth! Well, onez again, fare ye hartely well! From the Coourt. At the Citée of Worceter, the xx of August, 1575.

Yor countréeman, companion, & freend assuredly: Mercer, Merchantauturer, and Clark of the Councel-chamber door, and also kéeper of the same: El Prencipe negro. Par me, R. L. Gent. Mercer.

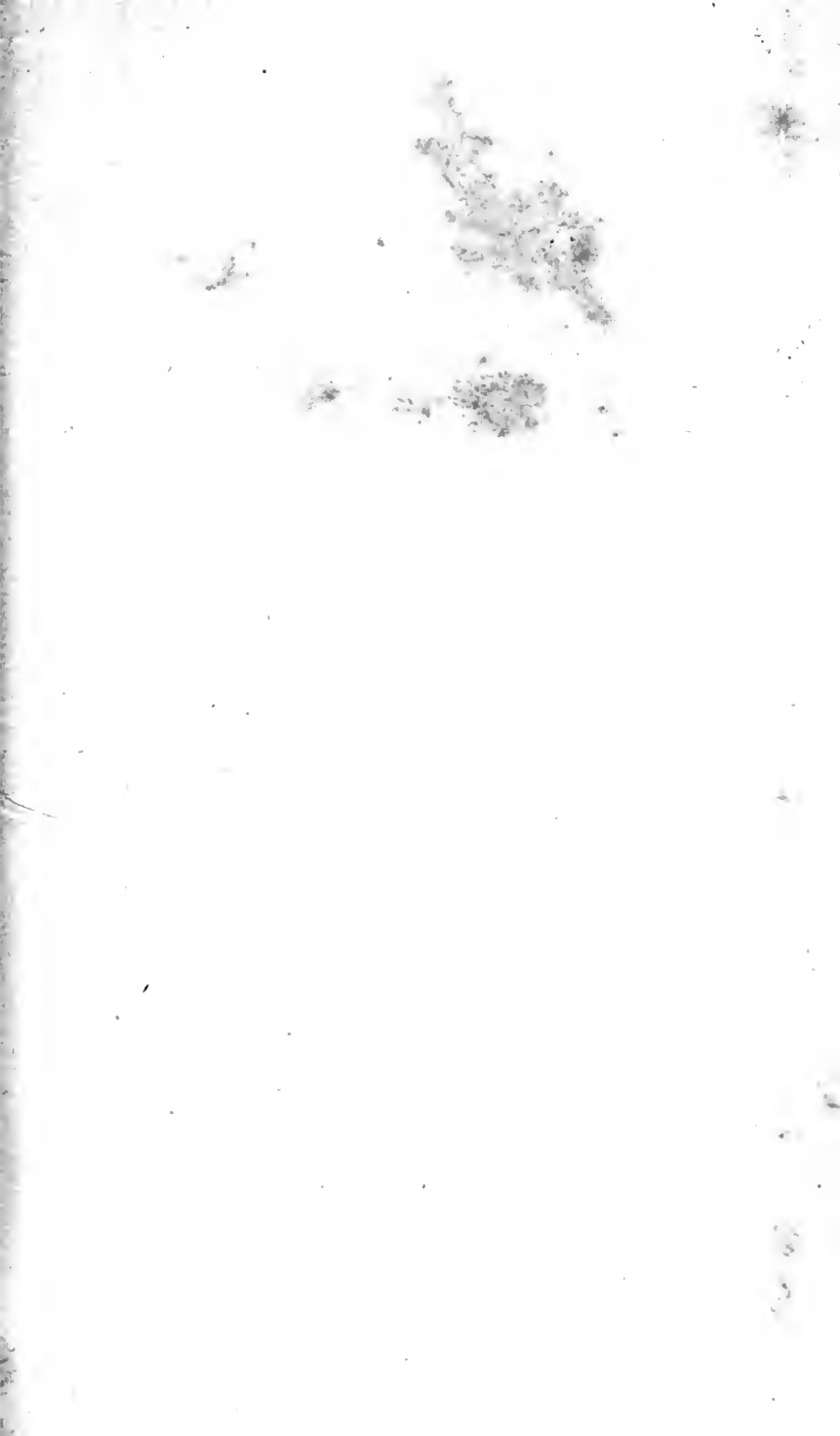
DE MAIESTATE REGIA

Benigno.

*Cedant arma togæ, concedat laurea lingua,
Iactanter Cícero, ad iustius illud habe:
Cedant arma togæ, vigil et toga cedat honori,
Omnia concedant Imperioque suo.*

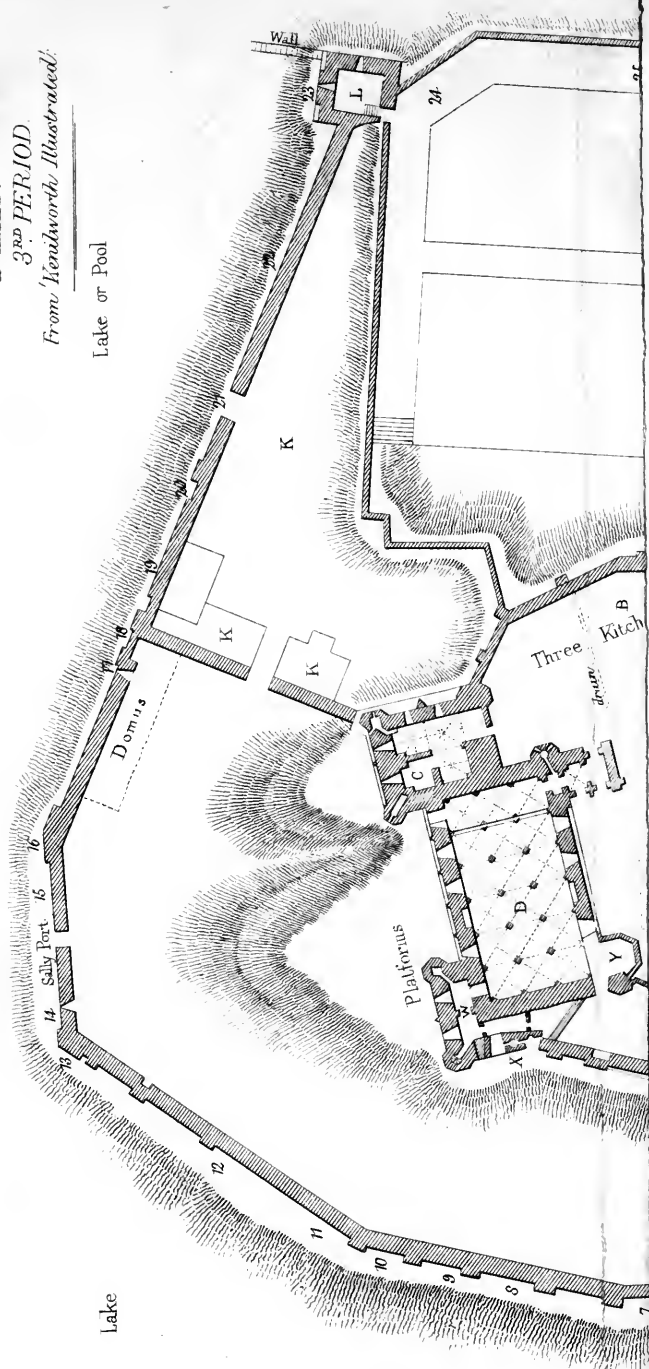
DEO OPT. MAX. GRATIÆ.

¹ I don't take this to be a mistake for Nottingham, but a quiz on Laneham's nose, which, as his cheeks blusht so much (p. 61), must have been red too.



PLAN III.
3RD PERIOD

From *Kenilworth Illustrated*.



Lake or Pool

Lake

APPENDIX.

THE following is the report of King Henry VIII.'s surveyors on Kenilworth.

[Cott. MS. Vesp. F. ix. leaf 302.]

THE CASTLE OF KILLINGWORTH, SITUATE VPON A ROCK.

[Ci]rcuit. 1. The Circuite whereof within the walls conteyneth 7. acres, vpon which the walks are so spacious & faire that two or three persons may walke together vpon most places thereof.

[Bu]ilding. 2. The Castle with the 4 Gatehouses all built of freestone hewen and cutt; the walls in many places of 15. & 10. foot thicke, some more, some lesse, the least fower foot in thicknes square.

Couering. 3. The Castle & 4. Gatehouses all covered with Lead, whereby it is subiect to no other decay then the glasse, through the extremity of weather.

[R]oomes. 4. The Roomes of great State within the same, & such as are able to receaue his Majesty, the Queen, & Prince, at one tyme, built with as much vniformity and conueniency as any houses of later tyme; and with such stately Sellars, all caried vpon pillars, and Architecture of free stone carued and wrought, as the like are not within this Kingdome; and also all other houses for Offices aunswerable.

[Ch]ases & Parks. 5. There lieth about the same in Chases and Parks 1200^{li} per annum; 900^{li}. whereof are grounds for pleasure,—the rest in meadow & pasture thereto adioyning, Tenuants and freeholders.

[King]swood-copses. 6. There ioyneth vpon this ground a Parklike ground, called the Kings wood, with 15. seuerall Coppisses lyeng altogether, conteyning 789. acres within the same; which, in the Earle of Leicesters tyme, were stored with Red deere. Since which, the Deere stroyed;¹ but the ground in no sort blemished, having great store of Tymber & other Trees of much valewe vpon the same.

[P]oole. 7. There runneth through the said grounds by the walls of the said Castle a faire Poole, conteyning 111 acres, well stored with fish and fowle, which at pleasure is to be lett round about the Castle.

[Timbe]r & woods. 8. In Tymber and woods vpon theis grounds to the valew (as hath been offred) of 20,000^{li}; hauing a convenient tyme to remove them; which to his Majesty, in the Suruey, are but valewed at 11722^{li},—which pro-

¹ have been destroyed.

portion, in a like measure, is held in all the rest vpon the other valewes to his Majesty.

[Co]mpasse. 9. The Circuits of the Castle, Manors, Parks, and Chase, lieing round, together conteyne at least 19. or 20. miles, in a pleasaunt Countrey,—the like both for strength, state, and pleasure not being within the Realme of England.

[Su]ruey. 10. Theis lands haue been surueied by Commissioners from the King and the Lord Priuy seale, with direccions from his Lordship to finde all things vnder the true worth, and vpon oath of Jurours, aswell freeholders, as Custumary Tenaunts; which course being held by them are notwithstanding surueied and returned at 38,554^{li} 15^s. Out of which, for Sir Robert Dudley's Contempt, there is to be deducted 10000^{li}.; for the Lady Dudley's Joynture, which is without ympeachment of wast, whereby she may sell all the woods, (which by the Suruey amount vnto 11722^{li}.) what shalbe thought reasonable.

		li.	s.
The Totall of the Suruey } ariseth as followeth, viz. :—	{ In land . . .	16431.	9
	{ In woods . . .	11722.	2
	{ The Castle . . .	10401.	4

Estate. 11. His Majesty hath herein the meane profitts of the Castle and premisses through Sir Robert Dudley's Contempt, during his life or his Majesty's Pardon. The Reuercion in fee being in the Lord priuy seale.

NOTES ON LANEHAM'S LETTER.

P. 2. *Ayr sweet and hollsum*.—See the interesting chap. 3 of Andrew Boorde's *Dyetary*, p. 235 of my edition of Boorde, 1870. Also chapter 2, on the site of a house.

P. 3. *The Bridge*.—This dry valley was partly filled up by Col. Haukesworth, ab. 1650, when he dismantled the Castle, but part still remains. It is in fact the original Norman moat (1135) which was dried, and partly filled up, when at the close of the 12th century Geoffrey Clinton's successors threw out a more extensive line of fortifications.—E. H. Knowles.

P. 3.—In the year of 642, Penda, King of Mercia, invaded the dominions of Oswald, King of Northumberland; who was slain after a fierce battle at Maserfield. Burthred, or Buthred, who is mentioned in the context, was the last King of Mercia; whose kingdom was invaded in 874, by the West-Saxons, under Alfred. Thus overpowered he fled to Rome, where he died.—Burn's ed. of *Laneham*, p. 94; *Nichols*, i. 428.

P. 6.—The Porter burst out, in verses 'devised and pronounced by Master Badger of Oxford, Master of Arts, and Bedel in the same University,' and given in *Gascoigne*, p. 7, ed. 1821.

P. 6.—See Malory's *Kyng Arthur*, bk. i. cap. xxv. Soo they rode tyl they came to a lake, the whiche was a fayr water, and brood. And in the myddes of the lake, Arthur was ware of an arme clothed in whyte samyte, that held a fayr swerd in that hand. "Loo," said Merlyn, "yonder is that swerd that I spak of." With that they sawe a damoisel goyng vpon the lake. "What damoysel is that?" said Arthur. "That is THE LADY OF THE LAKE," said Merlyn; "And within that lake is a roche; and thereyn is as fayr a place as ony on erthe, and rychely beseene; and this damoysell wylle come to yow anone; and thenne speke ye fayre to her, that she will gyue yow that swerd."

P. 7, 9. *Musical Instruments*.—Lord Warren and De Tabley has been kind enough to lend me a MS Commonplace book of his ancestor Sir Philip Leycester, dated 1656, that the musical part may be edited by Dr. Rimbault for the Early English Text Society. But as several of the instruments mentioned by Laneham are described in it, I extract the bits relating to them.

[*leaf 86 back.] "It will not be amisse here to insert the severall Kinds of Musicall Instruments now of most Vse in England, as they be now vsed, 1656. . . .

[†leaf 87.] "†Of Single Wynd Instruments, the most excellent are the Cornet, the Shalme, & Sackbut.

"The CORNET is about two foote in length; not so streight as the Shalme; but with a little bendinge or Incurvation; it is bored through, & hath little holes at the side thereof, *which*, beinge stopt with the fingers, gives the variety of Soundes; & yeildeth a shrill-quakinge-Sound, *which* is produced by the Art of the Mouth, as the Hunt's-man's Horne & Trumpet are caused by the blast of the mouth.

[*leaf 87 back.] "The SHALME is made of Wood, & after the same manner of the Cornet, & about the same length, bored thorough also, with little holes at the side, to be stopt with the fingers, for distinction of Soundes. This is a streight Piece of Wood, & hath a Reede put into the Smaller end thereof (which is made artificially, & bound about the Lower end with a Thred), which with the blast of the mouth causeth a shrill Sound, & is done with lesse straininge then the Cornet, *which* hath no Reede, but the Sound thereof forced with the Mouth. ¹The greater end of it is made in forme of a little Bell, like the end of a Trumpet¹.

[†leaf 88.] "The SACKBUT is made of Brasse or Alchimy², & gives distinction of Soundes, not by holes, as other Pipes, †but by movinge the outward part of it higher or Lower; for there is a Devise vppon it, to be drawne vp & downe. The Sound of it is caused by the blast of the mouth; & it hath some resemblance to a Trumpet. This Instrument giveth a Deepe Sound, & is to play the Basse-partie.

"There are also of an inferiour Kind, as FLUITS, RECORDERS, BAG-PIPES,—& these last both greater & lesse,—so called because they have bags fastened to the Pipe, *which*, beinge stufed with the wind of the Mouth, causeth the Sounde. But these Pipes are never vsed by any Artists in Musicke; but by the more Rusticall Sorte of People.

[†leaf 88 back.] "‡The Stringed Instruments now in vse are two fold, either Gut-stringes or Wyre-stringes.

"Instruments with Gut-stringes are of Three sortes.

"1 The HARPE, which is made in forme of a Triangle, & hath the stringes open on both sides, for either hande to play with all: & is played vppon with the fingers of both handes.

"2 The LUTE, which is made with a Round backe, like a halfe-Globe, the belly of it flat & even to the finger-board. This is playd vppon with the fingers of the right hand, & stoppinge the [§leaf 89.] notes with the left hand on the finger-board. §It hath sometymes 24 strings, sometimes 19 stringes; and sometymes lesse, as pleaseth the Musitian to have it.

"Of this Kind is the THEORBO, beinge only a Basse-Lute: made larger to carry a Deepe Sounde.

¹⁻¹ Written in the margin.

² ? tin.

"3 The VIOLE: which is either Treble, Tenour, or Base, accordinge to its magnitude: These have onely Sixe stringes a peece, and are played vpon with a Bowe.

"of this Sorte also is the VIOLIN, which hath but fowre stringes, & is the least sort: which carries an excellent Treble parte; save onely this hath no frets on the fingerboard (because of its littlenes) as the other Violes have; but the notes on this are strooke by the Eare.

[*leaf 89 back.] "*Instruments with Wyre-stringes are of fowre sorts.

1 VIRGINALLS. These are made with Keyes, as the Organs: and indeed is nothinge else but a stringed Organ.

from these the HARPSICALLS & double Harpsicalls are deduced; all made after the same manner.

2 ORPHARION: which is onely a Wyre-stringed Lute; save the forme of the backe of this is made more flat, the Lute more round: & from this the BANDORA¹ (as we call it) somewhat larger; [†leaf 90.] the ffrets on the finger-board of these beinge made of †brasse, which is layd into the Wood; but the ffrets of the Lute & Violes are made of Stringes tyed about the finger-board.

"3 HARPE: which we vsually call THE IRISH HARPE, as most vsed by them, with Wyre-strings: the other called by vs THE WELSH-HARPE, with Gut-stringes.

"4 The PSITTYRNE; & from thence the GITTERNE: of which I haue made mention before, fo. 85. [The passage at leaf 85 about the Psittyrne² is, "This Instrument is not so apt for the voyce as the Lute or Viole, but yeilds a Sweete and Gentle Sound, which the name importeth: for *ψιθύρα* is a Greeke word, & commeth of *ψιθύρος*, which signifyes 'a whisperinge Sound'; like to which is the sound of this Instrument: some write it 'Citharen,'—but falsely,—for 'Psithyren,' &, by contraction, 'Psittyrne.' It contayneth fowre Course of stringes, as at this day we vse it, each Course beinge doubled, havinge two Stringes of one sound in each course: They are Wire Stringes: & is played vpon with a little peice of a Quill or Pen, wherewith the Stringes be touched. It is now vsually taught by Letters, not by Notes of Musicke.

¹ Bandora, a musical Instrument with Wyre-strings, so called; first made by John Rose, dwellinge in Bridewell, anno 4^o Eliz: 1562, who left a sonne farre excellinge himselfe in makinge Instruments. *Howes continuation of Stow:* pag: 869.—Sir P. Leycester's Index to his MS.

² This is preceded by an account of the two best "PSITHYRISTS. For the little Instrument called a PSITTYRNE, Anthony Holborne and Tho: Robinson were most famous of any before them, and haue both of them set out a Booke of Lessons for this Instrument. Holborne hath composed a Basse-parte for the Viole to play vnto the Psittyrne with those Lessons Set out in his booke: these lived about Anno Domini 1600."

Like unto this is the Instrument we now vsually do¹ call a GITTERNE, which indeed is onely a Treble Psittyrne, beinge somewhat lesse then the other, yeilding a more Treble Smart Sound, havinge the same number & the same Order of Wynd-strings, & playd vppon with a Quill, after the same order as the Psittyrne; onely some variation in the Tuninge, which may also be varyed in the Psittyrne at pleasure.]

"To these may be added the APOPREY, brought into England about 1644, which is playd on with two little sticks; in either hand one; & hath Wyre-strings, onely 4 Course.

"These I thought good to mention here, that Posterity may know the difference of them, and likewise what new Inventions shall be found out afterwards."

P. 12. *Sunday Dauncing.*—

He know to dance on Sundays.

Little Thief, A. iij.—E. H. Knowles.

P. 13. *The Chase.*—There is a spot in the Chase still called the Queen's Standing-Ground. Cf. Sir Walter Scott's *Waverley*, ch. iii.—E. H. Knowles.

P. 13. *Earning of the hounds.*—*Earn* or *Yorne* is a term of art: compare *Vallentine* (the Courtier) . . . I confesse I am vnskilfull, yet vnlesse I bee much deceaued, I haue hard hounds *barke* by night, & haue seene foulers ketch Woodcockes in colde weather.

Vincent (the Cuntrey-Gentleman) In deede it may bee you haue hard sumtimes hounds *yorne* (for so you ought to terme it) by night; and I suppose the winter weather, and hard, is fittest for ketching of Woodcockes in deede. 1586. *The English Courtier and the Cuntrey-gentleman*, p. 55-6, ed. 1868, Roxburghe Library.

P. 16. *Bearbaiting.*—So too Arthur Golding in his 'Discourse upon the Earthquake' on April 6, 1580 "The Saboth dayes and holy dayes, ordayned for the hearing of Gods word, to the reformation of our lyves . . . and finally for the speciall occupying of our selves in all spirituall exercizes, is spent full heathenishly in taverning, tipling, gaming, playing, and beholding of *Beare-baytings* and Stage-playes, to the utter dyshonor of God, impeachment of all godlynesse, and unnecessarie consuming of mennes substances, which ought to be better employed." (Quoted in Collier's *Stationers' Registers*, ii. 118.)

P. 17. *Nyez.*—A vulgarism.

Your pale seekes & hollow *nyes*.

The Little Thief, Act IV.—E. H. Knowles.

? pinken eyes. There is a singular coincidence between Laneham's description of a bear-fight, and that given in the Romance of "Kenilworth," where the Earl of Sussex presents a petition

¹ 'tearme a Kit some' is struck out, and 'Gittern' written at the side.

from Orson Pinnit, keeper of the Royal Bears, against Shakespeare and the players. It is evident that the author of "Kenilworth" had the passage in his mind; and as the reader may also like to compare the two passages, an extract from the Romance is here inserted: "There you may see the bear lying at guard with his red pinky eyes, watching the onset of the mastiff like a wily captain, who maintains his defence, that an assailant may be tempted to venture within his danger." See *Kenilworth*, vol. ii. p. 129.—*Burn*, p. 98; *Nichols*, i. 439. *Ken. Ill.* says 'pink nyez'—winking-eyes. Dutch *pincken*, to wink. P. 15, note 1.

P. 26. *Coventry* . . is a faire, famous, sweet, and ancient City, so walled about with such strength and neatnesse, as no City in England may compare with it: in the wals (at severall places) are 13 Gates and Posterns whereby to enter and issue too and from the City; and on the wals are 18 strong defensible Towers, which do also beautifie it: in the City is a faire and delicate Crosse, which is for structure, beauty, and workmanship, by many men accounted unmatchable in this Kingdome; although my selfe, with some others, do suppose that of Abington in Berkeshire will match it; and I am sure the Crosse in Cheapside at London doth farre out-passe it. (1639. John Taylor. *Part of this Summers Travels*, p. 9.)

P. 26, margin. *Florilegus*.—? = Matthew of Westminster.—E. H. Knowles.

P. 31. *Musters*.—In the Musters taken in 1574 and 1575 A.D. printed in *Household Ordinances*, p. 270-1, Warwick figures for 300 able men, 978 armed men, 300 artificers and pyoneers, 16 demi-lances, and 90 light-horse.

P. 31. *Nippitate*.—

Pompiona, Princess of Moldavia.

Oft have I heard of your brave countrymen,
And fertile soil, and store of wholesome food.
My father oft will tell me of a drink
In England found, and *Nipitato* call'd,
Which driveth all the sorrow from your hearts.

Ralph. Lady, 'tis true: you need not lay your lips
To better *Nipitato* than there is.

Beaumont and Fletcher, *Knight of the Burning Pestle*,
Act iv, Scene 2, *Works*, ed. Darley, 1840, vol. ii,
p. 90, col. 2.

P. 32. *An Ambrosiall Banket . . disshes . . a three hundred*.—
A dinner in London in 1569 is thus described:

This day, my Lorde his speciall friende
must dyne with him (no naye),

His Partners, Friendes and Aldermen :
 wherefore he must puruaye
 Both Capon, Swan, and Hernshoe good,
 fat Bitture, Larcke, and Quayle :
 Right Plouer, Snype, and Woodcock fine,
 with Curlew, Wype¹, and Rayle :
 Stonetiucts², Teale, and Pecteales good,
 with Busterd fat and plum,
 Fat Pheasaunt Powt, and Plouer base
 for them that after come.
 Stent, Stockard, Stampine, Tanterueale,
 and Wigeon of the best :
 Puyt³, Partrich, Blackbirde and
 fat Shoueler with the rest.
 Two Warrants eke he must prouide
 to haue some Venson fat,
 And meanes héele make for red Déere too,
 (there is no nay of that.)
 And néedefully he must prouide
 (although we speake not ont)
 Both Peacock, Crane, and Turkicoock,
 and (as such men are wont,)
 He must foresee that he ne lacke
 colde bakemetes in the ende :
 With Custards, Tarts, and Florentines,
 the bancquet to amende.
 And (to be short, and knit it vp)
 he must not wanting sée
 Straunge kindes of fysh at second course
 to come in their degré,
 As Porpesse, Seale and Salmond good,
 with Sturgeon of the best,
 And Turbot, Lobster, with the lyke
 to furnish out the feast.
 All this theyle haue, and else much more,
 sydes Marchpane and gréene Chéese,
 Stewde wardens, Prunes, & sweete conserues,
 with spiced Wine like Léés,
 Gréeneginger, Sucket, Suger Plate,
 and Marmaladie fine,
 Blauncht Almonds, Peares and Ginger bread ;
 But Peares should we assigne
 And place before (as meete it is)
 at great mens boordes ; for why,

[Sign. D. iii.]

¹ Lapwing.² ? Stonchat.³ Peewit.

Rawe fruites are first in seruice styll¹;

Else Seruing men doo lye.

1575. E. Hake. Newes out of Powles Churchyarde.

Sign. D. ii. back, and D iii.

P. 33.—This device of the Lady of the Lake was also by Master Hunnis (p. 5, note 4, above). He had also designed a preliminary night skirmish on the water between the Lady of the Lake's men and Sir Bruce's, all floating upon heaps of bulrushes; but this was not carried out. The speeches of Triton to the Queen, and the winds, etc., the Lady of the Lake's speech, and the Song of Proteus, all in verses, which "as I think, were penned, some by Master Hunnis, some by Master Ferrers, and some by Master Goldingham," are given in *Gascoigne's Princ. Pleas.* p. 23-8, ed. 1821.

P. 34. *Syr Bruse sauns pitée.*—See Sir E. Strachey's modernised edition of Malory's *Morte D'Arthur*, bk. ix. ch. 41, p. 235. "Sir knight, said the lady [to Sir Dinadan] I am the wofullest lady of the world; for within these five days here came a knight called Sir Breuse Sance Pitée, and he slew mine own brother, and ever since he hath kept me at his own will; and of all the men in the world I hate him most." See also p. 301. Sir Breuse and Sir Dinadan are from the French Romance of the *Prophecies de Merlin*.—Mr. Hy. Ward of the Brit. Mus. tells me,—as are also Alisander le Orphelin and Alice la Beale Pilgrime, p. 268, 273, 455 of Strachey's Malory.

Arion.—"There was a spectacle presented to Q. Elizabeth vpon the water, and amongst others, Harry Goldingham was to represent Arion vpon the Dolphin's backe; but finding his voice to be very hoarse and vnpleasant when he came to performe it, he teares of his disguise, and swears he was none of Arion; not he! but eene honest Harry Goldingham,—which blunt discoverie pleas'd the Queene better then if it had gone thorough in the right way. Yet he could order his voice to an instrument exceeding well."—Para. 221, of Harl. MS. 6395—a book of "Merry Passages & Jeasts," collected by Sir Nicholas L'Estrange of Hunstanton, Bart., who died in 1669.

P. 35. *Kings Evil.*—For a form of prayer, see Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia*, vol. iii.—E. H. Knowles. See Andrew Boorde on the King's Evil, p. 91-93, 121, of my edition, 1870.

P. 36. *A Devise of Goddesses and Nymphes.*—A very particular account of this intended "Devise" [in two acts] will be found in Gascoigne (*Princely Pleasures*, p. 30-53), who was the author of it.—*Nichols*, i. 419; *Ken. Ill.* p. 26, note 2. It was 'prepared and ready, (every actor in his garment) two or three days together,

¹ frutes afore mete, to ete hem fastyngely.—ab. 1440 A.D. *Russell's Boke of Nurture*, Babees Book, p. 162, l. 667.

yet never came to execution. The cause whereof I cannot attribute to any other thing than to lack of opportunity and reasonable weather.'—*Ib.* p. 53.

P. 36. *Ruffs fayr starched*, etc.—¹The pains bestowed by our ancestors upon their *Ruffs* is little known to the general reader, who will be surprised to find from the ensuing extracts, that it fully equalled the *Dandyism* of the present day. In the "Second part of the Anatomie of Abuses, by P. Stubbes, 1583," is the following dialogue :

Theod. I haue heard it saide that they vse great ruffes in *Dnalgne* [England], do they continue them still as they were wont to doe, or not ?

Amphil. There is no amendement in any thing that I can see, neither in one thing nor in other, but euery day woorser and woorser, for they not only continue their great ruffes still, but also vse them bigger than euer they did. And wheras before they were too bad, now they are past al shame & honestie, yea most abhominable and detestable, and such as the diuell himselfe would be ashamed to weare the like. And if it be true, as I heare say, they haue their starching houses made of purpose, to that vse and end only, the better to trimme and dresse their ruffes to please the diuels eies withall.

Theod. Haue they starching houses of purpose made to starch in ? Now truly that passes of all that euer I heard. And do they nothing in those brothell houses (starehing houses I shuld say) but onelie starch bands and ruffes ?

Amphil. No, nothing else, for to that end only were they erected, & therefore now are consecrate to Belzebub and Cerberus archdiuels of great ruffes.

Theod. Haue they not also houses to set their ruffes in, to trim them, and to trick them, as well as to starch them in ?

Amphil. Yea marry haue they, for either the same starching houses (I had almost said farting houses) do serue the turn, or or else they haue their other chambers and secret closets to the same vse, wherein they tricke vp these cartwheeles of the diuels charet of pride, leading the direct way to the dungeon of hell.

*Amphil*². What tooles and instruments haue they to set their ruffes withall. For I am persuaded they cannot set them artificially inough without some kind of tooles ?

Amphil. Very true: and doe you thinke that they want any thing that might set forth their diuelrie to the world ? In faith sir no, then the diuell were to blame if he should serue his clients

¹ Quoted in Nichols's Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 460, note 4 ; but our quotation from Stubbes is taken direct from the original.

² Mistake for *Theod.*

so, that maintaine his kingdome of pride with such diligence as they doe. And therefore I would you wist it, they haue their tooles and instruments for the purpose.

Theod. Whereof be they made I pray you, or howe ?

*Amphil*¹. They be made of yron and steele, and some of brasse, kept as bright as siluer, yea and some of siluer it selfe, and it is well, if in processe of time they grow not to be gold. The fashion whereafter they be made, I cannot resemble to any thing so well as to a squirt, or a squibbe, which little children vsed to squirt out water withall: and when they come to starching, and setting of their ruffles, than must this instrument be heated in the fire, the better to stiffen the ruffe. For you know heate will drie, and stiffen any thing. And if you woulde know the name of this goodly toole, forsooth the deuill hath giuen it to name a putter, or else a putting sticke, as I heare say. They haue also another instrument called a setting sticke, either of wood or bone, and sometimes of gold and siluer, make forked wise at both ends, and with this (*Si diis placet*) they set their ruffles. But bicause this cursed fruit is not yet grown to his full perfection of ripenesse, I will therefore at this time say no more of it, vntil I here more."

The same caustic writer also mentions that the ruffles have a support or under-propper, called a *supportasse*². Stowe informs us, that "about the sixteenth yeare of the Queene (Elizabeth) began the use of steel *poking-sticks*, and until that time all lawndresses used setting-sticks made of wood or bone."

In Marston's *Malcontent*, 1604, is the following observation, "There is such a deale of pinning these ruffles, when the fine clean fall is worth them all." And again, "If you should chance to take a nap in an afternoon, your falling-band requires no poking-stick to recover his form."

Middleton's comedy of *Blunt Master Constable*, 1602, has this passage: "Your ruff must stand in print, and for that purpose get *poking-sticks* with fair long handles, lest they scorch your hands." To conclude this long note, take the following extract from *Law Tricks*, 1608 :

"Broke broad jests upon her narrow wheel,
Poked her *rabatoes*, and surveyed her *steel*!"

Cotgrave explains *rabat*, "a *Rebatoe* for a womans ruffe; also a falling-band." Menage says from *rabattre*, to put back, because it was at first nothing but the collar of the shirt or shift turned back towards the shoulders.

See another curious passage on Ruffs in the *Anatomic of Abuses*, 1583, leaf 22, back.

¹ Printed *Amhpil*.

² Wrongly printed *supportasse* in Nichols.

P. 38.—Cp. Chaucer's Miller: "a Shefeld thwitel bare he in his hose."—*Nichols*, i. 462; *Ken. Ill.* p. 28.

P. 38. *Islington*.—

At Islington ther's Pudding Pies
Hot Custards.

M. Parker's *New Medley*, ii. back.—E. H. Knowles.

P. 39. *Holly Rood day*.—This festival was instituted on account of the recovery of a large piece of the Cross, by the emperor Heraclius, after it had been taken away, on the plundering of Jerusalem by Cosroes, King of Persia, about 615.—*Brand*, i. 200, ed. Hazlitt.

P. 39. *Islington and cream*.—

Imagine Islington to be the place,
The jorney to eat cream.

ab. 1616. R. C. *Times Whistle*, p. 83, l. 2602-3.

P. 41 (5).—These stanzas are a versification of bk. 1, ch. 26, of Malory's edition; ch. 24, p. 48, of Strachey's modernization (Macmillans), 1868.—'In Caxton's edition, "La Morte d'Arthur," the chapter whence this story is taken is entitled, "How the tydings came to Arthur that King Ryons had overcome xi kynges; and how he desyred Arthur's berde to purfyl his mantel." With respect to the poetical tale given in the text, Dr. Percy, by whom it was printed in his "Reliques" (iii. 25), supposes the thought to have been originally taken from Jeffery of Monmouth's History. It has also been printed in "Percy Enderbie's Cambria Triumphans," with some variations in the text, which is probably much more pure than that used by Laneham, since it is stated to have been procured from "a manuscript in the library of the Royal Honourable Thomas Lord Windesore."—*Burn*, p. 109; *Nichols*, i. 465.

Ritson says of James Aske, who wrote *Elizabetha triumphans*, 1588, 'The initials J. A., probably those of this James Aske, are prefix'd and subscribe'd to "A defiance to K. A. [King Arthur] and his round table," at the end of *Musarum deliciae*, 1656; being the identical ballad intended to have been sung by the mock minstrel describe'd in Langhams letter from Killingworth, 1579; beginning "As it befell on a Pentecost day."'
Bibliographia Poetica, p. 407.

P. 41 (6). *Huque*, derived from the French *huque*, a cloak.—The tabards, or surcoats, of the ancient heralds, were often denominated houces, or housings; and this expression was applied, indiscriminately, to their coats of arms as well as to a dark-coloured robe without sleeves, edged with fur, which they formerly wore.—*Burn*, p. 109.

P. 43.—Before Elizabeth went, a Farewell,—devised and spoken by Gascoigne as Sylvanus, god of the woods,—was presented before her 'as she went on hunting.' (*Princ. Pleas.* p. 53-74,

ed. 1821.) It was an elaborate speech of how the Gods rejoiced over her coming, and wept over her going; how she's the loveliest of Diana's nymphs; how she had turned her lovers into trees—Constancy into an oak, Vainglory into an ash (first in bud, first to cast its leaf), etc. Then music playd from an arbour of holly. Deep-Desire spoke a poem to the Queen, and then sang a song (accompanied by music).

P. 44. *Middleton*.—Lichfield and Worcester were both successively honoured in this Progress.—Query, what *Middleton* is here meant.—*Nichols*, i. 468.

P. 47.—*Rok*, a distaff.—See *The Wright's Chaste Wife*, l. 503, 508, and its Index. A distaff held in the hand, from which the wool was spun by a ball fixed below on a spindle, upon which every thread was wound up as it was done. It was the ancient way of spinning, and is still in use in many northern counties. *Vide* Bailey.—*Burn*, p. 110; *Nichols*, i. 471.

P. 48.—The following description refers to that part of the Castle called "Leicester's Buildings."—*Ken. Ill.* p. 35. See the plan there, next to p. 55, and the engraving of the ruined buildings, next p. 60. 'On a tablet below the middle window of the East front is the date of 1571.'

P. 48. *a beautifull Garden*.—It was to give privacy to this garden that Leicester altered the whole north entrance, as the road from the Wridfen and from Coventry came right *across* it: so he altered the north towers, making an aviary of one, and built a new Gateway Tower down a hundred yards to the East.—E. H. Knowles.

P. 48. *a pleazaunt Terres*. P. 53. *sweet shadoed wallk of Terres*.—This remains, ruined, but still 'sweet-shadoed.' To form it, Leicester probably filled up the northern division of the original Norman moat.—E. H. Knowles.

P. 50. *heaven oout of hard Porphiry*.—Poor Laneham was sadly hoaxed in this. Fragments of these so-called porphyry orbs have been found; but they are of painted sandstone. The pillars also were not in one 'hole pees.'—E. H. Knowles.

P. 53. *strawberiez, cheryez*.—Strawberries were rarely cultivated at this time, but gathered wild, as in Switzerland. The end of July was late for these cherries. (See Parker's *Domestic Architecture*.)—E. H. Knowles.

P. 53.—*Windlass* or *Windless* (in a Ship), a Drawbeam or piece of Timber having six or eight Squares, and fixt on the Stern aloft; which is now only us'd in small Ships, and in Flemish Vessels that are lightly Manned. But it will purchase or draw up much more than any Capstan, in the weighing of an Anchor, and that without Danger to the Men that heave.—*Kersey's Phillips*, 1706. But ? the context above points to *Wanlass*, a Term in Hunting, as

Driving the Wanlass, i. e. the driving of Deer to a stand; which in some Latin Records is termed *Fugatio Wanlassi ad Stabulum*, and in Domesday-Book, *Stabilitio Venationis*.—Ib. See the end of the 'windlesse,' p. 55.

P. 55. *Vyse*, or *bise*.—"The Iawe peces and crestes were karued with Vinettes and trailes of sauage worke, and richely gilted with gold and *Bise* . . . the Arches were vawted with Armorie, all of *Bice* and golde . . . and in the hole arche was nothing but fine *Bice* & golde."—*Hall's Chronicle*, ed. 1809, p. 722-3, A.D. 1527. *Bis* browne, duskie, swart, blackish.—*Cotgrave*.—*Bice* is a pale blue colour prepared from the Armenian stone, formerly brought from Armenia, but now from the silver mines of Germany; in consequence of which smalt is sometimes finely levigated, and called *bice*. The dials alluded to in the text were enamelled, and with the sun's reflection on the gold figures, heightened by the azure ground, must have had a most splendid appearance.—*Burn*, p. 113; *Nichols*, i. 478.

P. 58. *The Edict of Pacification*.—This alludes to the famous *Dictum de Kenelworth*, An act allowing persons disinherited by the Parliament after the battle of Evesham to redeem their estates on paying a fine.—*Ken. Ill.* p. 20, 41, from *Dugdale*. See *Statutes of the Realm*, ed. 1820, vol. i. p. 12.—*Burn*.

P. 58. *Then reddey, I go intoo the Chappell*.—This must surely have been a room fitted up *ex tempore*: since Leicester had secularized the 'Capella Turris' or chapel in the S.W. turret of the Keep, to insert a staircase; and the larger or King's Chapel had certainly disappeared.—E. H. Knowles.

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- Jason and the Golden Fleece, cxlviii.
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 John Armstrong's Dance, clxv.
 'jolly and dry,' 58, very thirsty.
 Jove, 47.
 iument, 25, stallion.
 iump, 55, exactly.
 Juno, 44.
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- karuell, 13, a small undeckt ship.
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- lanuginous, 56, covered with down or wool.
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- laymen's complaints of Prelates, lxx.
- leag, 34, liege.
- leamz, 12, lights, flames.
- Leander and Hero, the tail of the amours of, cxlvii.
- leather, 17, skin.
- Leicester, Earl of; his character, 47-8, 56-8.
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- lemmanz, 8, lemons.
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- 'Levis grene,' a tune, cl.
- Leycester, Sir Philip; his account of musical instruments in England in 1656 A.D., p. 65.
- Lichfield, 44.
- likesome, 56.
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- linery, 58, allowance of food.
- lobster, 70.
- lokhole, 59, lockhole.
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- loober woorts, 23, lubbers.
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- lut described, 66.
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- lythic, 19, lithe, bendable.
- lyuery, 8, in which the 'livery,' or allowance, was served.
- magnifyk, 55, magnificent.
- Magpie and the Merchant's Wife, Tale of the, lx.
- Mair, 28, Mayor.
- Maleore, Sir T., his conception (after his French originals) of Arthur, xvi.
- mallys, 17, malice.
- Mamzey, 61, Malmsey wine.
- Mandeville, the Marvels of, cxlv.
- manchet, 58, cake or loaf of fine bread.
- mannage, 57, perform caracoles, ride (for 'walk').
- Mantribil, the tayl of the Brig of, cxliii.
- Mareblond or Mercia, 3.
- marchpane, 70.
- marmalade, 70.
- Mars's present to Q. Elizabeth, 9, 44.
- Martial quoted, 57.
- mashez, 51, meshes.
- Mask not performed, 33.
- Mawdmarion, 23, Maid Marian.
- Mercury, 45.
- Mermaid, the swimming, 33.
- Midas and his ass's ears, cxlviii.
- Middleton, 44, 75.
- Millan, the seige of, cxliii.
- Millen cappes, 29 *note*.
- Millener, 29 *note*, dealer in Milan goods.
- minion, 22, clownish fellow.
- Minstrel, the Ancient, 36.
- minstrel of Middlesex, 38.
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- music on the water, 16.
- Muzik iz a noble Art! 35.
- Naiades, the, 40.
- napkin, 22, handkerchief, 24, 41.

- nees, 43, niece.
 Neptune, 45, 52.
 Neptune's presents to Queen Elizabeth, 9, 45.
 nippitate, 31, 69, a kind of strong ale nobled, 58, made noble.
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 Nosingham, 62, ? Nottingham parodied.
 Nostradamus, almanacks by, cxxxv.
 Nu Gize (or the new Guise), sketch of the play, cxxii.
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 Nutbrooun Maid, sketch of, lxxvi.
 nuze, 44, news.
 nycz, 17, 68, eyes.
- 'O lusty maye, viht Flora quene,' cliv. obelisks, 49.
 obrayds, 17, upbraidings.
 occupied, 1, carried on.
 Og's bedstead, 56.
 oken, 14, of oak.
 Old wise man who bleeds his naughty wife, tale of the, lx.
 Olyver of the Castl, the story of, xxxvii, clxxvii.
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 Opheus, kyng of Portingal, the tale of, cxlviii.
 oringes, 8, oranges.
 orpharion, 67.
 ouchez, 44, 29.
 overseen, 30, well-read.
 oversod, 39, over-boiled.
 overstrained, 51, strained, stretcht, over.
 Ovid quoted, 57.
 owches, 29, 44, ornaments.
- Pacification, the Edict of, 58, 76.
 pall, 5, cloak or mantle.
 pannell, 16. 'It is an English word, and signifieth a little Part; for a *Pane* is a part, and a *Pannel* a little part (as a Pannel of wainscot, a Pannel of a saddle, and a *Pannel* of a Parchment, wherein the Jurors names are written and annexed to the writ :) and a Jury is said to be in-pannelled when the Sheriff hath entred their names into the *Pannel*, or little piece of Parchment, in *Pannello assise*. Cook on Lit. Lib. 2. c. 2. Sect. 234." *The Law-French Dictionary* &c, 1701.
 pannell, 21, a substitute for a saddle; 40, 41, pack, kind of saddle. See last article.
 Paradise, the Kenilworth Garden worthy to be called, 53.
 Parcæ, 46, the Fates.
 parcell, 23, partly.
 parklike, 63.
 pars, 61, parse.
 parson, 9, 34, person.
 parsonage, 14, appearance.
 pavvan, a dance, clxii. The Pavan etc. are described in MS. Rawl. Poet. 108.
 peacock, 70.
 pears the first dish at dinner in 1569, p. 70.
 pecteaie, ? what bird, 70.
 penclark, 56, writer.
 Penda, King, 3, 65.
 penners, 29, pen-cases.
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 pheasant pout, 70.
 Phæbus, 44.
 Phæbus's presents to Q. Elizabeth, 9.
 piglite, 56, pitcht, set up.
 pikquarrels, 44, pickers of quarrels.
 pild, 39, ? spoilt, adulterated.
 Pinner, Master, one of Elizabeth's household, 59.
 Pirramus and Tesbe, the tayl of, cxlvii.
 Pius II, Pope, xxxviii, xli.
 plat, 55, plan, design.
 play acted before the Queen, 32.
 pleaze, 10, pleasure.
 plover, right, and base, 70.
 Plutus's gifts to the Queen, 45.
 poezi, 5, bit of poetry.
 point, 21, end of a lace.
 pointed stones, 51.
 poking-stick, 73.
 Pollez, 61, St. Paul's school.
 Polyphemus's gifts to Q. Elizabeth, 46.
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 Porter, Lord Leicester's big one, 5.

poungarnets, 8, pomegranates.
 poynets, 38, wrist-bands.
 Preachers against Plays, 27.
 priar, 59, pryer.
 proez, 15, prose.
 proiming, 51, preening.
 Protheus, 52.
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 Psittyrne, the, 67.
 puke, French, 37 *note*.
 Pullison, Alderman, 61.
 purchaz, 32, gain, getting.
 putter, or putting stick, for ruffs, 73.
 puyt, 70, peewit.
 puzels, 23, damsels (ironically).
 pyept, 45, piped, drunk.
 pyynz, 56, tent-pegs.
 pyramidally, 50.

quarrelling, none at Kenilworth, 46.
 queast, 16, jury of twelve.
 quik, 16, alive.
 quintine, 21, 24, quintain.

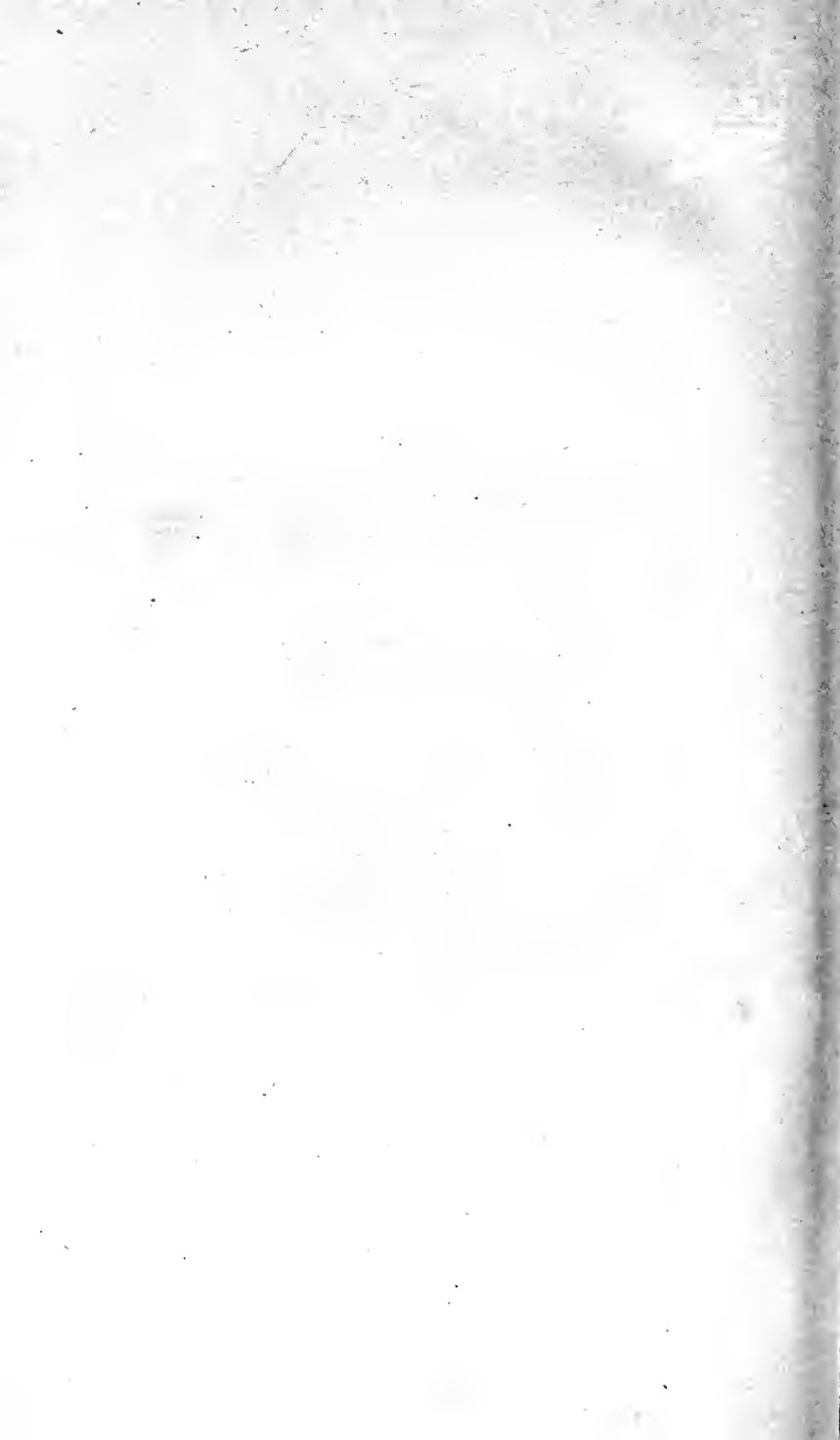
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 rayle, 70, rail, landrail, the bird, 70.
 reeeyt, 52, pool, basin.
 recorder, 9, a musical instrument, 66.
 red deer, 2, 70.
 redolent, 50, sweet-smelling.
 Reformation, the, crusht ballads in Scotland, clxvii.
 releef, 17, content, pleasure.
 releef, 57, pension?
 respiraunt, 50, fit for breathing.
 Reyde Eyttytyn vitht the thre heydis, the tayl of, cxl.
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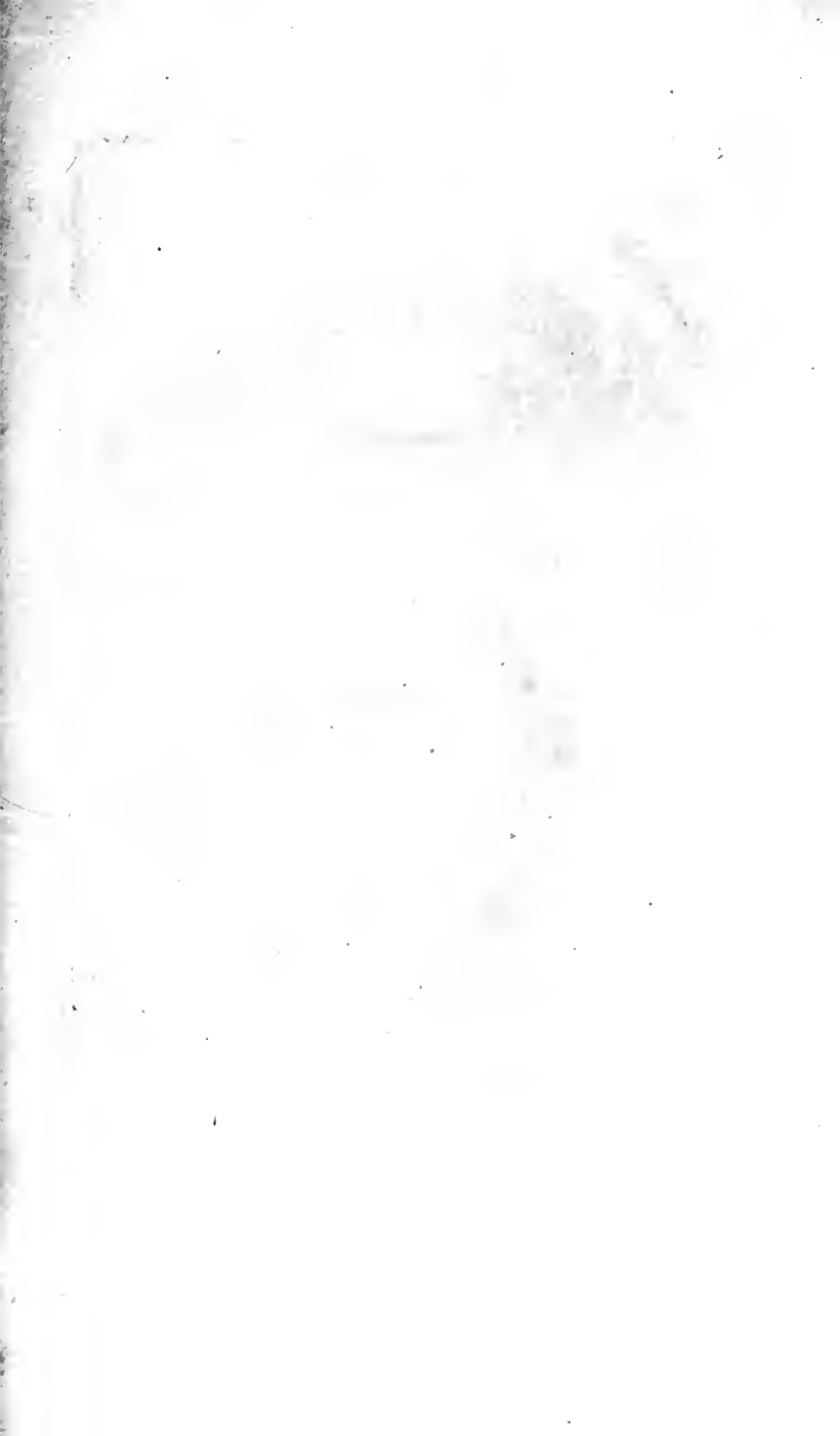
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 rut, 31, time of heat or copulation.
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sacietee, 33, satiety.
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 salsipotent, 33, ruling the salt seas.
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 seoolution, 22, schooling, teaching.
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 'Set my hors vp too the rak, & then lets haue a cup of Sak,' 62.
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 Seventh of my God = Elizabeth, 43.
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 shees, 53, females, women.
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 shoouelarz, 8, shovellers. *Anas cly-*

- peata*: see *Babees Book*, p. 153, 214.
- shoveller, 70.
- Sibyl, a, 5.
- side, 10, long.
- side, 37, syde, 38, long and wide.
- Sidney, Lady, 59.
- sizely, 33, according to size.
- Skail Gillenderson, cxliii.
- skaled, 34, ran away, dispersed.
- Skelton's *Colyn Clout*, lxi; *Elynour Ruming*, lxxv.
- skiphs, 13, skiff's.
- Skogan's Jests, lxxvii.
- skratting, 17, scratching.
- skro, 11, 40, scroll.
- sleeked, 37, made sleek.
- smally, 33, little.
- Smith, Master, custumer, 61.
- soil: take soil, take to the water, 13, 16.
- soily, 40.
- soll, 47, 48, soul.
- soomersauts, 18, somersaults.
- sourged, 12, surged.
- sospires, 60, sighs.
- Soutra, a dance-tune, clxiv.
- soyl, 33, water.
- spiccakes, 23.
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- stag's ears cut off, 16.
- stampine, 70, ? what bird.
- Stanhope, Sir Thomas, 35.
- starching houses for ruffs, 72.
- steecun, 41, voice.
- Steill, Deine David; his 'Reign of the Roy Robert,' cxlvi.
- stent, ? what bird, 70.
- stetting-stick, 37, *and note*. But see 73.
- 'Stil vndir the leyuis grene' or The Murning Maidin, cl.
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- stonetiuet, the bird, 70.
- stoour, 42, stour, battle.
- story-books, lists of, xii, xiv.
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- strawn, 22, made of straw.
- stringed musical instruments in England, 1656 A.D., p. 66.
- Stubbes on bear-baiting, 18; football, 22; ruffs.
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- sturgeon for dinner, 70.
- sucket, 23, 70, sweetmeat.
- sugar plate, 70.
- Sunday amusements at Kenilworth, 12.
- Sunday dancing, 12, 68.
- supportasse, 73.
- surfit, 59, surfeited.
- swymd, 34, swam.
- Sylvanus's present to Queen Elizabeth, 8, 46.
- Sylvanus, 74.
- syluerd, 8, silvered.
- symmetrically, 50.
- Systirs, the thre veird, the tail of, cxlviii.
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- tag and rag, 25.
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- teal, 70.
- temperd, 41, tuned.
- tenny, 39, tawny.
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- Terence quoted, 57, 61.
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- Thorogood, Master, 62.
- thread-making, 28 *note*.
- three, on, 54.
- three-futtit dog of Norrouay, the tale of, cxlii.
- threedden, 38, made of thread.
- tine, 9, short prick or prong.
- titubate, 24, stumble.
- ton, 13, one; 32, the one.
- tonster, 37, clipt round.
- tonsword, 29, 31.
- tooz, 54, twos.
- trade, 61, dealing, course of life.
- traded, 61, carried-on.
- transom, 50.

- trauers, 17, traverse, answer by denial.
 treen, 24, of tree or wood.
 Tresham, Sir Thomas, 35.
 tridental, 52, three-toothed or
 -pronged.
 trink, 37, trick, fashion.
 Triton, 33, 52.
 truelove, 38, truelover's knot, like a
 quatrefoil.
 trumpeters, Leicester's, 6.
 trust, 21, fastened.
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 violl, 9, viol.
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 vyse, 55, 76, pale blue.
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 wardens (a kind of apple) stewed, 70.
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 wastell, 42, fine bread.
 Watson, Henry; his englished 'Ship
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 wealks, 52, wheelks. (See *Babees Book*
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 whirlpoolz, 52, ? the *balena* of "The
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 That it was a sort of whale, see
 'Tinet: m. The Whall tearmed a
 Horlepoole or Whirlepoole. Cot-
 grave,' cited in *B. B.* index, p. 129.
 'The Whirle poole, a sea monster;
*Sedenette, phyeterre, horepole, mu-
 lasse, tinet*; Un psce mostroso
 del mare; *Pece monstruoso marino.*'
 Howel.
 Wieland's Oberon, xvii.
 Wife lapt in a Morel's Skin, lxiv.
 wigoon, 70.
 wight, 22, quick, active.
 William of Malmesbury, 61.
 wine, spiced, 70.
 wizehardy, 44, the opposite of fool-
 hardy, wisely brave.
 Women, the Seven Sorrows of, cxiv.
 woorship, 36, honour.
 Worcester, 44.
 Worceter, 62, Worcester.
 -worth, the meaning of, 4.
 wreast, 38, 41, tuning hammer.
 wreast, 53, twist, turn.
 wyndlesse, 53, 55, 75, driving of deer,
 excursus, digression.
 Wynkyn de Worde on *La Morte*
Darthur, xvi.
 wype, 70, lapwing.
 yeald, 49, yelled.
 Yooth and Charitee, sketch of, cxviii.
 yorne, 68, whine.
 Ypocras and Galienus, lxi.
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THE PRINTER TO THE READER.

BEING advertised (gentle Reader) that in this last progresse, hir Maiestie was (by the Ryght Noble Earle of Leycester) honorably and triumphantly receyued and entertained, at his Castle of Kenelwoorth: and that sundry pleasaunt and Poeticall inuentions were there expressed, aswell in verse as in prose. All which have been sundrie tymes demaunded for, aswell at my handes, as also of other Printers, for that in deede, all studious and well disposed yong Gentlemen and others, were desyrous to be partakers of those pleasures by a profitable publication: I thought meete to trye by all meanes possible if I might recouer the true Copies of the same, to gratifye all suche as had requyred them at my handes, or might hereafter bee styrred with the lyke desire. And in fine I haue with much traouayle and paine obtained the very true and perfect Copies, of all that were there presented & executed: Ouer and besides, one Moral and gallant Deuyce, which neuer came to execution, although it were often in a readinesse. And these (being thus collected,) I haue (for thy commoditie, gentle Reader,) now published: the rather because of a Report thereof lately imprinted by the name of the Pastime of the Progresse: which (in deede) doth nothing touche the particularitie of euery commendable action, but generally reherseth hir Maiesties cheereful entertainement in all places where shee passed: together with the exceeding ioyc that her subiccts had to see hir: which Report made verye many the more desirous to haue this perfect Copy: for that it plainlye doth set downe euery thing as it was in deede presented, at large: And further doth declare, who was Aucthour and deuiser of euerye Poeme & inuencion. So that I doubt not but it shall please & satisfye thee both with reason & contentacion: In full hope wherof, I leaue thee to the reading of the same, & promise to be styl occupied in publishing such workes as may be both for thy pleasure and commoditie.

This 26. of March. 1576.

**A Briefe Rehearsall, or rather a True Copie,
of as much as was presented before
Her Majestie at Kenelworth,
during her last aboade
there, as followeth :**

HER MAJESTY came thether (as I remember) on Sater-day, being the nienth of July last past ; on which day, there met her on the way, somewhat neere the Castle, *Sybilla*, who prophecied unto her Highness the prosperous raigne that she should continue, according to the happy beginning of the same. The order thereof was this : *Sybilla* being placed in an arbor in the parke, neere the highway where the *Queen's Majestie* came, did step out, and pronounced as foloweth :—

All hayle, all hayle, thrice happy Prince ; I am *Sibilla* she
Of future chauce and after happ, foreshewing what shall be.
As now the dewe of heavenly gifts full thicke on you doeth fall,
Even so shall Vertue more and more augment your yeares withal.
The rage of Warre, bound fast in chaines, shall never stirre ne move ;
But, Peace shall governe all your daies, encreasing subjects' love.
You shal be called the Prince of peace, and peace shal be your shield,
So that your eyes shall never see the broyls of bloody field.
If perfect peace, then, glad your minde, he joyes above the rest,
Which doth receive into his house so good and sweete a guest.
And, one thing more I shall foretell, as by my skil I know,
Your comming is rejoyced at, tenne thousand times, and mo.
And, whiles your Highnes here abides, nothing shall rest unsought,
That may bring pleasure to your mind, or quyet to your thought.
And so, passe soorth in peace, O Prince, of high and worthy praise :
The God that governes all in all, encrease your happy dayes !

This devise was invented, and the verses also written, by M. Hunneys, Master of her Majestie's Chappell.

Her Majesty passing on to the first gate, there stode, in the leades and battlements thereof, sixe trumpetters hugelie advaunced, much exceeding the common stature of men in this age, who had likewise huge and monstrous trumpettes counterfettet, wherein they seemed to sound ; and behind

them were placed certaine trumpeters, who sounded indeede at her Majestie's entrie. And by this dum shew it was ment, that in the daies and reign of King Arthure, men were of that stature; so that the Castle of Kenelworth should seeme still to be kept by Arthur's heires, and their servants. And when her Majestie entred the gate, there stood Hercules for Porter, who, seemed to be amazed at such a presence upon such a sodain, proffered to stay them. And yet, at last, being overcome by viewe of the rare beutie and princelie countenance of her Majestie, yeelded himselfe and his charge, presenting the keyes unto her Highnesse, with these words:—

What stirre, what coyle is here? Come back! hold! whether now?
 Not one so stout to stir! what harrying have we here?
 My friends, a Porter I, no Popper here am plast:
 By leave, perhaps; els not, while club and limmes do last.
 A garboyle this, indeed! What yea, fair dames! what yea!
 What dauntie darling's here? Oh God, a peerles Pearle!
 No worldly wight, no doubt; some soveraigne Goddes, sure!
 Even face, even hand, even eye, even other features all;
 Yea beutie, grace, and cheare, yea port and majestie,
 Shewe all some heavenly peere, with vertues all beset.
 Come, come, most perfect Paragon, passe on with joy and blisse;
 Most worthy welcome Goddes guest, whose presence gladdeth all,
 Have here, have here, both club and keyes; my selfe, my warde I yielde;
 Even gates and all, yea Lord himselfe, submitte, and seeke your shielde.

These verses were devised and pronounced by Master Badger, of Oxenforde, Maister of Arte, and Bedle in the same Universitie.

When her Majestie was entred the gate, and come into the base court, there came unto her a Ladie, attended with two Nimphes, who came all over the Poole, being so conveyed, that it seemed she had gone upon the water. This Ladie named herselfe the Ladie of the Lake, who spake to her Highnesse as followeth:—

Though haste say On, let sute obtain some stay,
 (Most peerles Prince, the honour of your kinde),
 While that in short my state I doe display,
 And yeelde you thanks for that which now I finde,
 Who erst have wisht that death me hence had set,
 If Gods, not borne to die, had ought death any det.

I am the lady of this pleasant lake,
 Who, since the time of great King Arthure's reigne,
 (That here with royal Court aboade did make,)
 Have led a lowring life, in restles paine ;
 Till now, that this your third arrival here,
 Doth cause me come abroad, and boldly thus appeare.

For, after him, such stormes this Castle shooke,
 By swarming Saxons first, who scourge'd this land,
 As fourth of this my poole I nere durst looke,
 Though Kenelme, King of Merce, did take in hand
 (As sorrowing to see it in deface)
 To reare these ruines up, and fortifie this place.

For, straight, by Danes and Normans all this ile
 Was sore distrest, and conquered at last ;
 Whose force this Castle felt, and I therewhile
 Did hide my head ; and though it straightway past
 Unto Lord Sentloe's hands, I stode at bay,
 And never shewed myself, but stil in keepe I lay.

The Earle Sir Moumford's force gave me no hart ;
 Sir Edmund Crouchbacke's state, the Prince's sonne,
 Could not cause me out of my lake to part ;
 Nor Roger Mortimer's ruffe, (who first begun,
 As Arthur's heir, to keepe the table round,)
 Could not comfort once my hart, or cause me come on ground.

Nor any owner els, not he that's now,
 (Such feare I felt again some force to feele,)
 Tyl now the Gods doe secme themselves t'allow
 My comming forth, which at this time reveale,
 By number due, that your thrice comming here
 Doth bode thrise happy hope, and voides the place from feare.

Wherefore, I wil attend while you lodge here,
 (Most peerles Queene) to Court to make resort ;
 And as my love to Arthure dyd appeere,
 So shal't to you, in earnest and in sport.
 Passe on, Madame, you need no longer stand :
 The Lake, the Lodge, the Lord, are your's for to command.

These verses were devised and penned by M. Ferrers,
 sometime Lord of Misrule in the Court.

Her Majesty, proceeding towards the inward court,
 passed on a bridge, the which was rayled in on both sides.
 And on the toppes of the postes thereof were set sundrie

presents, and giftes of provision : as wine, corne, fruites, fishes, fowles, instruments of musike, and weapons for martial defence. All which were expounded by an Actor clad like a Poet, who pronounced these verses in Latine :—

Jupiter è summi dum vertice cernit Olympi,
 Huc Princeps Regina tuos te tendero gressus,
 Scilicet eximiæ succensus imagine formæ,
 Et memor antiqui qui semper ferverat ignis,
 Siccine Cælicolæ patientur turpiter (inquit)
 Muneris exortem reginam hoc visere castrum
 Quod tam læta subit? Reliqui sensere Tonantis,
 Imperium Superi pro se dat quisque libenter.
 Musiculas Sylvanus aves, Pomonaque poma,
 Fruges alma Ceres, rorantia vina Lyæus,
 Neptunus pisces, tela et tutantia Mavors.
 Hæc (regina potens) Superi dant munera Divi ;
 Ipse loci Dominus dat se Castrumque Kenelmi.

These verses were devised by Master Muncaster; and other verses, to the very self-same effect, were devised by M. Paten, and fixed over the gate in a frame. I am not very sure whether these, or Master Paten's, were pronounced by the Author, but they were all to one effect. This speech being ended, she was received into the inner court with sweet musicke. And so alighting from her horse, the drummes, fifes, and trumpets sounded; wherewith she mounted the stayres, and went to her lodging.

On the next day (being Sunday) there was nothing done until the evening, at which time there wer fire-works shewed upon the water, the which were both strange, and wel executed; as sometimes, passing under the water a long space, when all men had thought they had bene quenched, they would rise and mount out of the water again, and burne very furiously, untill they were utterlie consumed.

Now, to make some playner declaration and rehearsall of all these things before her Majestie. On the x of Julie, there met her in the forest, as she came from hunting, one clad like a savage man, all in ivie, who, seeming to woonder at such a presence, fell to quarrelling with Jupiter, as followeth :—

O thund'ring Jupiter, which swayest the heavenly sword,
 At whose command all Gods must crouch, and knowledge thee
 their Lord,

Since I (O wretch therewhiles) am here by thy decree,
 Ordeyned thus in savage wise for evermore to be ;
 Since, for some cause unknowen but only to thy wil,
 I may not come in stately court, but feede in forrestes still,
 Vouchsafe yet, greatest God, that I the cause may know,
 Why all these worthy Lords and Peeres are here assembled so ?
 Thou knowest (O mighty God) no mind can be so base,
 But needs must mount, if once it see a sparke of perfect grace ;
 And, since I see such sights, I mean such glorious dames,
 As kinde might in frozen brestes a furnace full of flames,
 I crave (great God) to know what all these Peers might be,
 And what has moved these sundry shewes which I of late did see.
 Enform me, some good man! speake, speake, some courteous
 knight!

They all cry mumme ; what shall I do ? what sunne shall lend me
 light ?

Well, *Eccho*, where art thou ? Could I but *Eccho* finde,
 Shee would returne me answer yet, by blast of every winde.

Ho, *Eccho*, *Eccho*, ho ! where art thou, *Eccho*, where ?

Why, *Eccho* friend, where dwellest thou now ? Thou woont'st to
 harbour here.

Eccho answered.

Eccho. HERE !

Then tell thou me some newes ;
 For els my heart would burst with grieve ; of trueth, it cannot choose.

Eccho. CHOOSE !

Choose ? Why ? But thou me helpe, I say my heart will breake ;
 And therefore, even of curtesie, I pray thee, *Eccho*, speake !

Eccho. SPEAK !

I speak ! yes, that I will, unlesse thou be too coye ;
 Then, tell me first, what is the cause that all the people joy ?

Eccho. JOY !

Joy ? Surely that is so, as may full well be seene ;
 But, wherefore doe they so rejoyce ? Is it for King or Queene ?

Eccho. QUEENE !

Queene ? What, the Queene of Heaven ? They knewe her long agoe !
 No, sure, some Queene on earth, whose like was never none.

Eccho. NONE !

O, then, it seemes the Queene of England for to be,
 Whose graces make the gods to grudge ; methinkes it should be shee.

Eccho. SHEE !

And is it she indeede ? Then, tell me what was ment
 By every shew that yet was seen ; good *Eccho*, be content.

Eccho. CONTENT !

What meant the woman first, which met her, as she came?
 Could she devine of things to come, as Sibelles use the same?

Eccho. THE SAME!

The same? What Sibill? she which used not to lye?

Alas! what dyd that beldame there? What, dyd she prophecie?

Eccho. PROPHECIE!

O, then, belike she causde the worthy Queene to knowe

What happy raigne she still should hold, since Heavens ordeyned so.

Eccho. So!

And what ment those great men, which on the walles were seene?

They were some gyants, certainly; no men so bigge have been.

Eccho. HAVE BEEN!

Have been? Why then they served King Arthur, man of might;

And ever since this Castle kept for Arthur's heyres by right?

Eccho. RIGHT!

Well, Hercules stood bie; why came he from his dorter?

Or was it eke some monstrous man, appointed for a porter?

Eccho. A PORTER!

A Porter? surely then, he eyther was accrased;

Or else, to see so many men, his spirits were amased.

Eccho. AMASED!

Amased? So methought. Why did he let them passe,

And yield his keys? Percase he knew his Master's will so was.

Eccho. SO WAS!

Well then, dyd he but well; yet, sawe I yet a dame,

Much like the Lady of the Lake: perchaunce so was her name.

Eccho. HER NAME!

Alas! and what could she (poor dame distrest) deserve?

I knewe her well: percase she came this worthy Queene to serve.

Eccho. TO SERVE!

So would I her advise. But, what meant all those shifts

Of sundry things upon a bridge? Were those rewards or gifts?

Eccho. GIFTS!

Gifts? What, sent from the gods, as presents from above?

Or pleasures of provision, as tokens of true love?

Eccho. TRUE LOVE!

And, who gave all these gifts? I pray thee (*Eccho*) say?

Was it not he who (but of late) this building here did lay?

Eccho. DUDLEY!

O, Dudley! so methought. He gave himself and all;

A worthy gift to be received, and so I trust 'it shall.

Eccho. IT SHALL!

What meant the fierie flames, which through the waves so flue?

Can no colde answers quench desire? Is that experience true?

Eccho. TRUE!

Well, *Eccho*, tell me yet, howe might I come to see
 This comely Queene of whom we talke? Oh, were she now by thee?
Eccho. BY THEE!

By me! Oh, were that true, how might I see her face?
 Howe might I knowe her from the rest, or judge her by her grace?
Eccho. HER GRACE!

Well then, if so myne eyes be such as they have been,
 Methinkes I see among them all, this same should be the Queene.
Eccho. THE QUEENE!

Herewith, he fell on his knees, and spake as followeth:

O Queene, I must confesse, it is not without cause,
 These civile people so reioice that you should give them lawes!
 Since I, which live at large, a wilde and savadge man,
 And have ronned out a wilful race since first my lyfe began,
 Do here submit my selfe, beseeching you to serve,
 And that you take in worth, my will,—which can but well deserve.
 Had I the learned skill which in your head is found,
 My tale had flow'd in eloquence, where nowe my words are drown'd.
 Had I the bewtie's blase which shines in you so bright,
 Then might I seeme a faulcon fayre, which nowe am but a kite.
 Could I but touch the strings which you so heavenly handle,
 I woulde confesse that Fortune then full freendly dyd me dandle.
 O Queene without compare, you must not think it strange,
 That here amid this wilderness, your glorie so doth range;
 The windes resound your worth, the rockes record your name,
 These hills, these dales, these woods, these waves, these fields pro-
 nounce your fame;
 And we which dwell abroade, can heare none other newes,
 But tydings of an English Queene, whom Heaven hath dect with
 hewes.

Yea, since I first was borne, I never joyed so much,
 As when I might behold your face, because I see none such.
 And death, or drearie dole, (I knowe) will end my dayes,
 As soon as you shall once depart, or wish to go your wayes.
 But, comly peerlesse Prince, since my desires be great,
 Walke here sometimes in pleasant shade, to fende the parching heat!
 On Thursday next (thinke I) here will be pleasant dames,
 Who bet then I may make you glée, with sundry gladsome games.
 Meanwhile (good Queen) farewell; the gods your life prolong;
 And take in worth the wilde man's words, for else you do him wrong.

Then he bad *Eccho* farewell, thus:

Eccho, likewise, farewell; let me go seeke some death;
 Since I may see this Queene no more, good greese nowe stop my
 breath!

These verses were devised, penned, and pronounced, by Master Gascoyne: and that (as I have heard credibly reported) upon a very great sudden.

The next thing that was presented before her Majestie, was the deliverie of the Lady of the Lake, whereof the sum was this:—Tryton, in likeness of a Mermaide, came towarde the Queene's Majestie as she passed over the bridge, returning from hunting, and to her declared that Neptune had sent him to her Highnes, to declare the wofull distresse wherein the poore Ladie of the Lake did remaine; the cause whereof was this: *Sir Bruse, sauns pittié*, in revenge of his cosen Merlyne the Prophet, whom, for his inordinate lust, she had inclosed in a rocke, did continuallie pursue the Lady of the Lake, and had long sithens surprised her, but that Neptune, pitying her distresse, had envyroned her with waves; whereupon, she was enforced to live alwaies in that poole, and was thereby called the Lady of the Lake. Furthermore, affirming, that, by Merlyne's prophecie, it seemed she coulde never be delivered, but by the presence of a better maide than herselfe. Wherefore, Neptune had sent him, right humbly to beseech her Majestie, that she would no more but shew herselfe, and it should be sufficient to make Sir Bruse withdraw his forces. Furthermore, commanding both the waves to be calme, and the fishes to give their attendance. And this he expressed in verse, as followeth:—

The Speech of Tryton to the Queene's Majestie.

Muse not at all, most mightie Prince, though on this Lake you see
 Me, Triton, floate, that in salt seas, among the gods, should be;
 For, looke, what Neptune doth commaund, of Triton is obeyde,
 And now in charge I am to guye you poore distressed mayde;
 Who, when your Highnesse hither came, dyd humbly yeeld her lake,
 And to attende upon your Court, did loyall promise make;
 But, parting hence, that yrefull knight, Sir Bruce, had hyr in chase,
 And sought by force her virgin's state full fowlie to deface.
 Yea, yet at hand, about these bankes, his bands be often seene;
 That neither can she come, nor scape, but by your helpe, O Queene.
 For, though that Neptune has so fenst with floods her fortresse long,
 Yet Mars her foe must needs prevaile, his batteries are so strong.
 How then can Diane, Juno's force and sharpe assaults abyde,
 When all the crue of cheefest gods is bent on Bruse his side?
 Yea, oracle and prophecie say,——sure she cannot stand,
 Except a worthier maid than she her cause do take in hand.

Loe here, therefore, a worthy worke, most fit for you alone ;
 Her to defend and set at large (but you, O Queene,) can none ;
 And gods decree, and Neptune sues, this graunt, O peereles Prince ;
 Your presence onely shall suffice her enemies to convince.

Herewith, Triton sounded his trompe, and spake to the
 Winds, Waters, and Fishes, as followeth :—

You Windes, returne into your caves, and silent there remaine ;
 You Waters wilde, suppress your waves, and keepe you calme and
 plaine ;
 You Fishes all, and each thing else, that here have any sway,
 I charge you all, in Neptune's name, you keepe you at a stay ;
 Until such time this puissant Prince, Sir Bruse hath put to flight,
 And that the maide released be by soveraigne maiden's might !

This speach being ended, her Majestie proceeded further
 on the bridge, and the Ladie of the Lake (attended with
 her two Nimphes) came to her upon heapes of bulrushes,
 according to this former devise, and spake as followeth :—

What worthy thankes might I, poore maide, expresse,
 Or thinke in heart, that is not justly due
 To thee, (O Queene) which, in my great distres,
 Succours hast sent, mine enemies to subdue ?
 Not mine alone, but foe to ladies all,
 That tyrant, *Bruce, sans pitié* whom we call.

Untyll this day, the lake was never free
 From his assaults, and other of his knights,
 Untill such tyme as he dyd playnely see
 Thy presence dread, and feared of all wyghts ;
 Which made him yeeld, and all his bragging bands :
 Resigning all into thy princely hands.

For which great grace of liberty obtaind,
 Not onely I, but Nymphs and Sisters all
 Of this large lake, with humble heart unfayned,
 Render thee thankes, and honour thee withall ;
 And, for playne prooffe how much we do rejoyce,
 Expresse the same with tongue, with sound, and voice.

From thence, her Majestie passing yet further on the
 brydge, Protheus appeared, sitting on a dolphyn's back ;
 and the dolphyn was conveyed upon a boate, so that the
 owers seemed to be his fynnes. Within the which dol-
 phyn, a consort of musicke was secretly placed, the which
 sounded ; and Protheus, clearing his voyce, sang this

song of congratulation, as well in the behalfe of the Lady distressed, as also in the behalfe of all the Nimphs and Gods of the Sea :

The Song of Protheus.

O Noble Queene, give care to this my floating Muse,
And let the right of readie will my little skill excuse ;
For, heardmen of the seas sing not the sweetest notes :
The winds and waves do roare and crie, where Phoebus seldome
floates.

Yet, since I doe my best, in thankfull wise to sing,
Vouchsafe (good Queene) that calm consent, these words to you
may bring !

We yeeld you humble thanks, in mightie Neptune's name,
Both for ourselves, and therewithall, for yonder seemly dame ;
A dame, whom none but you deliver could from thrall ;
Ne, none but you deliver us from loitring life withall.
She pined long in paine, as overworne with woes ;
And we consume in endless care, to fend her from her foes.
Both which you set at large, most like a faithful frend :
Your noble name be praisde therefore ; and so my song I end !

This song being ended, Protheus told the Queene's Majestie a pleasant tale of his deliverie, and the fishes which he had in charge.

The devise of the Lady of the Lake, also, was Master Hunne's; and surely, if it had been executed according to the first invention, it had been a gallant shewe; for, it was first devised that, two dayes before the Ladie of the Lake's deliverie, a Captaine, with twentie or thyrtye shotte, shoulde have bene sent from the Hearon-house, (which represented the Lady of the Lake's Castell,) upon heapes of bulrushes; and, that Syr Bruse, shewing a great power upon the land, shoulde have sent out as many, or moe shot, to surprise the sayde Captayne; and so; they should have skirmished upon the waters, in such sort, that no man could perceive but that they went upon the waves. At last (Sir Bruse his men being put to flight) the Captaine should have come to her Majestie at the castell-window, and have declared more plainly the distresse of his Mistresse, and the cause that she came not to the Court, according to duetie and promise, to give hyr attendance; and that thereupon he should have besought hyr Majestie to succour his mistresse: the rather, because Merlin had

prophecied that she should never be delivered, but by the presence of a better maide than herselfe. This had not onely bene a more apt introduction to her deliverie, but also, the skirmish by night woulde have bene both very strange and gallant; and thereupon, her Majesty might have taken good occasion to have gone in barge upon the water, for the better executing of her deliverie. The verses, as I thinke, were penned, some by Master Hunnes, some by Master Ferrers, and some by Master Goldingham.

And nowe, you have as much as I could recover hitherto of the devises executed there, the countrie shewe excepted, and the merry marriage, the which were so plaine, as needeth no further explication. To proceede, then, there was prepared a shew, to have bene presented before hyr Majestie in the Forest, the argument whereof was this:—

Dyana, passing in chase with her Nymphs, taketh knowledge of the countrie, and thereby calleth to minde how (necere seventeene yeares past) she lost in those coastes one of her best beloved Nimphes, called *Zabeta*. She describeth the rare vertues of *Zabeta*. One of her Nimphes confirmeth the remembrance thereof, and seemeth to doubt that dame *Juno* hath wonne *Zabeta* to be a follower of her's. Dyana confirmeth the suspition; but yet, affying herselfe much in *Zabetae's* constancie, giveth charge to her Nimphes, that they diligently hearken and espie in all places, to finde or here newes of *Zabeta*; and so, passeth on.

To entertayne *intervallum temporis*, a man, cladde all in mosse, cometh in, lamentyng, and declaryng that he is the wylde man's sonne, which not long before, had presented hymselfe before hyr Majestie; and that his father, upon such wordes as hyr Highnesse dyd then use unto him, lay languishing like a blind man, untill it might please hyr Highnesse to take the filme from his eyes.

The Nimphes returne, one after another, in quest of *Zabeta*; at last, Diana herself, returning, and hearing no newes of her, invoceth the helpe of her father, Jupiter. Mercurie commeth downe in a cloude, sent by Jupiter to recomfort Dyana, and bringeth her unto *Zabeta*. Diana rejoiceth, and after much freendly discourse, departeth, affying herselfe in *Zabetae's* prudence and pollicie. She and Mercurie being departed, *Iris* commeth downe from the Rainebowe, sent by *Juno*, perswading the Queene's

Majestie that she be not carried away with Mercurie's filed speeach, nor Dyanae's faire words; but, that she consider all things by prooffe, and then she shall finde much greater cause to followe Juno than Dyana.

The Interlocutors were these:

Diana, Goddess of Chastitie.

Castibula, *Anamale*, *Nichalis*, Diane's Nymphes.

Mercurie, Jove's Messenger.

Iris, Juno's Messenger.

Audax, the Sonne of Silvester.

ACTUS I. SCENA i.

Diana. Castibula.

Mine owne deere Nymphes, which knowledge me your Queene,
 And vow (like me) to live in chastitie,
 My lovely Nymphes, which be as I have bene,
 Delightfull dames, and gemmes of jolytie;
 Rejoycing yet much more to drive your dayes
 In life at large, that yeeldeth calme content,
 Then wilfully to tread the wayward wayes
 Of wedded state, which is to thraldome bent;
 I need not nowe, with curious speach, perswade
 Your chast consents in constant vowe to stande;
 But yet, beware, least Cupid's Knights invade,
 By slight, by force, by mouth, or mightie hand,
 The stately tower of your unspotted myndes!
 Beware (I say) least, whiles we walke these woods,
 In pleasant chase of swiftest harts and hyndes,
 Some harmfull art entrap your harmlesse moods.
 You know, these bolts, these hils, these covert places,
 May close convey some hidden force, unseene;
 You see, likewise, the sundry gladsome graces,
 Which in this soyle we joyfully have scene,
 Are not unlike some Court to keepe at hand,
 Where guilefull tongues, with sweet, enticing tales,
 Might (Circes like) set all your ships on sand,
 And turne your present blysse to after bales.
 In sweetest flowres, the subtyll snakes may lurke;
 The sugred baite oft hides the harmefull hookes;
 The smoothest words, draw wils to wicked worke;
 And deepe deceipts do follow fairest lookes.

Hereat pawsing, and looking about her, she tooke knowledge of the coast, and proceeded.

But what, ahlas! Oh, whyther wander wee?
 What chase hath led us thus into this coast?
 By sundrie signes, I now perceiue we be
 In Brutus' land, whereof he made such boast;
 Which Albion, in olden days dyd hyght,
 And Brittain next, by Brute his noble name;
 Then Engiste's lande, as Chronicles do write;
 Now England, short, a land of worthy fame.
 Ahlas, beholde, how memory breedes moone;
 Behold aud see, how sight brings sorrow in;
 My restless thoughts have made me woe-begon;
 My gasing eyes did all this greef begin.
 Beleue me, (Nimphs) I feel great grips of greef,
 Which bruse my brest, to thinke, how here I lost
 (Now long agoe) a love to me most lefe,
 Content you all, hyr whom I loved most.
 You cannot chuse but call unto your mynde
 Zabetae's name, who twentie yeeres, or more,
 Dyd follow me, still skorning Cupid's kinde,
 And vowing so to serve me evermore.
 You cannot chuse but beare in memory
 Zabeta, hyr, whose excellence was such,
 In all respects of every qualitie,
 As gods themselves those gifts in her did grutch.
 My sister first, which Pallas hath to name,
 Envyed Zabeta for hyr learned brayne;
 My sister Venus feared Zabetae's fame,
 Whose gleames of grace hyr beutie's blase dyd stayne.
 Apollo dread to touch an instrument,
 Where my Zabeta chaunst to come in place;
 Yea, Mercurie was not so eloquent,
 Nor in his words had halfe so good a grace.
 My stepdame, Juno, in hyr glyttering guyse,
 Was nothing like so heavenlie to beholde;
 Short tale to make, Zabeta was the wight,
 On whom to thinke, my heart now waxeth cold.
 The fearefull byrd oft lets hyr food downe fall,
 Which fudes her neast dispoyled of hyr yong;
 Much like myselfe, whose minde such moncs appale,
 To see this soyle, and therewithall among,
 To thinke how, now neere seventeen yeeres agoe,
 By great myshap, I chaunst to leese her here;
 But, my deere Nimphes, (on hunting as you go,)
 Looke narrowly, and hearken every where.

It cannot be, that such a starre as she
 Can leese her lyght for any lowring clowde ;
 It cannot be, that suche a saint to see,
 Can long inshrine her seemely selfe so shroude.
 I promise here, that she which first can bryng
 The joyful newes of my Zabetae's lyfe,
 Shall never breake hyr bow, nor fret hyr string ;
 I promise eke, that never storme of strife
 Shall trouble hyr. Now, Nymphes, looke well about :
 Some happie eye spy my Zabeta out !

CASTIBULA.

O heavenly dame, thy wofull words have pearst
 The very depth of your forgetfull mynde ;
 And, by the tale which thou hast here rehearst,
 I yet record those heavenly gifts which shinde,
 Triumphantly, in bright Zabetae's deedes.
 But, therewythall, a sparke of jellowsie,
 With nice conceypt, my mynde thus farforth feedes,
 That she, which alwayes liked liberty,
 And coulde not bowe to beare the servyle yoke
 Of false suspect, which mars these lovers' marts,
 Was never wonne to lyke that smouldring smoke,
 Without some feate, that passeth common arts.
 I dread, Dame Juno, with some gorgeous gift,
 Hath layde some snare, her fancie to entrap ;
 And hopeth so hyr loffie mynde to lyft
 On Hymen's bed, by height of worldly hap.

DIANA.

My loving Nymph, even so feare I likewise ;
 And yet, to speake as truth and cause requires,
 I never sawe Zabeta use the guysc,
 Which gave suspect of such unchast desires.
 Full twenty yeeres I marked still hyr mynde,
 Ne coul'd I see that any sparke of lust
 A loytering lodge within her breast could finde.
 Howso it be, (deare Nymphes,) in you I trust,
 To harke, and marke what might of hyr betyde,
 And what mishap withholds her thus from me.
 High Jove himselfe my luckie steps so gujde,
 That I may ouce mine own Zabeta see !

Diana with her Nymphes proceede in chase ; and, to
 entertaine time, commeth in one clad in mosse, saying
 as followeth:—

ACTUS I. SCENA ii.

AUDAX solus.

If ever pitie pearst a pecclesse Princesse' breast,
 Or ruthfull mone moved noble minde to graunt a just request,
 Then, worthy Queene, give care unto my woful tale,
 For needes that sonne must sobbe and sigh, whose father bides in bale.
 O Queene, O stately Queene, I am that wild man's sonne
 Which, not long since, before you here presumed for to runne;
 Who told you what he thought of all your vertues rare,
 And therefore, ever since, (and yet) he pines in woe and care.
 Alas, alas, good Queene, it were a cruel deede,
 To punish him which speakes no more but what he thinks indeede.
 Especially when as all men with him consent,
 And seeme with common voyce to prove the pith of his intent.
 You heard what *Eccho* said to every word he spake;
 You heare the speech of *Dyanae's* Nymphes, and what reports they
 make.

And can your highnesse then, condemne him to be blind?
 Or can you so with needless greefe torment his harmless minde?
 His eyes (good Queene) be great, so are they cleere and graye:
 He never yet had pinne or webbe, his sight for to decay.
 And sure, the dames that dwell in woods abroad with us,
 Have thought his eyes of skil inough their benties to discusse.
 For prooffe, your Majestie may now full plainly see,
 He did not onely see you then, but more, he did foresee
 What after should betide. He tolde you that (ere long)
 You should finde here bright heavenly dames, would sing the selfe-
 same song.

And now you finde it true that he did then pronounce;
 Your praises peyze by them a pound, which he weyed but an ounce.
 For sure he is nor blinde, nor lame of any limme;
 But yet, because you told him so, he doubts his eyes are dimme.
 And I therefore (his sonne) your highnesse here beseech
 To take in worth (as subject's due) my father's simple speech.
 And if you finde some filme that seemes to hide his eyes,
 Vouchsafe (good Queene) to take it off, in gracious woonted wise.
 He sighing lies, and saies, "God put mine eyes out cleane:
 "Ere choice of change in England fall to see another Queen!"

FINIS—*Actus* 1.

ACTUS II. SCENA i.

ANAMALE sola.

Would God, I either had some Argus' eyes,
 Or such an ear as every tydings hears!
 Oh, that I could some subtiltie devise,
 To heare or see what moulede Zabeta beares!
 That so, the moode of my Dyanae's minde
 Might rest (by me) contented or appeased;
 And I likewise might so her favour finde,
 Whom (Goddess like) I wish to have wel pleased.
 Some courteous winde, come, blowe me happy newes;
 Some sweete birde, sing, and shewe me where she is;
 Some Forrest God, or some of Faunus' cruets,
 Direct my feete, if so they tread amisse!

ACTUS II. SCENA ii.

NICHALIS sola.

If ever *Eccho* sounded at request,
 To satisfie an uncontented mind,
 Then, *Eccho*, now come helpe me in my quest,
 And tel me where I might Zabeta find!
 Speake, *Eccho*, speake! where dwels Zabeta, where?
 Alas, alas, or she, or I am deafe!
 She answereth not. Ha! what is that I heare?
 Alas, it was the shaking of some leafe!
 Wel, since I heare not tidings in this place,
 I will goe seeke her oute in some place els;
 And yet, my mind divineth in this case,
 That she is here, or not farre off she dwels.

ACTUS II. SCENA iii.

DIANA with her Traine.

No newes, my Nimphe? Wel, then, I may well thinke
 That carelessly you have of her enquired;
 And, since from me in this distresse you shrinke,
 While I meanwhile my wearie limmes have tyred,
 My father, Jove, vouchsafe to rue my greefe,
 Since here on earth I call for helpe in vaine!
 O king of kings, send thou me some releefe,
 That I may see Zabeta once againe!

ACTUS II. SCENA iv.

MERCURY, DIANA, and the Nymphes.

O Goddess, cease thy mone; thy plaints have pearst the skies;
And Jove, thy frendly father, hath vouchsaft to heare thy cries:
Yea more, he hath vouchsaft, in hast, post hast, to send
Me downe from heaven, to heale thy harine, and all thy misse to mend.
Zabeta, whom thou seekest, in heart, even yet, is thine;
And passinglie, in woonted wise, her vertues still doe shine.
But, as thou doest suspect, Dame Juno trained a trap,
And, many a day, to winne her wil, hath lulde her in her lap.
For first, these sixteene yeres, she hath beene daily seene,
In richest realme that Europe hath, a comlie crowned Queene.
And Juno hath, likewise, suborned sundrie kings,
The richest and the bravest both that this our age fourth brings,
With other worthy wights, which sue to her for grace,
And, cunningly, with queint conceits doe pleade the lover's case.
Dame Juno geves her wealth, Dame Juno geves her ease,
Dame Juno gets her every good that woman's wil may please.
And so, in joy and peace, she holdeth happy daies;
Not as thou thought'st; nor done to death, or woonne to wicked wayes.
For, though she finde the skil a kingdom for to weelde,
Yet cannot Juno winne her will, nor make her once to yeelde
Unto the wedded life; but, still she lives at large,
And holdes her neck from any yoke, without controll of charge.
Thus much it pleased Jove that I to thee should say;
And furthermore, by words exprest, he bade I should not stay;
But, bring thee to the place wherein Zabeta bides,
To prop up so thy stag'ring mind, which in these sorrowes slides.
O Goddess, then, be blithe; let comfort chase out greef;
Thy heavenly father's will it is to lend thee such releef.

DIANA.

O noble Mercurie, doest thou me then assure
That I shall see Zabetae's face; and that she doeth endure,
Even yet, in constant vowe of chaste unspotted life;
And that my stepdame cannot yet make her a wedded wife?
If that be so indeede, O Muses, helpe my voice,
Whom greefe and grones have made so hoarce, I cannot wel rejoyce!
O Muses, sound the praise of Jove his mighty name;
And you, deere Nymphes, which me attend, by ductie doe the same!

Here Dyana, with her Nimphes, assisted by a consort of musicke unseene, shoulde sing this song, or rondled, following:—

O Muses, now come helpe me to rejoice,
 Since Jove hath changed my greefe to sodain joy;
 And since the chaunce whereof I craved choice
 Is graunted me, to comfort mine annoy;
 O, praise the name of Jove, who promist plaine
 That I shall see Zabeta once againe!

O Gods of woods, and Goddes Flora eke,
 Now cleare your brestes, and beare a part with me;
 My jewel she, for whom I woont to seeke,
 Is yet full safe, and sooné I shall her see.
 O, praise the name of Jove, who promist plaine
 That I shall see Zabeta once againe!

And you, deere Nimphes, who know what cruel care
 I hare in brest, since she from me did part,
 May wel conceive what pleasures I prepare,
 And how great joyes I harbour in my hart.
 Then, praise the name of Jove, who promist plaine
 That I shall see Zabeta once againe!

MERCURIE.

Come, Goddes, come with me; thy leysures last too long;
 For, now thou shalt her here beholde for whom thou sing'st this song.
 Behold, where here she sits, whom thou so long hast sought!
 Embrace her, since she is to thee a jewel dearly bought!
 And I wil now returne to God in heaven on hie,
 Who graunt you both always to please his heavenly majestie!

Mercury departeth to heaven.

[DIANA.]

What, doe I dreame, or doth my minde but muse?
 Is this my leefe, my love, and my delight?
 Or, dyd this God my longing minde abuse,
 To feede my fancie with a fained sight?
 Is this Zabeta? Is it she indeede?
 It is she sure! Zabeta mine, all haile!
 And, though Dame Fortuno seemeth you to feede
 With princely port, which serves for your availe,

Yet, geve me leave to gaze you in the face,
 Since (now long since) myselfe yourselfe did seeke;
And be content, for all your statelie grace,
 Stil to remaine a maiden alwaies meeke.
Zabeta mine, (now Queene of high renowne,)

You know how wel I loved you alwaies;
And, long before you did atcheeve this crowne,
 You knowe how wel you secmd to like my wayes.
Since when, you (woon by Juno's gorgeous giftes)
 Have left my lawndes, and closely kept in Court;
Since when, delight, and pleasure's gallant shifts,
 Have fed your minde with many a princely sport.
But, peereles Queene, (sometime my peereles maide,
 And yet, the same, as Mercurie doeth tel,)

Had you but knowen how much I was dismaide,
 When first you did forsake with me to dwell,—
Had you but felt what privie panges I had,
 Because I could not finde you foorth againe,
I know full wel, yourselfe would have beenc sad,
 To put me so to prooffe of pinching paine.
Well, since Dan Jove (my father) me assures
 That, notwithstanding all my stepdame's wyles,
Your maiden's minde yet constant stil endures,
 Though wel content a Queene to be therewiles,—
And since, by prudence and by pollicie,
 You winne from Juno so much worldly wealth,
And since the pillar of your chastitie
 Still standeth fast, as Mercurie me telleth,
I joy with you, and leave it to your choice
 What kinde of life you best shall like to holde;
And, in meane while, I cannot but rejoyce,
 To see you thus bedect with glistening golde;
To see you have this traine of stately dames,
 Of whom, eche one may seeme some Goddes' peere;
And you yourselfe (by due desert of fame)
 A Goddes full; and so, I leave you here.
It shall suffice, that on your faith I trust;
 It shall suffice, that once I have you seene;
Farewell! not as I would, but as I must:
 Farewel, my Nimphe! Farewel, my noble Queen!

Diana, with her Traine, departeth.

ACTUS II. SCENA VLTIMA.

IRIS sola.

Oh, loe, I come to late! Oh, why had I no wings?
 To helpe my willing feete, which fet these hastie frisking flings?
 Ahlas, I come too late! that babling God is gone;
 And Dame Diana fled likewise: here standes the Queene alone.
 Well, since a booteles plaint but little would prevaile,
 I will goe tell the Queene my tale. O peereles Prince, all haile!
 The Queene of Heaven herselfe did send me, to controle
 That tatling traytor Mercurie, who hopes to get the golo
 By curious filed speech, abusing you by arte;
 But, Queene, had I come soone inough, he should have felt the smart.
 And you, whose wit excelles, whose judgement hath no peere,
 Beare not in minde those flattering words which he expressed here!
 You know that in his tongue consistes his cheefest might;
 You know his eloquence can serve to make the crowe seem white;
 But, come to decdes, indeede, and then you shall perceiv
 Which Goddes meanes your greatest good, and which would you
 deceive.

Call you to minde the time, in which you did insue
 Dianae's chase, and wero not yet a guest of Juno's crue;
 Remember all your life before you were a Queene,
 And then compare it with the daies which you since then have seene.
 Were you not captive caught? Were you not kept in walles?
 Were you not forst to leade a life-like other wretched thralles?
 Where was Diana then? Why did she you not ayde?
 Why did she not defend your state, which wero and are her maide?
 Who brought you out of bryers? Who gave you rule of realmes?
 Who crowned first your comely head with princely dyademes?
 Even Juno, she which meant, and yet doeth meane, likewise,
 To geve you more than wil can wish, or wit can wel devise.
 Wherefore, good Queene, forget Dianae's tusing tale;
 Let never needlesse dread presume to bring your blisse to bale!
 How necessarie 'twere for worthy Queenes to wed,
 That know you wel, whose life alwayes in learning hath beene led.
 The countrey craves consent; your vertues vaunt themselfe;
 And Jove in heaven would snile to see Diana set on shelve.
 His Queene hath sworne (but you) there shal no mo be such:
 You know she lies with Jove a' nights, and night ravens may doe much.
 Then, geve consent, O Queene, to Juno's just desire;
 Who, for your wealth, would have you wed; and, for your farther hire,
 Some Empresse wil you make; she bad me tel you thus:—
 Forgeve me, Queene, the words are her's; I come not to discusse;

I am but messenger; but, sure, she bade me say,
 That where you now in princely port have past one pleasant day,
 A world of wealth at wil you hencefoorth shall enjoy,
 In wedded state; and therewithall holde up from great annoy
 The staffe of your estate. O Queene, O worthy Queene,
 Yet never wight felt perfect blis, but such as wedded becne!

Tam Marti, quam Mercurio.

This shewe was devised and penned by M. Gascoigne; and, being prepared and redy (every actor in his garment) two or three dayes together, yet never came to execution. The cause whereof I cannot attribute to any other thing, than to lack of opportunitie and seasonable weather.

The Queene's Majestie hasting her departure from thence; the Earle commanded Master Gascoigne to devise some Farewel, worth the presenting. Whereupon, he himselfe clad like unto Sylvanus, God of the Woods, and meeting her as she went on hunting, spake, *ex tempore*, as followeth:—

Right excellent puysant, and most happy Princesse, whiles I walke in these woodes and wildernes, (whereof I have the charge,) I have often mused with myselfe, that your Majesty, being so highly esteemed, so entirely beloved, and so largely endued by the Celestial powers, you can yet continually give care to the councel of these terrestrial companions, and so consequently passe your time where-soever they devise or determine that it is meete for your royal person to be resident. Surely, if your Highnesse did understand (as it is not to me unknowen) what pleasures have been for you prepared, what great good-will declared, what joy and comfort conceived in your presence, and what sorowe and greefe sustained by likelihode of your absence, (yea, and that by the whole bench in Heaven,) since you first arryved in these coastes, I thinke it would be sufficient to draw your resolute determination for ever to abide in this cuntry, and never to wander any further by the direction and advice of these peers and councellers; since thereby the heavens might greatly be pleased, and most men throughly re-comforted. But, because I rather wish the increase of your delights, then any way to diminish the heape of your contentment, I will not presume to stay your hunting, for the hearing of my needlesse, thriftlesse, and bootlesse discours; but, I doe humbly beseech that your Excellencie will gevee me leave to attend you, as one of your footemen, wherein I undertake to doe you double service; for, I will not only conduct your Majestie in safetie from the perillous passages which are in these woods and forrests, but

will also recount unto you (if your Majestie vouchsafe to hearken thereunto) certaine adventures, neither unpleasant to heare, nor unprofitable to be marked.

Herewith, her Majestie proceeded, and Sylvanus continued as followeth :—

There are not yet twenty daies past (most noble Queene) since I have beene, by the Procuror-generale, twice severally summoned to appeare before the great Gods in their counsell-chamber; and, making mine appearance, according to my duety, I have seene in heaven two such exceeding great contrarieties, or rather two such wonderfull changes, as drawe me into deepe admiration and suddayne perplexitie. At my first comming, I found the whole company of heaven in such a jollitie, as I rather want skill to expresse it lively, then wil to declare it redily. There was nothing in any corner to be scene but rejoycing and mirth, singing, daunsing, melody and harmony, amiable regards, plentiful rewards, tokens of love and great good-wil, trophies and triumphes, gifts and presents:—alas, my breath and memorie faile me!—leaping, frisking, and clapping of hands.

To conclude, there was the greatest feast and joye that ever eye sawe, or eare heard tell of, since heaven was heaven, and the earth began to have his being. And, enquiring the cause thereof, *Reason*, one of the heavenly ushers, tolde me that it was to congratulate for the comming of your most excellent Majestie into this cuntry. In very deede, to confesse a trueth, I might have perceived no les by sundry manifest tokens here on earth; for, even here, in my charge, I might see the trees flourish in more than ordinarie bravery, the grasse growe greener than it was wont to doe, and the deere went tripping (though against their death) in extreme delicacie and delight. Wel, to speake of that I sawe in heaven,—every God and Goddes made all preparations possible to present your Majestie with some acceptable gift; thereby to declare the exceeding joy which they conceived in your presence. And I, poor Rurall God, which am but seldome called amongst them, and then, also, but slenderly countenanced, yet, for my great good-will towards your Majestie, no way inferior to the proudest God of them all, came downe againe with a flea in mine eare, and began to beate my braines for some device of some present, which might both bewray the depth of mine affections, and also be worthy for so excellent a Princesse to receive. But, whiles I went so musing with myselfe, many, yea too many, dayes, I found by due experience, that this proverbe was all too true, *Omnis mora trahit periculum*. For, whiles I studied to atcheeve the height of my desires, beholde, I was the second time summoned to appeare in heaven. What

sayd I, heaven? No, no, most comely Queene; for, when I came there, heaven was not heaven; it was rather a very hell. There was nothing but weeping and wayling, crying and howling, dole, desperation, mourning, and moane. All which I perceived also here on earth, before I went up; for, of a trueth (most noble, Princesse) not only the skies scowled, the windes raged, the waves rored and tossed; but also the fishes in the waters turned up their bellies, the deere in the woods went drowping, the grasse was very of growing, the trees shooke off their leaves, and all the beastes of the Forrest stode amazed. The which sudden change, I plainly perceyved to be for that they understood above, that your Majestie would shortly (and too speedely) depart out of this country, wherein the heavens have happely placed you, and the whole earth earnestly desireth to keepe you. Surely (gracious Queene) I suppose that this late alteration in the skyes hath seemed unto your judgement droppes of raine in accustomed maner. But, if your Highnesse will beleeve me, it was nothing els but the very flowing teares of the Gods, who melted into moane for your hastie departure.

Well, because we Rurall Gods are bound patiently to abide the censure of the Celestiall bench, I thought meete to hearken what they would determine; and, for a finall conclusion, it was generally determined that some convenient messenger should be dispatched with all expedition possyble, as wel to beseech your Majestie that you would here remaine, as also further to present you with the proffer of any such commodities and delights, as might draw your full consent to continue here, for their contentation, and the generall comfort of men.

Here her Majestie stayed her horse, to favour Sylvanus, fearing least he should be driven out of breath, by following her horse so fast. But, Sylvanus humbly besought her Highnesse to goe on; declaring that if hys rude speech did not offend her, he coulde continue this tale to be twenty miles long. And therewithall protested that hee had rather be her Majestie's footeman on earth, then a God on horseback in heaven; proceeding as followeth:

Now, to returne to my purpose, (most excelent Queene.) When I had heard their deliberation, and called unto minde that sundry realmes and provinces had come to utter subvertion by over-great trust given to ambassadors, I (being thorowly tickled with a restlesse desire) thought good to pleade in person; for, I will tell your Majestie one strange properitie that I have: there are fewe, or none, which know my minde so well as myselfe; neither are there many which can tel mine owne tale better than I myselfe can do. And therefore I have continually awayted these 3 dayes, to espie

when your Majestie would (in accustomed manner) come on hunting this way. And being now arrived most happely into the porte of my desires, I wil presume to beseech most humbly, and to intreate most earnestly, that your Highnes have good regard to the general desire of the Gods, together with the humble petitions of your most loyal and deeply affectionate servants.

And, for my poore part, in full token of my duetiful meaning, I here present you the store of my charge, undertaking that the deare shal be dayly doubled, for your delight in chase. Furthermore, I will intreate Dame Flora to make it continually Spring here, with store of redolent and fragrant flowers. Ceres shall be compelled to yeelde your Majestie competent provision; and Bacchus shal be sued unto, for the first-fruits of his vineyards. To be short, O peerelesse Princes, you shall have all things that may possibly be gotten for the furtheraunce of your delights. And I shall be most glad and triumphant, if I may place my Godhead in your service perpetually. This tedious tale, O comely Queene, I began with a bashfull boldnes; I have continued in base eloquence; and I cannot better knit it up, then, with homely humilitic, referring the consideration of these mysimple wordes unto the deepe discretion of your princelie will. And now, I wil, by your Majestie's leave, turne my discourse into the rehearsal of strange and pitifull adventures.

So it is, good gracious lady, that Diana passeth oftentimes through this forest, with a stately traine of gallant and beutifull Nimphes; amongst whome, there is one surpassing all the rest for singuler gifts and graces; some call her *Zabeta*; some other have named hyr *Ahtebasile*, some *Completa*, and some *Complacida*: whatsoever hyr name be, I will not stande upon it. But, as I have sayde, her raregiftes have drawne the most noble and worthy personages in the whole world to sue unto hyr for grace; all which she hath so rigorously repulsed, or rather (to speake playne English) so obstinately and cruelly rejected, that I sigh to thinke of some their mishaps. I allowe and commende her justice towards some others; and yet, the teares stande in mine eyes, yea, and my tongue trembleth and faltereth in my mouth, when I begin to declare the distresses wherein some of them doe presently remayne. I could tell your Highnesse of sundry famous and worthy persons, whome shee hath turned and converted into most monstrous shapes and proportions: as, some into fishes, some other into foules, and some into huge stony rocks and great mountaines; but, because diverse of hyr most earnest and faithfull followers, as also some cicophants, have been converted into sundry of these plants whereof I have charge, I will on shew unto your Mjestiea so many of them as are in sight in these places where you passe.

Behold, gracious Lady, this old Oke. The same was many yeeres a faithfull follower and trustie servant of hyr's, named *Constance*; whome, when shee coulde by none other meanes overthrowe, considering that no chaunge coulde creepe into his thoughtes, nor any trouble of passions and perplexities coulde turne his resolute minde, at length she caused him, as I say, to be converted into this Oke: a strange and cruell metamorphosis. But yet, the heavens have thus far forth favoured and rewarded his long-continued service, that as in life he was unmovable, even so now all the vehement blasts of the most raging windes cannot once move his rocky body from his rooted place and abyding. But, to countervaile this cruelty with a shewe of justice, she converted his contrarie, *Inconstancie*, into yonder Popler, whose leaves move and shake with the least breath or blast.

As also, shee dressed *Vaine-glory* in his right colours, converting him into this Ash-tree; which is the first of my plants that buddeth, and the first likewise that casteth leafe. For, beleeve me, most excellent Princesse, *Vaine-glory* may well begin hastily, but seldome continueth long.

Againe, she hath well requited that busie elfe, *Contention*, whom she turned into this Bramble-Bryer, the which, as your Majestie may well see, dooth even yet catch and snatch at your garments, and every other thing that passeth by it. And, as for that wicked wretch, *Ambition*, she dyd, by good right, condemne hym into this braunch of Ivy, the which can never clyme on hygh, nor florysh, without the helpe of some other plant or tree; and yet, commonly, what tree soever it ryse by, it never leaveth to wynde about it, and straightly to infolde it, untill it have smowdred and killed it. And, by your leave, good Queene, such is the unthankfull nature of cankred ambitious myndes, that commonly they maligne them by whom they have rysen, and never cease, untill they have brought them to confusion. Well, notwithstanding these examples of justice, I will nowe rehearse unto your Majestie such a straunge and cruell metamorphosis, as, I think, must needes move your noble minde unto compassion. There were two sworne brethren, which long timeserved hyr, called *Deepedesire* and *Dewedesert*; and, although it bec very hard to part these two in sunder, yet it is sayd that she dyd, long sithens, convert *Duedesert* into yonder same Lawrell-tree. The which may very well be so, considering the etimologie of his name; for, we see that the Lawrell-braunch is a token of triumph in all trophies, and given as a reward to all victors: a dignitie for all degrees; consecrated and dedicate to Apollo and the Muses, as a worthie flower, leafe, or braunch, for their due deserts. Of him I will hold no longer discourse, because hee was metamorphosed before my tyme; for, your Majestie must understand

that I have not long helde this charge, neyther do I meane long to continue in it; but, rather, most gladly to followe your Highnesse wheresoever you shall be come.

But, to speake of *Deepedesire*, that wretch of worthies, and yet the worst that ever was condemned to wretched estate. He was such an one, as neither any delay could daunt him, no disgrace could abate his passions, no tyme coulde tyre him, no water quench his flames, nor death itself could amase him with terror; and yet, this straunge starre, this courteous cruell, and yet the cruellest courteous that ever was; this *Ahtebasile*, *Zabeta*, or by what name soever it shall please your Majestie to remember hyr, did never cease to use imprecation, invocation, conjuration, and all meanes possible, 'untill she had caused him to be turned into this Holy-bush; and, as he was in this life and worlde continually full of compunctions, so is he now furnished on every side with sharpe pricking leaves, to prove the restlesse prickes of his privie thoughts. Mary, there are two kinds of Holly, that is to say, He-Holly and She-Holly. Nowc, some will say, that the She-Holly hath no prickes: but, thereof I entermeddle not.

At these wordes, her Majestie came by a close arbor, made all of hollie; and whiles *Silvanus* pointed to the same, the principall bush shaked. For therein were placed, both straunge musicke, and one who was there appointed to represent *Deepedesire*. *Silvanus*, perceiving the bush to shake, continued thus:

Beholde, most gracious Queene, this Holly-bush doeth tremble at your presence; and therefore I beleve that *Deepedesire* hath gotten leave of the Gods to speake unto your excellent Majestie in their behalfe; for, I myselfe was present in the councell-chamber of Heaven, when *Desire* was thought a meete messenger to be sent from that convocation, unto your Majestie, as ambassadour; and, give care good Queene: methinkes I hear his voyce.

Herewith, *Deepedesire* spake out of the Holly-bush, as followeth:

Stay, stay your hastie steppes, O Queene without compare,
 And heare him talke, whose trusty tongue consumed is with care!
 I am that wretch, *Desire*, whom neither death could daunt,
 Nor dole decay, nor dread delay, nor fayned cheere enchant;
 Whom neither care could quench, nor fancie force to change;
 And therefore turned into this tree; which sight, percase, seems
 strange.

But, when the Gods of Heaven, and Goddesses withall,
Both Gods of Fieldes, and Forrest Gods, yea, Satires, Nymphes,
and all,

Determined a dole, by course of free consent,
With wailing words, and mourning notes, your partying to lament,
Then thought they meet to chuse me, silly wretch, *Desire*,
To tell a tale that might bewray as much as they requyre.
And hence, procedes, O Queene, that, from this Holly-tree,
Your learned cares may heare him speake, whom yet you cannot
see.

But, Queene, beleve me nowe, although I do not sweare,
Was never greefe, as I could gesse, which sat their harts so neere,
As when they heard the newes that you, O royall Queene,
Would part from hence; and, that to proove, it may full well be
seene.

For, marke what teares they shed these five dayes past and gone:
It was no rayne of honestie, it was great floods of mone.

As, first Diana wept such brynish bitter teares,
That all hyr Nymphes dyd doubt hyr death: hyr face the signe yet
beares.

Dame Flora fell on ground, and brusde hyr wofull breast:
Yea, Pan dyd breake his oten pipes: Sylvanus, and the rest,
Which walke amid these woods, for greefe did rore and cry:
And Jove, to shew what mone he made, with thundring crackt the
skye.

O Queene, O worthy Queene, within these holts and hilles,
Were never heard such greevous grones, nor seene such wofull wils!
But, since they have decreed, that I, poore wretch, *Desire*,
In their behalfe, shall make their mone, and comfort thus require,
Vouchsafe, O comely Queene, yet longer to remayue,
Or still to dwell amongst us here! O Queene, commaund againe
This Castle, and the Knight which keeps the same for you;
These woods, these waves, these fowls, these fishes, these deere, which
are your dew!

Live here, good Queene, live here! you are amongst your friends;
Their comfort comes when you approach; and, when you part, it
ends.

What fruits this soyle may serve, thereof you may be sure:
Dame Ceres and Dame Flora both will with you still iodure.

Diana would be glad to meet you in the chase;
Sylvanus, and the Forrest Gods, would follow you apace.
Yea, Pan would pipe his part, such daunces as he can;
Or els, Apollo musicke make; and Mars would be your man.

And, to be short, as much as Gods and men may doo,
So much your Highnesse here may finde, with faith and favour to.

But, if your noble mynde, resolved by decree,
 Be not content by me *Desire* perswaded for to be,
 Then, bende your willing eares unto my willing note,
 And heare what song the Gods themselves have taught me now by rote.

Give eare, good gracious Queene, and so you shall perceive
 That Gods in Heaven, and Men on Earth, are loath such *Queenes*
 to leave!

Herewith, the consort of musicke sounded, and *Deepe-*
desire sung this Song :—

Come, Muses, come, and helpe me to lament ;
 Come woods, come waves, come hills, come doleful dales ;
 Since life and death are both against me bent,
 Come gods, come men, beare witnessse of my bales !
 O heavenly Nymphs, come helpe my heavy heart,
 With sighes to see Dame Pleasure thus depart !

If death or dole could daunt a deepe desire,
 If privie pangs could counterpeise my plaint,
 If tract of time a true intent could tire,
 Or cramps of care a constant mind could taint,
 Oh, then might I at will here live and sterve,
 Although my deedes did more delight deserve.

But out, alas! no gripes of greefe suffice
 To break in twaine this harmlesse heart of mine ;
 For, though delight be banisht from mine eies,
 Yet lives *Desire*, whom paines can never pine.
 Oh, straunge affects! I live which seeme to die ;
 Yet die to see my deere delight go by.

Then, farewell, sweet, for whom I taste such sower !
 Farewell, delight, for whom I dwell in dole !
 Free will, farewell ! farewell, my fancie's flower !
 Farewell, content, whom cruell cares controle !
 Oh, farewell, life ! delightfull death, farewell !
 I dye in heaven, yet live in darksome hell.

This Song being ended, the musicke ceased, and *Silvanus*
 concluded thus :

Most gracious Queene, as it should but evill have beseeemed a
 God to be founde fraudulent or deceiptfull in his speech, so have I
 neither recompted nor foretolde anything unto your Majestie, but
 that which you have nowe founde true by experience; and, because
 the case is very lamentable in the conversion of *Deepe-desire*, as also

because they knowe that your Majestie is so highly favoured of the Gods, that they will not deny you any reasonable request; therefore, I do humbly crave in his behalfe, that you would either be a suter for him unto the heavenly powers, or else but onely to give your gracious consent that hee may be restored to his prystinate estate. Whereat, your Highnesse may be assured that heaven will smile, the earth will quake, men will clap their hands, and I will alwayes continue an humble beseecher for the flourishing estate of your royall person; whom God, nowe and ever, preserve, to his good pleasure, and our great comfort.

AMEN!

TAM MARTI, QUAM MERCURIO.

Finis.

CORRIGENDA.

- P. 2. l. 7. for seemed read *seeming*.
 3. l. 24. after comfort dele *once*.
 3. l. 39. for inward read *inner*.
 5. l. 37. after "No, sure," insert *it is*.
 6. l. 4. for used read *useth*.
 11. l. 6. for in barge read *in her barge*.
 11. l. 12. for countrie read *Coventrie*.
 14. l. 13. for your read *my*.

Marginal Notes.

[The following occur in the original 8vo. edition, 1576, but are omitted in the 4to. published in GASCOIGNE's "Whole Woorkes," 1587: being probably considered merely a repetition of the descriptions given in the argument of the shew at pp. 11 and 12.]

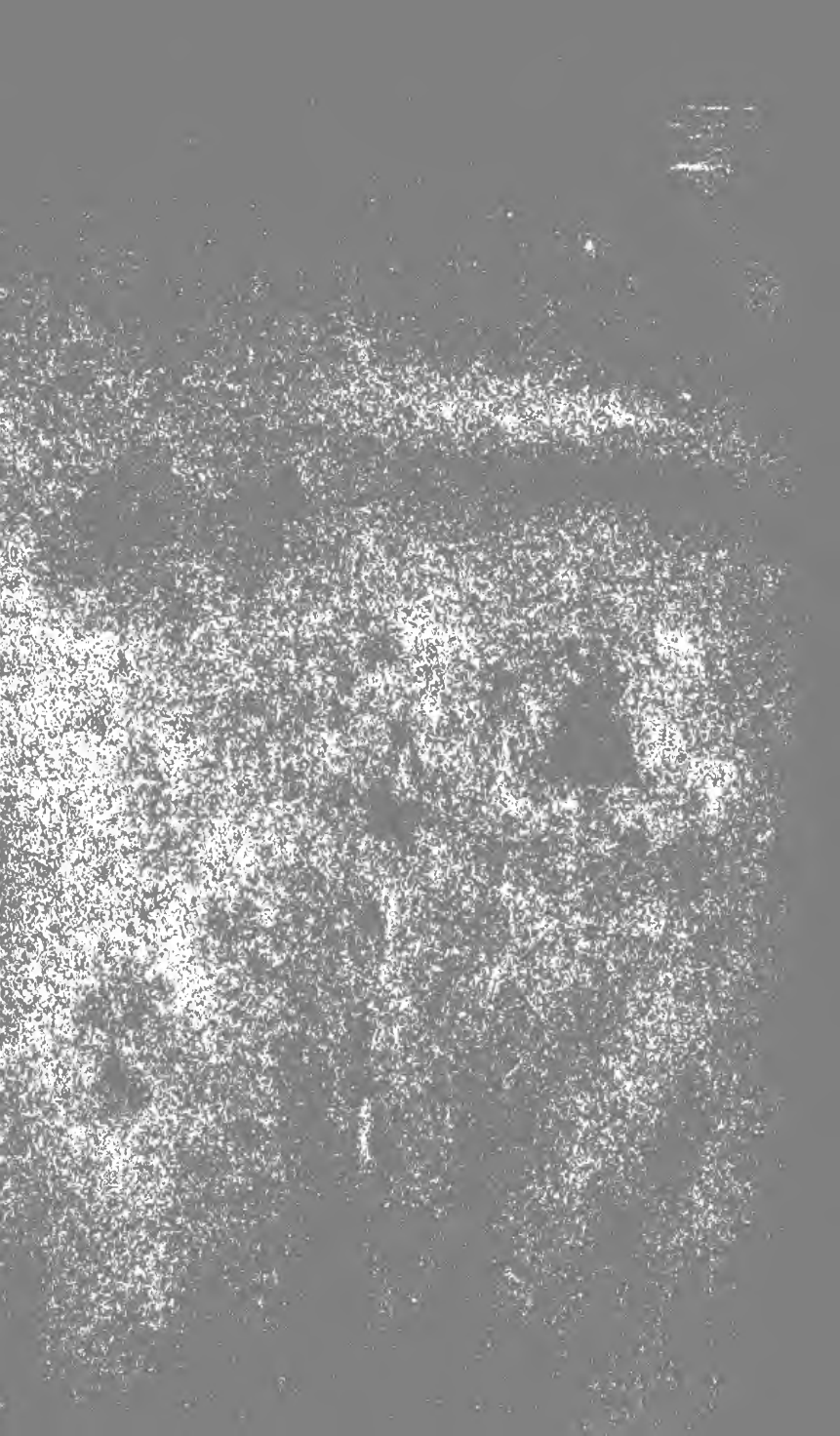
P. 7. opposite line 32.—“ Here the Queene saide that the Actor was blind.” P. 7. op. l. 37.—“ On the Thursdaie following was prepared another shewe for the same place.” P. 10. op. l. 29.—“ There was a Heron House in the Poole.” P. 11. op. l. 29.—“ In the latter ende of the Echo her Maiesty told the wilde man that he was blynde.” P. 12. op. l. 13.—“ Dyana should haue beene attended with Nimphes more.” P. 16. op. l. 3.—“ The Nimphs one goe after another to see for Sabeta.” P. 16. op. l. 35.—“ She kneels downe and prayeth to Jupiter.” P. 17. op. l. 3.—“ Mercurie was apointed to haue come down in a clowde as sent in great haste from heauen.” P. 18. op. l. 25.—“ Pointing to the Queene's Maiesty.” P. 18. op. l. 31.—“ She wondereth at the Queene's Maiesties princelye port.” P. 20. op. l. 3.—“ Iris should haue come downe vpon the Raynbowe.”

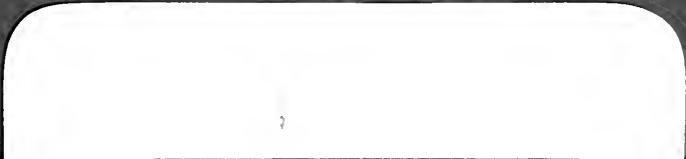
Variations.

Page 1. l. 16. Edition 1576 reads *happes*.—l. 32. Master of the children in her Majesties Chappell.—P. 3. l. 41. Editions 1576 and 87 read *in the toppes*.—P. 4. l. 7. *Hunc*.—l. 14. *Pomanaque*.—P. 5. l. 7. *mind* reads *man*.—P. 6. l. 32. or reads *of*.—P. 8. l. 31. *yon* reads *your*.—P. 9. l. 5. *sounded* reads *soundeth*.—P. 11. l. 25. Ed. 1587 reads *affirming*.—P. 12. l. 3. Ed. 1576 reads *by the prooffe*.—l. 28. Editions 1576 and 87 read *harmfull hart*.—P. 13. l. 22. *excellencie*.—P. 16. l. 23. *answered*.—P. 20. l. 34. *how necessarrie were*.—P. 26. l. 13. *and he was*.









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July

